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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. IV

**INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA**

PART I

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. IV

INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

EDITED BY

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IN TWO PARTS

PART I

WITH 3 MAPS AND 61 PLATES

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA
OOTACAMUND

1955

PREFACE

THE work of editing Volume IV of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* entitled *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era* was offered to me by the Director General of Archaeology in India in his letter of the 7th March 1935. As I was already interested in the study of these records for a long time and had also edited some of them, I gladly accepted the offer, though not without some diffidence; for my official duties as Professor of Sanskrit at the Morris College, Nagpur, left me little leisure, and I knew full well 'how easy it is to glean a few straws, and how laborious to mow a whole field.' After spending most of my spare time during nine years on this work, I made over the typescript of it to the Director General of Archaeology on the 6th March 1944. Its printing could not, however, be taken up immediately on account of war conditions then prevailing. The delay was not without an advantage; for it enabled me to include in the present Volume some important records which were discovered subsequently, and to shed some more light on the epoch of the Kalachuri era. At last, the work of printing commenced in June 1949. It was again delayed for some time for want of matrices with the necessary diacritical marks, but was ultimately completed in December 1954.

The present Volume has been planned to contain all inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, by whatever dynasty they may have been issued. It therefore includes, *inter alia*, records of the Ābhīras and their feudatories, the Traikūṭakas, the Early Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas of Gujarat, the Hariśchandriyas as well as the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī, Tripurī and Ratanpur, and their feudatories. For completing the sources of the history of the Kalachuris it was found desirable to include a few more records of the rulers of Tripurī, Sarayūpāra, Ratanpur and Raipur, though they are dated in other eras. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa have, however, been excluded as none of them are dated in the Kalachuri era. The records have been arranged dynasty-wise in the chronological order, and named uniformly after the reigning kings. Some more inscriptions, because of their being spurious, or for not mentioning the name of any particular king, or due to some other reasons, have been grouped under the heading Miscellaneous Inscriptions and, for convenience of reference, have been inserted in three places where they were chronologically and territorially connected. As the Volume was going through the press, some more records, either dated in the Kalachuri era or allied to those already included, came to light. They have been inserted at the end under the heading Additional Inscriptions. All these inscriptions have been edited from their originals or mechanical ink impressions. In the case of a few other inscriptions, however, the original stones or copper-plates have since been lost and their facsimiles have not been published. Their texts, where possible, have therefore been given from previous editions or notices, with translations added, in an Appendix under the heading Supplementary Inscriptions. As this matter was being composed, one of these records which had been very briefly noticed before and had long been given up for lost, *viz.*, the Gōpālpur stone inscription of Vijayasimha, was rediscovered at Jabalpur. I was consequently able to include its text from an excellent inked estampage kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra, though it was too late to have its plate prepared for the present Volume.

The Introduction discusses first the important question of the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era which has been at issue among scholars for nearly a hundred years. When Dr. Kielhorn attempted to fix it in 1888, he had only fourteen dated records with the necessary details available to him, on which he based his conclusion. Since then twenty-six more dated inscriptions containing details necessary for computation have come to light, which have enabled me to fix the epoch of the era more accurately. The Introduction next gives the political history of the dynasties that used the era, and an account of the administration as well as the religious, social and economic conditions of the times as gleaned from the inscriptions. The next two sections deal with the literature of the age and the coins of the Traikūtakas and the Kalachuris.

In my editions of inscriptions I usually give their texts in the Nāgarī characters. The same method is followed here. As the book is printed in monotype, some of the conjunct letters could not be displayed exactly as in the original records. As regards diacritical marks, I have used them in all ancient names, whether of persons or of places, and also in some modern place-names which were not sufficiently well-known. They were not considered necessary in the case of such well-known modern place-names as Nasik, Banaras or Allahabad.

The Volume became too bulky to be issued in one part. It has therefore been divided into two parts: the first part containing the Introduction, early inscriptions of the Kalachuri era and inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, and the second, the remaining records of the era, additional and supplementary inscriptions and the Index to both the parts.

For some years past I have been suffering from a recurring eye-disease which makes reading difficult and painful. At one time it was even apprehended that I might lose my eye-sight altogether. Though this has, fortunately, not come to pass, my sight is still far from normal. The first 374 pages of the Texts and Translations, which were rushed through the press during 1950-51, when the disease was very troublesome, contain a considerable number of typographical and other errors, for which I crave the indulgence of the reader. The Additions and Corrections are inserted at the beginning of both the parts, which the reader is requested to notice.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the distinguished scholars who previously edited many of the records included here, though I have had occasion to differ from them in some places. For the verification of dates I have used throughout S. K. Pillai's indispensable *Indian Ephemeris*. With the help of the tables given in that work I have myself calculated some early dates, the equivalents of which in the Christian era have not been given therein. To the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology, who first turned my attention to the editing of epigraphic records, encouraged and helped me in various ways, I owe a deep debt of gratitude which I cannot adequately express in words. I am obliged to Mr. Amalanand Ghosh, the present Director General of Archaeology, for kind consideration and help. My thanks are also due to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, who, as Government Epigraphists, supplied excellent ink impressions of several records and got illustrative plates prepared for the Volume. Dr. Chhabra, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. M. N. Mitra, and Prof. N. R. Navalekar went through parts of my typescript and made some useful suggestions, for which I feel very grateful. I must also thank Mr. G. S. Ramanathan of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India for the help he rendered me in the correction of proofs when my eye-sight became very defective. I am obliged to Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the

Central Museum, Nagpur, who supplied casts of the gold coins of the Kalachuris from the cabinet of the Museum, and to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, who placed at my disposal the copper coins of the Kalachuris from the cabinet of the Mahakoshal Historical Society. Mr. N. H. Kulkarni, Artist of the Social Welfare Department, Madhya Pradesh, kindly drew the three maps showing places mentioned in the inscriptions, for which my thanks are due to him. I am also obliged to Mr. L. R. Kulkarni, Mr. V. P. Rode, Mr. J. K. Abhyankar and several other friends for the help they rendered me in various ways. Finally, I thank the Director, Eastern Circle, Survey of India, for the excellent plates which illustrate the records, and the Manager, Allahabad Law Journal Co., Ltd., for the consideration he showed to me while the work was going through the press.

NAGPUR :

The 22nd December, 1934.

V. V. MIRASHI.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A. B. I. A.*.—Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology (Leiden).
A. B. O. R. I..—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
A. C. A. I..—Allan, Coins of Ancient India.
A. C. S..—Antiquities of the Chambā State.
A. H. D..—Jouveau-Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Daccan.
AK..—Amarakōśa.
A. R..—Asiatic Researches.
A. R. A. D. G. S..—Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State.
A. R. A. S. I..—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India.
A. R. A. S. M..—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore.
A. R. B. I. S. M..—Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala.
A. R. S. I. E..—Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
A. S. W. I..—Archæological Survey of Western India.
BK..—Bhārata-Kaumudī (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji), Part I.
Bom. Gaz..—Bombay Gazetteer.
B. R. W. W..—Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World.
BS..—Bṛhatsamhitā.
B. V..—D. R. Bhandarkar Volume.
C. A. D..—Rapson, Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bōdhi Dynasty.
C. A. I..—Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India.
C. A. S. I. R..—Cunningham, Archæological Survey of India Reports.
C. H. I..—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
C. I. I..—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. I. M..—Cunningham, Coins of Mediæval India.
C. T. I..—Burgess, Cave Temples of India.
C. W. B..—Collected Works of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute).
D. H. N. I..—H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India.
DK..—Hēmachandra, Dvyāśrayakāvya.
D. K. A..—Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age.
D. K. D..—Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
E. D. H. I..—Elliot and Dowson, History of India.
E. H. D..—R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III).
Ep. Carn. (or *E. C.*).—Epigraphia Carnatica.
Ep. Ind..—Epigraphia Indica.
G. i. L..—Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur.
H. A. S..—Hyderabad Archæological Series.
H. C. I. P..—History and Culture of the Indian People.
H. D. L..—Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra Literature.
H. I. S. I..—Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.

- H. P. D.*—Ganguli, History of the Paramāra Dynasty.
II. P. K.—Gopalan, History of the Pallavas of Kāñchi.
H. T. M.—R. D. Banerji, Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments.
HV.—Harivaṃśa (Chitrasālā Press, Poona).
I. B.—N. G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.
I. C. P. B.—Hiralal, Inscriptions of the Central Provinces and Berar (Second Edition).
I. C. T. W. I.—Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraji, Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India.
I. I. B. S.—Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State.
I. M. C.—Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.
I. N. I.—D. R. Bhandarkar, Inscriptions of Northern India.
Ind. Ant.—Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Cult.—Indian Culture.
Ind. Hist. Quart. (or *I. H. Q.*)—Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. P.—Bühler, Indian Palaeography.
J. A. H. R. S.—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
J. A. O. S.—Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. A. S. B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J. B. T. S.—Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
J. D. L.—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
J. M. S. G. U.—Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad University.
J. N. S. I.—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J. O. R.—Journal of Oriental Research.
J. R. A. S. (N. S.)—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).
J. R. A. S. B.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
KM.—Rajasekhara, Kāvyaṃimāṃsā (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).
K. AS.—Kautilya, Arthaśāstra.
K. D. G.—Khandesh District Gazetteer.
KVS.—Kavindravachanasamuchchaya ed. by F. W. Thomas.
M. A. S. B.—Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
M. A. S. I.—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MBH. Cr. Ed.—Mahābhārata (Critical Edition) published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
MSM.—Manusmṛiti (Nirṇayasāgar Press edition).
MP.—Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
M. S.—Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, Monuments of Sāñchi.
M. W.—Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
N. H. I. P.—A New History of the Indian People.
N. I. A.—New Indian Antiquary.
NSCH.—Navasāhasāñikacharita (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
NVA.—Sōmadēva, Nītivākyaṃpita ed. by Nathuram Premi.
O. Y. C.—Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.
PCH.—Merutuṅga, Prabandhachintāmaṇi, ed. by Jinavijaya Muni.
PCHU.—Kṛishṇamiśra, Prabōdhachandrōdaya (Nirṇayasāgar Press edition).
P. H. A. I.—Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India.
P. I. H. C.—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
P. R. A. S. W. I.—Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western India.

ABBREVIATIONS

(xix)

- P. T. A. I. O. C.*—Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
P. V. O. C.—Proceedings of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section.
Q. B. I. S. M.—Quarterly of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala.
RCH.—Sandhyākaranandin, Rāmacharita (published by the Varendra Research Museum).
RM.—Rāsamālā ed. by H. G. Rawlinson.
SA.—Vallabhadēva, Subhāshitāvali (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
SHC.—Siddhahēmachandra.
S. I.—Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I.
S. I. I.—South Indian Inscriptions.
S. I. M. H.—Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History.
SKM.—Vallabhadēva, Saduktikamāṃgita ed. by H. D. Sharma.
SKM.—Jalhana, Sūktimuktāvali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).
S. M. H. D.—Khare, Sources of the Medieval History of the Daccan (Marathi).
SNS.—Sukranītisāra edited by Jivananda Vidyasagar.
VDCH.—Bilhaṇa, Vikramāṅkadēvacharita edited by Bühler (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
VP.—Vāyu Purāṇa.
VSHP.—Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
W. C. V.—Woolner Commemoration Volume.
Y. S.—Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Page ii, para. 2, line 5—For *thesame* read *the same*.

„ iii, para. 2, line 12 — For 423 read 443.

„ v, para. 1, last line —For *purimānta* read *pūrimānta*.

„ xxvii, para. 1, line 1—For 709-10 A. C. read 710-11 A. C.

„ xxxiv, para. 3, line 3—Mr. G. H. Khare takes *Gōpaka-pālaka*, mentioned in the Tāsgaon plates, over whom Kēśava obtained a victory, in the sense of 'the king of Goa'.

„ xxxvii, line 2—Recently silver coins of Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja (*circa* 350-375 A. C.) have been found at Nandurbār in Khandesh.

„ xli, para. 1, last line—For *rules* read *rule*.

„ xlii and xlvii—For *Krishṇarāja wherever it occurs* read *Kṛishṇarāja*.

„ xlii, para. 2, line 12—Recently a silver coin of Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja has been found at Bhāri-Ghāt near Tewar in the Jabalpur District. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.

„ xlvii, para. 5, line 2 from the bottom—For *Śaṅkaragaṇa* read *Śaṅkaragaṇa*.

„ lvi, para. 2, line 4—For 740 A. C. read the 21st October 739 A. C.

„ lviii, f. n. 2—The Nāgaḍ and Kāsārē plates have since been edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff. He takes *Nikumbhallaśakti* to mean *Allaśakti* of *Nikumbha*, and apparently understands *Nikumbha* as a family name. The Kāsārē plates show, however, that *Nikumbha* was another name of *Bhānuśakti*, the founder of the family. It was used by his descendants as a *biruda*. Their family name was *Sēndraka*.

„ lix, f. n. 2—The facsimile of the Mundakhēḍē plates has since been noticed in a subsequent issue of the same Marathi journal *Prabhāta* (Vol. II). I have edited the plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX from that facsimile.

„ lxiv, line 10—For 740 A. C. read 739 A. C.

„ lxv, para. 2, line 3—For *Anivartakānivartayitṛi* read *Anivartakanivartayitṛi*.

„ lxxi, para. 2, line 1—One more record of the reign of this Śaṅkaragaṇa has recently been discovered at Muriā, 3½ miles from Bōriā on the Jabalpur-Saugor road. It is fragmentary and records the construction of some meritorious work (*kṛti*) by one *Bhattikaradēva* during the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa. I have edited the record with a facsimile in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 20 ff.

„ lxxii, para. 4, line 5—For *Vallabharāia* read *Vallabharāja*.

„ lxxv, para. 2, lines 9 and 13 —For *Kāliyā* read *Kāliya*.

„ lxxvi, para. 4, line 3—For *Sōmēśvara* read *Sōmasvāmin*.

„ lxxvi, para. 5, line 1—Recently a fragmentary stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa III has come to notice at Jabalpur. It opens with a verse in praise of *Chakrapāṇi* (*Vishṇu*). Line 8 of the inscription states that Śaṅkaragaṇa defeated with ease a *Gurjara* king. The latter was probably the *Pratihāra* king *Vijayapāla* whose *Rājōrgaḍh* inscription is dated V. 1016 (959 A. C.). The inscription has been edited by me with a facsimile in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 23 ff.

„ lxxxvii, line 6—Mr. M. Venkataramayya has recently discussed the identification of *Vāchaspati*, the minister of *Kṛishṇa*, mentioned in the *Bhilsā* inscription. *J. O. R.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 56 ff. He identifies this *Kṛishṇa* with the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Kṛishṇa* III and thinks that his minister *Vāchaspati* defeated the *Chēdi* king *Lakshmaṇarāja* II, as the latter had set at nought the authority of the *Rāshtrakūṭas* over *Malwa* and *Lāṭa* in marching across those territories as far as *Sōmanāth Pāṭan*. He further says that these raids of *Lakshmaṇarāja* were undertaken at the instigation of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras*. This view does not appear to be correct. There is no basis for the supposition that the *Rāshtrakūṭas* and the *Kalachuris*, who had been matrimonially connected for several generations, became hostile to each other during the reign of *Lakshmaṇarāja* II. Far from assisting the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* by his raids in *Gujarat* and *Saurashtra*, *Lakshmaṇarāja* II is known to have fought with them. His son *Śaṅkaragaṇa* III continued the hostilities as stated in the preceding note.

- Page lxxxvii, line 8—The Māsēr inscription has since been edited by Mr. M. Venkataramayya in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. He thinks that Narasimha of the Śulki family, who fought with the Kalachuris, held sway over the Bilhāri region. He identifies the territory Viḍa-dvādaśa (Viḍa-12) which he held with the village Viḍā donated by the Kalachuri queen Nōhalā to the god Śiva. Kṛishṇarāja at whose command Narasimha fought against the Kalachuris was, according to Mr. Venkataramayya, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. It is difficult to accept these identifications. Viḍa-12 was probably a fairly large territory. It must have been situated somewhere outside the Kalachuri dominion, and cannot therefore be identified with the small village Viḍā near Bilhāri. Again, the Māsēr inscription shows that Narasimha not only fought with the Kalachuris but killed a Kalachuri king; for he is said to have initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood. Kṛishṇarāja at whose command he did this is not likely to have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, who is known to have married a Kalachuri princess.
- „ xci, para. 1, line 7—*For Mahipāla read Mahīpāla.*
- „ xcv, f. n. 10, line 3—*For the conqueror read to the conqueror.*
- „ xcvi, para. 1, line 14—*For Karṇa read Karṇa.*
- „ xcvi, para. 2, line 2—Two earlier dates of the reign of Kīrtivarman are also known, *viz.*, V. 1132 (1075 A. C.) of the Darbat image inscription (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 183 ff.) and V. 1147 (1090 A. C.) of the Kālāñjar stone inscription (*A. R. A. S. I.* for 1936-37, pp. 92 ff.).
- „ ci, lines 5-6—In the Kudlur plates of Mārasimha II the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III is called *Narapati* (lord of men). So the reference to *Narapati* in Karṇa's title may signify his victory over the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I—Āhavamalla. As stated before (p. xcvi), an Apabhraṃśa verse mentions Karṇa's defeat of Sōmēśvara I's son Vikramāditya VI.
- „ cviii, para. 1, line 2—*For Mahārājakumāra read Mubākumāra.*
- „ cxiii, line 6—*For reign read reigns.*
- „ cxiii, last line—*For Sāmantas read Sāvantas.*
- „ cxvii, f. n. 8—*For जिय read जिये.*
- „ clv, line 10 from the bottom—*For the Māsēr inscription, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. For an examination of the identification of Kṛishṇarāja mentioned in this inscription with the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III proposed by the editor, see above, add. to page lxxxvii, line 8.*
- „ clix, para. 2, line 2—*For bigotted read bigoted.*
- „ clxi, para. 1, line 3—*The complete name of the work is Ashṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā.*
- „ clxxi, para. 1, line 19—*For absolutely read absolutely.*
- „ clxxiii, para. 1, line 4—Since these remarks were drafted, Dr. Raghavan of the Madras University has kindly informed me that he has discovered a MS. of the *Uddītarāghava*. From the extracts of its *Prastāvanā* and *Bharatavākya*, which Dr. Raghavan has favoured me with, it appears that its author was identical with that of the Sanskrit play *Tāpasavatsarāja*. Like the latter work, this MS. gives his name as Mātrarāja *alias* Anaṅgaharsha, the son of Narēndravardhana. How Mātrarāja came to be known as Māyurāja is not known. If Rājasēkhara's statement that he belonged to the Kalachuri family is correct, we have two more names in the Kalachuri genealogy, *viz.*, Narēndravardhana and his son Mātrarāja *alias* Anaṅgaharsha.
- „ clxxiii, f. n. 3—*For बालिवधो read बालिवधो.*
- „ clxxiv, line 1—Another work of Bhīmaṭa named *Manbramā-Vatsarāja* is cited in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, p. 14.
- „ clxxx, line 16 from the bottom—Some Traikūṭaka coins have also been found in the excavations at Maski in the Hyderabad State. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.
- „ clxxxii, line 2—Coins of Kṛishṇarāja have recently been found also at Nandurbār in Khandesh and Bherā-Chāt near Tewar. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.
- „ clxxxv, f. n. 2—*For a detailed examination of Mr. Nath's view about the attribution of these coins, see my article in J. N. S. I., Vol. XV, pp. 208 ff.*

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

- „ 17, para. 4, line 7—*For Bhāradvāja read Bharadvāja.*
- „ 17, para. 6, lines 6 and 9—*For Daśārṇa read Daśapura.*
- „ 18, para. 2, line 7—*For Sejwānik read Sējwāni.*
- „ 18, Text-line 2, —*For —यलका— read —य(यु)लका—*
- „ 20, Text-line 1—*For (1*) substitute [1*].*
- „ 20, Text-line 2—*For (स्वान ?) read [स्वान ?].*

- Page 20, Text-line 12—For (1*) substitute [1*], and for वाचस्पति read वाच (०६) ता.
- „ 21, Translation, para. 1, line 1—For Māhushmati read Māhishmati.
- „ 21, Translation, para. 2, line 4—After offerings insert for (the worship of) the divine Buddha.
- „ 21, Translation, para. 2, line 8—For constructed read made.
- „ 21, f. n. 2 line 2—For Gurjaras read Gurjaras.
- „ 21, f. n. 6, line 1—For ndranga read ndranga.
- „ 21, f. n. 6, line 4—For s-ndranga read s-ndranga.
- „ 22, Title of the record—For PLATE read PLATES.
- „ 22, para. 6, line 5—The word Vākāpaka should be in the Roman type.
- „ 24, f. n. 2—Insert Vol. XVI after J. B. B. R. A. S.
- „ 25, f. n. 1, line 2—For n. 12 read n. 9.
- „ 27, f. n. 11—For परिहीणावहार— read परिहीणावहार—.
- „ 31, Page-title—For 246 read 245.
- „ 31, f. n. 7, lines 2-3—For Suprabhāyāḥ read Suprabhāyāḥ.
- „ 31, f. n. 10, line 2—For diety read deity.
- „ 32, Translation, line 6—Enclose and in round brackets.
- „ 34, line 2—Delete the comma after dātaka, and for Rēvāḍhyaka read Rēvāḍhyaka.
- „ 35, f. n. 9—For पीठि read पीठि.
- „ 36, f. n. 2, lines 4-5—For Yaśōvarman read Yaśōdharman.
- „ 36, f. n. 4, line 1—For councillor read minister.
- „ 36, f. n. 6, line 1—For Nāgarika read Nāgaraka.
- „ 37, line 2, from bottom —For 30 read 90.
- „ 38, para. 3, line 3—For an read a.
- „ 39, para. 1, line 4—Insert a comma after was.
- „ 39, f. n. 2, line 2—For rūp- read rūpa-.
- „ 39, f. n. 3, line 2—For salī-lāṣvādita- read salī-śvādita-.
- „ 39, f. n. 3, line 7—Insert pillar after stone.
- „ 39, f. n. 4, line 6—For prātibhādika read prātibhādikā.
- „ 40, para. 3, line 8—For A. D. read A. C.
- „ 40, f. n. 3, line 4—For A. D. 247-48 read 247-48 A. C.
- „ 41, f. n. 12—For विचयीपुमि- read विचयीपुमि-.
- „ 43, f. n. 9, line 5—For varjja(m) read -varjja[m].
- „ 43, f. n. 10, line 1—For proprietary read proprietary.
- „ 44, line 3—For sākhā read sākhā.
- „ 44, line 16—Delete the comma after lunar.
- „ 44, line 17—For Mahāpīlupati read Mahāpīlupati.
- „ 45, para. 1, line 8, and para. 4, line 7—It seems better to take the name of the village as Śrīparṇakā in stead of Śrī-Paṇṇakā, as suggested by Dr. Chhabra. J. O. R., Vol. XIX, pp. 39 f.
- „ 46, Text-line 4 —For —भोगिक— read —भोगिक—.
- „ 46, Text-line 5—For —स्तह्व(इ)ला— read —स्तह्व(इ)ला—.
- „ 46, Translation, line 14—For Śrī-Paṇṇakā read Śrīparṇakā.
- „ 46, f. n. 15,—Insert Read before भद्रनृपतिभिः.
- „ 47, line 12 from the bottom—For i read i.
- „ 48, f. n. 1, line 2—For Pillay read Pillai.
- „ 48, f. n. 1, line 5—For Epoch des read Epoche der.
- „ 49, line 2—For (vāpaka ?) read (vāpaka ?).
- „ 49, Text-line 14—Put a hyphen after —स्तकल.
- „ 50, Text-line 50—For महि महीयतां read. महि(ही) महीय(म)तां.
- „ 50, f. n. 6—For स्यादिति read —स्यादिति.
- „ 51, line 11—Delete the note-reference 1.
- „ 51, line 21—Insert agnibhātra after vaiśvadeva.
- „ 51, line 2 from the bottom—For well-done read well done.
- „ 53, line 8—Close the bracket after District.
- „ 54, Text-line 6—For ब्रह्मभोगिना— read ब्रह्मभोगिना.
- „ 55, line 6 from the bottom —For Brihannārikā read Bṛhannārikā.
- „ 55, f. n. 6,—For संयुक्तः read —संयुक्तः.
- „ 56, line 2—Insert agnibhātra after vaiśvadeva.

- Page 59, line 6—For 248-49, A. C. read 248-49 A. C.,
 „ 59, f. n. 5—Delete the comma after lines.
 „ 61, Text-line 25—For प्रबुत्त read प्रबुत्त(त्त).
 „ 62, Text-line 47—For नरक read नरके.
 „ 64, f. n. 2,—For (kalā) read kalā.
 „ 65, para. 2, line 3, and f. n. 6, lines 3-4—For Chāturvēdins read Chaturvēdins.
 „ 66, para. 1, line 5—For lovely a read lovely as.
 „ 66, f. n. 1, line 1—For charaṇaṣ read charaṇaṣ.
 „ 66, f. n. 1, line 2—For gōra read gōra.
 „ 66, f. n. 1, line 3—For Kauthum read Kauthuma.
 „ 66, f. n. 2, line 1—For Iśvara read Iśvara.
 „ 67, para. 2, line 1—Insert a comma after plates.
 „ 67, para. 3, line 7—For rūp-ānurūpam read rūp-ānurūpam.
 „ 67, para. 3, line 14—For jibvāmūliya read jibvāmūliya.
 „ 70, f. n. 10—For बलुस्त्रिंशद्भयो- read -बलुस्त्रिंशद्भयो-
 „ 71, Text-line 49—Delete the visarga after [वृ].
 „ 71, line 12 from the bottom—For udranga read udrāṅga.
 „ 71, f. n. 1 For विल(म)बा- read -विल(म)बा-
 „ 72, line 19—Insert a comma after District.
 „ 73, para. 3, line 14—For Mātribhaṭa read Mātribhaṭa.
 „ 75, line 3—Insert (and) 1 after 90.
 „ 75, line 14—Insert a comma after District.
 „ 76, para. 4, line 1—Insert a comma after Nāndipura.
 „ 76, para. 4, line 3—For Malwā read Malwa.
 „ 77, f. n. 8—For Read. अन्यैर्वागमि- read Read -रन्यैर्वागमि-
 „ 78, Translation, line 9—After Suvarṇārapallī insert and the junction with (the boundary of) the village Aṣṭavīpāṣaka.
 „ 78, Translation, line 16—For Dāśapura read Daśapura.
 „ 80, f. n. 10, line 1 —Insert a comma after which.
 „ 80, f. n. 12—For विमवा- read -विमवा-
 „ 81, Translation, para. 1, line 6—For Sāka read Śāka.
 „ 81, Translation, para. 1, line 7—For Sālmālī read Śālmālī.
 „ 82, para. 2, line 1—Insert a comma after copper-plates.
 „ 82, para. 2, line 9—Delete the comma after seal.
 „ 82, para. 3, line 9—Insert a before curve.
 „ 82, para. 3, lines 13—14—For Nāgarī read Nāgarī.
 „ 83, para. 4, line 2—For great-grand-father read great-grandfather.
 „ 84 f. n. 2, lines 4 and 6—For A. D. read A. C.
 „ 84, f. n. 8, line 2—For in 'Kārwan read 'in Kārwan.
 „ 85, Text-line 7—For -वगुष्ठित- read -वगुष्ठित- and add a hyphen after -स्तस्यात्म.
 „ 87, f. n. 2—For square read rectangular.
 „ 88, para. 3, line 4—For full-moon read full moon.
 „ 88, para. 3, line 11—For the Mahattaras and read and the Mahattaras of.
 „ 89, line 14—Enclose now in round brackets.
 „ 89, line 15—For Chāturvēdins read Chaturvēdins.
 „ 90, para. 2, line 1—Insert a comma after copper-plates.
 „ 92, line 1—Insert a comma after 460.
 „ 92, para. 1, line 7—Insert the before Karjan.
 „ 94, Text-line 23—Delete the visarga after करिल्लिणी.
 „ 94, Text-line 31—Insert a visarga after कर्षयत्.
 „ 95, line 7 from the bottom—For definḍ read defined.
 „ 96, line 1—For Brāhamāṇa read Brāhmaṇa.
 „ 97, para. 2, line 6—For kṛishṇa- read kṛishṇa-
 „ 99, Text-line 7 —For -रजित(न)- read -रजित(त)-
 „ 99, f. n. 7—Add a hyphen after -स्तारिब.
 „ 100, Text-line 17—For व्याषेवे read व्याषे(से)वे.
 „ 100, Text-line 24—For तुष्टये read वतुष्टये.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(xxv)

- Page 101, Translation, para. 1, line 8—*Close the bracket after night.*
- „ 101, Translation, para. 4, line 3—*For king read kings.*
- „ 101, f. n. 1—*For tithi read tithi.*
- „ 106, Text-line 16—*For शिवर read शिवर.*
- „ 107, Text-line 41—*For युजतः read युजतः.*
- „ 107, Text-line 30—*For संखत् read संख (व)त्.*
- „ 110, f. n. 1—*For Medieval read Medieval.*
- „ 111, para. 1, line 9—*For new moon read new-moon.*
- „ 111, f. n. 2—*For chakshu-bhūṭaḥ read chakshu-bhūṭaḥ.*
- „ 111, f. n. 6, line 4—*For No. 19 read No. 29.*
- „ 111, f. n. 6, line 11—*For n. 41 read n. 4.*
- „ 111, f. n. 7—I have recently noticed that a facsimile of the record was published in Vol. II of the same monthly *Prabhāta*. I have edited the record in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX from that facsimile.
- „ 112, para. 2, line 11—*For Vikarma read Vikrama, and for as with often as read as often as.*
- „ 113, Text-line 18—*For निकृन्नाल्लक्ष्मि read निकृन्नाल्लक्ष्मि.*
- „ 114, Text-line 21—*For [व]र्णनदि (दी) read [व]र्णनदि (दी).*
- „ 115, Page-title—*For YEAR 204 read YEAR 404.*
- „ 115, f. n. 6, line 1—*For Sōṭā's read Sōṭā's.*
- „ 116, line 4—*Delete the bracket after worshipped and insert it after gods.*
- „ 116, para. 1, line 2—*Enclose bis in round brackets.*
- „ 117, para. 3, line 19—*For -dbikarik- read -dbikarik-.*
- „ 117, para. 3, line 20—*For -k̄arik-adin read -k̄arik-ādīn.*
- „ 119, f. n. 7—*For सेन्द्रकराजान- read सेन्द्रकराजाना-.*
- „ 120, Text-line 13—*For यथा स (सं) वध्य- read यथास (सं) वध्य-.*
- „ 120, Text-line 18—*For ट[ट]युक्तक- read ट[ट]युक्तक-.*
- „ 122, line 2—*Substitute a semicolon for the comma after intellect.*
- „ 122, para. 1, line 2—*For full moon read full-moon.*
- „ 124, para. 2, line 6—*For 429 read 421.*
- „ 127, line 17—*Insert a comma after Nasik.*
- „ 129, f. n. 3—*For occurring read occurring.*
- „ 131, f. n. 1, line 1—*For Allasakti read Allasakti.*
- „ 133, para. 4, line 1—*For ll. 36-3 read ll. 36-37.*
- „ 135, Text-line 28—*For चववर्षाणि read चववर्षाणि.*
- „ 136, line 8—*Insert Satyāśraya before Pulakēśivallabha (II).*
- „ 137, Translation of line 36—*For forty three read forty-three.*
- „ 138, line 14—*Delete the semicolon after in.*
- „ 138, line 16—*For Prithivī read Prithivī.*
- „ 139, para. 1, line 7—*For 737 A. C. read 739 A. C.*
- „ 139, para. 2, line 4—*For the Brāhmaṇa Govindaḥ Kāśhaja read the Dvīśa Brāhmaṇa Kāśhaja, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Govindaḥ.*
- „ 141, Text-line 35—*Add a hyphen after विष.*
- „ 143, para. 3, line 6—*For whole-world read whole world.*
- „ 144, line 3—*Delete the note reference 2.*
- „ 144, line 20—*For the note reference 1 read 2.*
- „ 144, para. 2, line 3—*For Mahākārttikā read Mahākārttikā. After Mahākārttikā, insert for the performance of bali, chāra, vailvādya, agnibōtra and other rites.*
- „ 144, f. n. 2—*For p. 143 read line 1.*
- „ 147, para. 2, lines 6-7—*For Simhavarmarāja read Simhavarmarāja.*
- „ 147, f. n. 2—*For arc read is.*
- „ 148, para. 1, line 3—*For Vikramāditya read Vikramāditya, and for grand-father read grandfather.*
- „ 148, f. n. 2, line 3—*Insert) after pp. 304 ff.*
- „ 148, f. n. 2, line 5—*For Durgādēvi read Durgādēvi.*
- „ 149, line 2—*Insert a comma after Trikūṭa and the Traikūṭakas.*
- „ 149, line 8—*Insert a comma after Mairikā.*
- „ 151, Text-line 39—*Insert [*] after कर्त्त १००, and delete that after विषये.*
- „ 151, Text-line 39—*For स्व (स्व) read स्व (स्व).*
- „ 152, f. n. 2—*Insert a comma after at first.*

Page 153, line 17—Delete the comma after (and).

„ 153, f. n. 4—*Kāvira* may be the fee of registration. See Introduction, p. cxlii.

„ 154, Translation of line 54—After sixty-one insert 400 (and) 60 (and) 1.

„ 154, Translation of lines 56 ff., line 6—For rupees read *rūpakas*.

„ 155, para. 3, line 6—For *Simharāja* read *Simhavarmarāja*.

„ 156, f. n. 3, line 1—For *kumāri* read *kumārī*.

„ 157, Text-line 9—For *सहस्र* read *सहस्र*.

„ 158, Text-line 33—For *इतिज्ञाति* read *इतिज्ञाति (इ)*.

„ 158, Translation of line 28, line 1—For *Bhōgaśakti* read *Bhōgaśakti*.

„ 158, Translation of line 29, line 3—For *Ambēyapallikā* read *Ambayapallikā*.

„ 158, f. n. 11—*Umura-bhāda* in Text-line 33 is probably identical with *umura-bhāda* which occurs in the expression *उम्बरभेदो न करणीयो राजपुरुषेण* in the grant of Vishnushēpa, dated V. 649. See P. T. A. I. O. C., Vol. XV, p. 272. It probably means the forcible breaking of a house-door. *Umura* is probably the same as Marathi *umbarā* meaning a threshold. The intended meaning seems to be that the royal officers were forbidden to break open the doors of houses for the recovery of stolen property in the resettled village.

„ 162, para. 1, line 7—For *Kalpaumam* read *Kalpalumam*.

„ 163, line 1—For G. 403 (724-25 A. C.) read G. 403 (723-24 A. C.).

„ 163, line 7—For *Māṅkaṇi plates* read *Māṅkaṇikā grant*.

„ 163, Text-line 1—For *निष्पष्ट* read *निष्पष्ट*.

„ 164, f. n. 14—For *पट्टचत्वारिंश* read *पट्टचत्वारिंश*.

„ 167, para. 1, line 12—Insert a comma after issued.

„ 168, para. 1, line 17—Insert a comma after is.

„ 168, f. n. 1—For *Ibid.* read *Bom. Gaz.*

„ 169, Text-line 9—For *विषयान्तर्गत सन्धियर* read *विषयान्तर्गतसन्धियर*.

„ 172, para. 1, line 12—For *lévara* read *lévara*.

„ 172, para. 1, line 23—For *Narman* read *Narman*.

„ 174, para 3, line 4—For stone inscription read stone pillar inscription.

„ 174, f. n. 6, line 2—For *Vāmorājadhva* read *Vāmarājadhva*.

„ 175, line 8—Insert a comma after *Dēuka* and delete that after king.

„ 175, Translation, para. 2, line 1—Insert a comma after *Dēuka*.

„ 176, Title of the Inscription—Insert **PILLAR** after **STONE**.

„ 176, para. 1, line 8—Insert a comma after remarked and for what read What.

„ 176, f. n. 4—For pp. 17 ff. read pp. 170 ff.

„ 177, Page-title—For **SANKARGANA** read **SANKARAGANA I**.

„ 178, line 6 from the bottom—Delete the comma after *Lakshmaṇarāja II*.

„ 179, line 4—For right hand-side read right-hand side.

„ 179, para. 3, line 10—For someone read some one.

„ 180, line 25—For grand-father read grandfather.

„ 181, f. n. 4—For *Archæological* read *Archæological*.

„ 182, Translation of lines 11-12—For *Śrutis* read *Śruti*.

„ 184, Translation, line 3—For was read is.

„ 185, Translation, line 6—For (Lines 6-7) read (Lines 7-8).

„ 185, line 18—After No. 41 add (No Plate).

„ 185, para. 2 from the bottom, line 1—Insert a comma after alphabet and delete that after closely.

„ 187, para. 1, line 6—For *jibvāmūliya* read *jibvāmūliya*.

„ 189, Text-line 8—For *तीर्थिके* read *तीर्थिके*.

„ 189, Text-line 11—For *बणिमिहूकर* read *बणिमिहूकर*.

„ 190, f. n. 2—Delete the comma after admitted.

„ 193, Translation of v. 19, line 4—For straight-forward read straightforward.

„ 193, Translation of v. 20, line 2—Insert a comma after front.

„ 193, Translation of v. 20, line 3—For gods read demons.

„ 193, f. n. 1—After a sacrificial ladle in general, insert including *jubū* made of palāśa, *upabhrīṣ* of aśvattha and *dhrauvā* of vikankata.

„ 195, Translation of v. 39, line 2—For *karsha* read *karshas*.

„ 195, line 2 from the bottom—For consists read consists.

„ 196, line 4 from the bottom—For *Kēsari* read *Kēsarin*.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(xxvii)

- Page 196, line 11—For *vrabma-stamba* read *vrabma-stampa*.
- „ 196, line 8 from the bottom—The Māser inscription has since been edited by Mr. Venkataramayya in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. For an examination of the identification of Kṛishṇa mentioned in that record with Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III proposed by him, see above, *add.* to p. lxxvii.
- „ 196, line 5 from the bottom—For Kalachuri kings read a Kalachuri king.
- „ 196, f. n. 1, line 1—For *simhābhayaṣa* read *Simhābhayaṣa*.
- „ 198, line 2—For Siva read Śiva.
- „ 199, para. 4, line 5—Insert a comma after ruins.
- „ 201, Text-line 23—For ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे read ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे.
- „ 202, f. n. line 3—For *dikā-bhāsa* read *dikā-bhāsa*.
- „ 204, line 14—For (V. 19) read (V. 20).
- „ 204, line 15—Delete the mark of interjection after letters.
- „ 206, para. 2, line 5—For *Vikaramāṅka* read *Vikramāṅka*.
- „ 206, para. 2, line 13—For Simhavarman read Simhavarman.
- „ 206, para. 4, line 7—For king of Avantī read king Avantī.
- „ 206, para. 4, line 8—For Śabdaśiva in two places read Sadāśiva.
- „ 208, f. n. 1, line 2—For Lakṣhmaṇasēna read Lakṣhmaṇasēna.
- „ 209, Text-line 1—For व[स्वि]ल्लेख read व[स्वि]ल्लेख.
- „ 209, Text-line 4—For सोमामिधानतिस्तलकयति read सोमामिधानतिस्तलकयति. Insert a hyphen after प्रोचल्लुक्वा—(ज्वा).
- „ 210, Text-line 7—Insert a hyphen after प्रचयितौ and after कालाह(द्व).
- „ 211, Text-line 13—Delete the visarga after कोपः.
- „ 211, Text-line 14—For -द्वौदलधिया- read -द्वौदलधिया.
- „ 212, Text-line 15—For यत् read यत्.
- „ 212, Text-line 16—For यत्: [३७॥*] read [३७॥*] यत्:, and for मरुद्गणानां read मरुद्गणानां.
- „ 212, Text-line 18—For -स्तस्यामूद्- read -स्तस्यामूद्.
- „ 213, f. n. 3—For तरु read तरु.
- „ 216, f. n. 2, line 1—For *avyāhat-iccham* read *avyāhat-iccham*.
- „ 217, Translation of v. 18, line 2—Insert more before exalted.
- „ 217, f. n. 1, line 3—For killed read conquered.
- „ 218, Translation of v. 24—For polity read policy.
- „ 218, Translation of v. 28, line 2—Insert a comma after tage.
- „ 218, f. n. 3, line 1—For good conduct read prudent behaviour.
- „ 220, Translation of v. 46, line 2—For *Lakṣhmaparāja* read *Lakṣhmaparāja*.
- „ 223, Translation of v. 80, line 2—For by every measurer read on every measure.
- „ 223, f. n. 2, line 2—For pavillion read pavilion.
- „ 223, f. n. 7, line 3—For *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 221 read *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 221.
- „ 223, f. n. 9, line 2—For *Pātaka* read *Pātaka*.
- „ 224, Translation of v. 85—*Pūrvā* in this verse may have the sense of *prastā* as suggested by Dr. Chhabra. *Sarāpa-Bhāṣā*, p. 22. He translates the second half of this verse as follows:—“May this composition—this fame; this eulogy—endure as long as the creation.” I do not agree with Dr. Chhabra that all the three words *kṛiti*, *kīrti* and *pūrvā* in this verse refer to the eulogy. *Kṛiti* probably refers to the composition of Śiruka, *kīrti* to the temple of Nōhalēśvara, and *pūrvā* to the eulogy of the Kalachuri princes.
- „ 225, para. 1, line 9—For *samadbayā* read *samadbayā*.
- „ 225, f. n. 4, line 2—For from read form.
- „ 226, para. 2, line 10—For *Ponḍik* read *Pōṇḍikā*.
- „ 226, para. 2, line 20—Insert a comma after mentioned and Prabōdhaśiva.
- „ 227, f. n. 9—For tw oversees read two verses.
- „ 228, Text-line 15—For -बैला[लो]क्य- read -बैला[लो]क्य-.
- „ 229, Text-line 38—For व[ल्लिल] read व[ल्लिल]-.
- „ 233, Translation of vv. 36-37—Insert a comma after Sārasaḍōllaka.
- „ 233, Translation of vv. 38-40, line 3—For *Siddhāntas* read *Siddhāntas*.
- „ 233, Translation of v. 42—For the Śiva read (the god) Śiva.
- „ 233, Translation of v. 44, line 1—For Madu read Madhu.
- „ 233, Translation of v. 46—For artist read artisan.
- „ 236, para. 3, line 1—Insert a comma after Wilford.

Page 237, para. 2, line 12—For *I* read *i*.

„ 237, para. 2, line 21—For *kim=v=aparṇa* read *kim=v:āparṇa*.

„ 238, line 10—On further consideration I think it more likely that this Śrī-Harsha is the Guhila prince of that name who was a contemporary of the Pratihāra Bhōja I. See Introduction, p. lxxv.

„ 241, line 2—Insert a comma after Banaras.

„ 242, Text-line 14—Delete the *visarga* after (हर्षः).

„ 242, f. n. 9—For *are* read *is*.

„ 242, Text-line 19—For जनना read जनता.

„ 243, Text-line 23—Insert a hyphen after ज(य).

„ 243, Text-line 24—For कुलधेनरपतिषि भ read कुलनरपतियिषेभ.

„ 243, f. n. 9—For *danda* read *dapda*.

„ 244, Text-line 39—For प्रन(ण)ने read प्रन(ण)न्ने.

„ 245, Text-line 41—For विहवाय read विधाय.

„ 245, Text-line 47—For वा प्रतिमानि read वान्तप्रतिमानि.

„ 245, f. n. contd. from last page—For प्रतिसावत्सरिकभाद्रा read प्रतिसावत्सरिकभाद्र.

„ 248, Translation of v. 23, line 1—For *Gāṅgēyadēva* read *Gāṅgēyadēva*.

„ 248, Translation of v. 23, line 2—Substitute a semicolon for the comma after Kōkalladēva (II).

„ 248, f. n. 1, line 1—Insert a semicolon after here.

„ 249, para. 3, line 3—Substitute a comma for the full point after place.

„ 249, f. n. 20—For Audāla read Audala.

„ 251, Page-title—Insert PILLAR after STONE.

„ 251, Text-line 5—For न्या[वे]* read न्या[वे*].

„ 251, f. n. 8, line 1—For भक्तयात्र read भक्त्यात्र.

„ 251, f. n. 16, line 2—For *ta* read *tā* and for प्रसादात् read प्रसादात्.

„ 253, line 4—For *ebb* read *ebba*.

„ 253, para. 1, line 12—For *grāmaṇi* read *grāmaṇi*.

„ 253, para. 1, line 18—For *pūṭhara* read *pūṭhāra*.

„ 254, para. 3, line 8—For full moon *tithi* read full-moon *tithi*.

„ 254, f. n. 5—Insert a comma after 1030 A. C.

„ 256, Text-line 16—For योगभाजा read योगभाजा.

„ 256, Text-line 17—For स्फुटित read स्फुटितं.

„ 257, Text-line 21—For मेक व्याजेन— read मेकव्याजेन.

„ 258, Text-line 31—For स्फुरद्वोषणा: read स्फुरद्वोषणाः.

„ 258, Text-line 34—Delete पति after माहेस्वर.

„ 260, Translation of v. 14, line 4—For of Indra read to Indra.

„ 261, Translation of v. 17, line 2—Insert a comma after Aṅga.

„ 262, Translation of v. 27, line 3—For enemy's read enemy's.

„ 262, Translation of Line 33, line 11—Insert in before the village.

„ 264, f. n. 3, line 2—For *Kācharasya* read *-kīmkarasya*.

„ 268, f. n. 1, line 3—For note worthy read noteworthy.

„ 268, f. n. 2, line 1—For *Śrāvasti* read *Śrāvasti*.

„ 269, Text-line 9—For आक्रम— read आक्रम—.

„ 270, f. n. 11, line 1—For यस्मिन्सुखकप्रभव read यस्मिन्सुखैकप्रभवै.

„ 274, Translation of v. 38, line 2—For *Kēyastha* read *Kāyastha*.

„ 277, f. n. 12—For —मुप्तावाशीवाद read —मुप्तावाशीवाद—.

„ 280, para. 3, line 6—For Gujoerat read Gujarat.

„ 280, f. n. 3—For also read above.

„ 282, Text-line 16—For (सान्त): read (सान्तः).

„ 282, f. n. 3—Omit Read स्वयं.

„ 283, f. n. 2—For *Upajāti* read *Upajāti*.

„ 284, Translation of v. 8, line 2—Insert a comma after father.

„ 286, Text-line 5—For (सौ) read (सौ).

„ 287, Text-line 11—For प्रता[पे]नावि— read प्रता[पे]नारि—.

„ 287, Text-line 19—For स्तधुना read स्तदधुना.

„ 288, line 18—Insert a comma after inscription.

„ 289, 291, 293, 295, and 297, Page-title—For PLATE read PLATES.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(xxix)

- Page 289, last para., line 3—For *li* read *lri*.
 „ 289, last para., line 6—For *klipta* read *klipta*.
 „ 290, f. n. 3—For *Kāśi* read *Kāśī*.
 „ 291, para. 2, line 1—For *Yasābhakarapa* read *Yasābhakarpa*.
 „ 292, f. n. 3, line 2—Insert a comma after *however*.
 „ 292, f. n. 3, line 3—Insert a comma after *Gaṅgā*.
 „ 293, f. n. 6, line 3—For *—विपरायः* read *—विपराय*.
 „ 298, Translation of v. 13, line 1—Insert the *before* *Kalachuria*.
 „ 298, f. n. 9, line 2—For *Kāśyapa* read *Kāśyapā*.
 „ 301, para. 3, line 4—Insert to *before* 1078-79 A. C.
 „ 302, para. 2, line 3 from the bottom—Delete the note reference 5.
 „ 302, f. n. 3, line 1—For *हेमाकि*— read *हेमाकि*—.
 „ 304, f. n. 6—For *danda* read *danda*.
 „ 304, f. n. 15, line 3—For p. 19 read l. 19.
 „ 307, f. n. 10—For *Sālini* read *Sālinī*.
 „ 308, f. n. 5, line 1—For *matrī* read *matrī*.
 „ 310, line 7—For the *Chandrakara Āchārya* read the *Āchārya Chandrakara*.
 „ 311, Translation of C, para. 4, line 3—For the holy *Chandrakara Āchārya* read the holy *Āchārya Chandrakara*.
 „ 311, Text-line 3—For *संजय* read *संजय*—.
 „ 311, Translation of C, para. 3, line 1—For *Śrēṣṭhi* read *Śrēṣṭhi*, and for *him* read *him*.
 „ 311, f. n. 4—Insert a comma after *akṣaras*.
 „ 311, f. n. 8—For n. 3 read n. 2.
 „ 311, f. n. 9—Add n. 3 after *Loc. cit.*
 „ 312, para. 2, line 3 from the bottom—For *śapāla* read *śapāla*.
 „ 313, para. 2, line 3—For *Gāṅgēyadēva* read *Gāṅgēyadēva*.
 „ 313, f. n. 2—For *Mahidhara* read *Dharaṇidhara*.
 „ 314, para. 1, line 4—For *Godavari* read *Gōdāvari*.
 „ 315, Text-line 3—For *पुसा* read *पुसा*.
 „ 316, Text-line 21—For *व(व)पुप*— read *व(व)पुप*—.
 „ 318, f. n. 5—For *Brahmāṇḍa* read *Brahmāṇḍa*.
 „ 322, Text-line 8—For *वीव(व)सल्लस*— read *वीव(व)सल्लस*—.
 „ 323, para. 4, line 4—For 28 miles read 36 miles.
 „ 323, f. n. 2—For *Bhāgīrathi* read *Bhāgīrathī*.
 „ 324, f. n. 3—For *तदास्मिका*— read *तदास्मिका*—.
 „ 326, line 3 from the bottom—For *date* read *day*.
 „ 326, f. n. 3—For *des* read *der*.
 „ 326, f. n. 4—For *Pṛithvidēva* read *Pṛithvidēva* II.
 „ 327, Text-line 6—For *पुसि* read *पुसि*.
 „ 330, Translation of L. 25, line 3—Insert at *Tripurī* after in the *Rēvā*.
 „ 333, para. 1, line 6—Insert a comma after *Jayasimha*.
 „ 333, para. 2, line 4—For *Nannadēva* read *Nāmadēva*.
 „ 334, Text-line 8—For *—स्तीर्व* read *—स्तीर्व*.
 „ 336, Text-line 24—For *समकरोल्लोका*— read *समकरोल्लोका*—.
 „ 341, line 2—For *sons'* read *son's*.
 „ 343, Text-line 12—For *—मापयन्त*— read *—मापयन्त*—.
 „ 343—For the text-line number 81 read 18.
 „ 343, para. 5, line 1—For *Sūkhā* read *Sūkhā*.
 „ 346, Translation, line 2 from the bottom—For *Kēsāva* read *Kēśava*.
 „ 346, line 3 from the bottom—For *li* read *lri* and for *prahlipta* read *prahlipta*.
 „ 346, f. n. 4, line 2—Delete p. 295.
 „ 347, line 14—For *darlaṇṭ* read *darlaṇṭ*.
 „ 347, line 19—For *girāṇ* read *girāṇ*.
 „ 347, line 20—For *Vijayasimhadēva* read *Vijayasimhadēva*.
 „ 347, f. n. 3, line 3—For *Chandrasimbh* read *Chandrasimbh*.
 „ 348, para. 1, line 6—For *tanthakas* read *panthakas*.
 „ 348, para. 3, lines 6—7—For *councillor* read *counsellor*.

- Page 348, line 2 from the bottom—For inscriptions *read* inscription.
 „ 349, line 1—For numerical symbols *read* numerical figures.
 „ 349, para. 2, line 8—For Vikarma *read* Vikrama.
 „ 350, f. n. 2, line 2—For *Yājñavalkya-smṛitii* *read* *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*.
 „ 350, f. n. 14—For चित्त्य *read* चित्त्यं.
 „ 351, Text-line 11—For बिलसितुं *read* बिलसितुं.
 „ 353, Text-line 25—For मूर्ध्नि *read* मूर्ध्नि.
 „ 355, Translation of verse 20, line 4—Delete the comma after confidence and insert it after prowess.
 „ 356, Translation of v. 29, line 1—For Rāmasinhha *read* Raṇasinhha.
 „ 359, line 17—Delete the comma after consonants.
 „ 360, para. 1, line 4—For paravaras *read* pravaras.
 „ 360, para. 2, line 1—Insert of after the date.
 „ 362, Translation of L. 2, line 5—For Vāmādēva *read* Vāmadēva.
 „ 362, f. n. 13—For also occurs *read* occurs also.
 „ 362, f. n. 15, line 1—Insert a comma after Bhārati.
 „ 363, Translation, para 2, line 2—For mahatubda *read* mahātubda.
 „ 364, f. n. 9—For or one of her sons *read* her son or grandson.
 „ 365, line 5 from the bottom—For the semicolon after predecessors *substitute* a comma.
 „ 366, f. n. 11—For कोटपाल *read* महाकोटपाल.
 „ 367, Text-line 17—Insert the note reference 2 after [१*][६][x] and delete that after [म*].
 „ 368, para. 3, line 5—Insert a comma after Cunningham.
 „ 369, line 11 from the bottom—Insert a comma after Rewa.
 „ 370, para. 2, line 8—For Alaura *read* Alaurā.
 „ 371, Text-line 5—Insert a hyphen after विराजमान.
 „ 372, f. n. 10—For यावद्विरण्यं *read* यावद्विरण्यं.
 „ 374, f. n. 2—For Alaura *read* Alaurā.

PLATES

Plate XXVIII, Title—For Spurious Plates *read* Spurious Kaira Plates.

„ XXIX B, Title—For Stone Inscription *read* Stone Pillar Inscription.

For Bargaon Temple Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXII, *read* Bargaon Stone Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXIII.

INTRODUCTION

THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

ALTHOUGH some of the inscriptions dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era were discovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was not suspected till about half a century later that their dates must be referred to an era different from the Vikrama and Saka eras which were then current in different parts of India, or from the Gupta era which had become known from inscriptions. For instance, the date of the Banaras plates of Karna discovered in 1801, which was evidently misread by Captain Wilford, was taken by him to correspond to 192 A. C.¹ The date *Samvat* 932 of the Kumbhi plates published in 1839² was referred by the editors of the grant to the Vikrama *Samvat* and taken to be equivalent to 876 A. C.³ The Kanbēri plate was discovered by Dr. Bird in 1839, but the earliest attempt to date it approximately was that of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, who, on considerations of palaeography, referred the inscription to about the sixth century A. C.⁴ But he then made no conjecture about the era to which its date 245 should be referred, beyond stating that it could not be the same as that employed by the Kshatrapas, as the characters on their coins are of a much earlier type, and that it could not be the Gupta era in the absence of such expressions as *Gupta-kāla*, *Guptasya kāla*, *Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhukti* or *Sam*. Dr. Burgess, however, in a note on Bhagvanlal's article observed as follows: "From the form of the characters, I incline to think that this inscription may be dated in the Gupta era; the Trikuṭakas, like the Valabhi Sēnāpatīs, may have continued to use the Gupta era on assuming independence; or it may have been adopted from Gujarat."⁵ The first and approximately correct conjecture about the epoch of the era was made in 1859 by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall in his article on the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, dated *Samvat* 907, and the Tewar inscription of Jayasimhadēva, dated *Samvat* 928.⁶ Finding that Alhaṇadēvi was mentioned in the former inscription as the grand-daughter of Udayāditya, Dr. Hall conjectured that she might have been born about 1100 A. C., as her grandfather Udayāditya, who reigned between Bhōja (*circa* 1050 A. C.) and Naravarman (1104 A. C.), might have flourished about 1075 A. C. Now, Alhaṇadēvi's sons, Narasimha and Jayasimha, were reigning in the years 907 and 928 respectively, and her great-grandson was a minor⁷ in the year 932 of an unspecified era. Dr. Hall, therefore, thought that her birth might have taken place about the year 850 of the era to which the aforementioned dates

¹ A. R., Vol. IX, p. 108. On this General Cunningham remarked, "I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193; and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plate, as he states, 'the grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192'." C. A. S. I. B. Vol. IX, p. 82.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

⁴ I. C. T. W. I. (A. S. W. I., No. 10), p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59, n. 2.

⁶ J. A. O. S., Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

⁷ The Kumbhi plates, dated K. 932 (Appendix, No. 4), record a grant made by Gōsaladēvi, mother of Vijayasimha, not his wife as Hall wrongly stated. Again, the grant was made by Gōsaladēvi during the reign of her son Vijayasimha and with his consent as explicitly stated therein. It was not made by her for her minor son Ajayasimha as Hall thought. Among the persons to whom the royal order is addressed is mentioned *Mahāsamudra* Ajayasimha. He had not ascended the throne then, but there is nothing to show that he was a minor at the time.

refer. He thus suggested that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about 250 A. C. He had no doubt that the numbers did not refer either to the era of Śālivāhana or to that of Vikramāditya. But he left it an open question whether the era was that of Valabhī with some epoch other than 319 A. C., or some other era till then unknown.

In 1878, Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VII, that he had found, among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces in 1873-74, two¹ which were actually dated in the *Chēdi Samvatsara*, and two others² in the *Kalachuri Samvat*. He identified the two eras, as 'the princes of Chēdi were of the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya tribe.' He further stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in 249 A. C., the year 250 A. C. being the year 1 of the Chēdi Samvat.

In his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. IX (A tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75), pp. 111 ff., Cunningham reiterated his conclusion that 249 A. C. was the initial point of the Chēdi or Kalachuri Samvat, the year 250 being the year 1 of the era, 'the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years, in the same way as a person's age is reckoned.' He then gave details of the aforementioned eight dates together with the corresponding week-days obtained by calculation in the following form³ :—

Chēdi Samvat	A. C.	Month and day	Calculated Weekday
793	1042	Phālguna vadi 9, Monday	.. Sunday
896	1145	Māgha sudi 8, Wednesday	.. *Wednesday
898	1147	Āsvina sudi 7, Monday	.. Saturday
902	1151	Āshāḍha sudi 1, Sunday	.. *Sunday
907	1156	Mārgaśīras sudi 11, Sunday	.. *Sunday
909	1158	Śrāvaṇa sudi 5, Wednesday	.. Thursday
928	1177	Śrāvaṇa sudi 6, Sunday	.. Monday
928	1177	Māgha vadi 10, Monday	.. *Monday

Cunningham's calculations did not yield quite satisfactory results, as only in four out of the above eight cases⁴ the dates were found to be regular. In three other cases, the dates agreed within one day—an amount of deviation which, he thought, was not uncommon in Hindu dates. Cunningham's calculations are not, however, found to be correct in all cases⁵. Even with his epoch, the first date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th January, 1042 A. C., and the sixth, for intercalary Śrāvaṇa, to Wednesday, the 2nd July, 1158 A. C.⁶ Secondly, in order to get the corresponding year of the Christian era, he added

¹ These were Nos. 98 and 100.

² See Nos. 87 and 88.

³ I give the names of months *etc.* in this table as we should spell them now.

⁴ They are starred in the table given above.

⁵ On p. 86 of the same Volume (IX) Cunningham, says, "By calculation, also, I find that in the year 1041 A. D. or 793 of the Chēdi Samvat, according to this reckoning, the 9th day of *Phālgun vadī* was a Monday."

⁶ Cunningham seems to have taken the month to be *nija* Śrāvaṇa; for, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *nija* Śrāvaṇa commenced 5 h. 20 m. on Thursday.

249 to the Chēdi date in all cases, whether the latter fell in Ashāḍha or in Phālguna, as if the Chēdi year completely coincided with the Christian year. Thirdly, he took all dates without exception to be in expired years. As regards the general correctness of Cunningham's epoch, however, there was no doubt; for, the dates he assigned to the Kalachuri kings on its basis were generally corroborated by the synchronisms known from the inscriptions of the Kalachuri, Rāshtrakūṭa, Chālukya, Paramāra and Pratihāra dynasties.¹ In the Introduction (pp. vii-viii) to the same volume, Cunningham adduced further evidence to support his conclusion about the epoch of the era. He pointed out that Abū Rihān,² writing about 1030-31 A. C., referred to Gāṅgēya as a contemporary king of Dāhala and that from his *Vikramādhikācharita* Bīlhaṇa seemed to have resided at the court of Rājā Karna of Dāhala from 1070 A. C. to 1073 A. C. These dates, he showed, agreed with the approximate periods which he had assigned to the Kalachuri kings by the genealogical reckoning of his chronology.

In the meanwhile, some inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty were discovered in Western India. The dates *Samvat* 380 and 383 of two of them, *viṣ.*, the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda II,³ were at first referred to the Vikrama era; but after the discovery of a third grant, *viṣ.*, the Ilao plates of Dadda-Prasāntarāja⁴, which was explicitly dated in the year 417 of the Saka era, the dates of the aforementioned two Kairā grants and also the date 486 of the odd Kāvī plate⁵ of Jayabhata subsequently discovered, in all of which the era was unspecified, were referred to the Saka era.

In 1884, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji published the Navsāri grant of Jayabhata (III),⁶ dated Monday or Tuesday, the full-moon day of Māgha, *Samvat* 436, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. This grant mentions in connection with Dadda, the great-grandfather of the donor Jayabhata, that he protected a prince of Valabhi against the Emperor (*Paramāśvara*) Śrī-Harshadēva. Dr. Bhagvanlal naturally identified the latter with Harshavardhana of Thānēśvar and Kanauj, who ruled from 606 A. C. to 648 A. C. As Dadda, the first prince mentioned in the Navsāri grant, was thus proved to have flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. C., it was clear that the date 436 of the Navsāri grant of that Dadda's great-grandson Jayabhata could not be referred to the Saka era. Dr. Bhagvanlal had again obtained four other grants of the Chālukya dynasty discovered in Gujarat, two of which, made by Śrīśraya-Silāditya, were found to be dated in *Samvat* 421 and 423, the third, made by Maṅgalarāja, in *Saka* 633, and the fourth, by Pulakēśivallabha Janāśraya, in *Samvat* 490. From the genealogical portions of these grants it was clear that all these princes were sons of Jayasimhavarman, who was himself a son of Pulakēśin II, the famous king of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. From these data Dr. Bhagvanlal concluded that the dates 436 and 486 of the Gurjara grants and 421, 443 and 490 of the Chālukya grants referred to an era, different from the Saka era, which was used in Gujarat in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. He conjecturally fixed 244-45 A. C. as the initial year and 243-46 A. C. as the year 1 of that era, and identified it with

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, pp. 84-87; 100-11.

² He is more widely known by his name Al-Bērūnī.

³ These were discovered about 1827 A. C. They were first published by J. Prinsep in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. and subsequently by Dowson in *J. R. A. S.*, (N. S.), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. and by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

⁴ Ed. by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 19 ff. and, with facsimiles, by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 116 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

'the era of the Trikūṭakas, of which the two hundred and forty-fifth year is mentioned in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate.'¹

The nearness of the epoch 244-45 A. C. suggested by Bhagvanlal to the epoch of the Chēdi era (249 A. C.) led General Cunningham to suspect that the two eras might be identical. Calculating on this supposition, he found that the date of the Navsāri grant, 'Monday or Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha of *Samvat* 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon,' corresponded to the 2nd February 706 A. C., which was a Tuesday and on which occurred an eclipse of the moon. He also found that the date of the Kāvī plate 'Sunday, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashāḍha of *Samvat* 486' regularly corresponded to Sunday, the 24th June 736 A. C.² In both these cases the corresponding Christian year was obtained by adding 250 to the (Chēdi) year showing clearly that the epoch of the Chēdi era was not 249 A. C., but 249-50 A. C.

In 1884, in his article on the Pārḍī plates of Dahrasēna, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XVI, p. 346), Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī accepted the view that the era used by the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas of Gujarat commenced in 249 A. C., but he pointed out that it was distinctly called the era of the Traikūṭakas in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate. He referred the date 207 of the Pārḍī plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna to the same era and observed that the grant afforded indisputable corroboration of the existence of the Traikūṭaka dynasty which he had deduced from Dr. Bird's plate.

In the same year, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar published his *Early History of the Deccan* (first ed.), in which he questioned the correctness of Dr. Bhagvanlal's view that the date 421 of Śryāśraya Śilāditya's grant is in an era with 250 A. C. as its initial date, on the ground that the interval between the two brothers—Maṅgalarāja and Śryāśraya—becomes 60 years, which unquestionably is too long.³ He further suggested that the date was in the Gupta era 'which was one of those in ordinary use in Gujarat.'

In 1886, Dr. Bhagvanlal contributed a paper entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' to the International Oriental Congress, Vienna, in which he pointed out that Dr. Bhandarkar's view—that the grants of the Gujarat Chālukyas are dated in the Gupta era—would lead to the conclusion that Śryāśraya reigned as *Ymarāja* from 10 to 32 years later than his younger brother Maṅgalarāja who was a 'king'—which was clearly impossible. He further made some ingenious conjectures about the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era. The founder of the era, according to him, was king Īśvaradatta who interrupted the rule of the Western Kshatrapas and whose coins, dated in the first and second years of his reign, show that he assumed the titles *Rājan* and *Kshatrapa*. "Other kings", he proceeded to state, "bearing names which end in *datta*, have left their records in the caves of Nasik, and state that they are Ābhīras by caste. This circumstance permits us to infer that they belong to the Ābhīra dynasty which, probably coming by sea from Sindh, conquered the western coast and made Trikūṭa its capital. Īśvaradatta whom I consider to belong to it probably attacked and obtained a victory over the Kshatrapas. After he had consolidated his power, he issued his own coins, copying the Kshatrapa currency of the district. His coins particularly resemble those of the Kshatrapa Vīradāman and his brother Vijayasēna. The end of the reign of the latter falls, as the coins show, in the year 170 of the Kshatrapa era. If we take this to be the Śaka era, the time of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 76.

² See Fleet's note on Pandit Bhagvanlal's article on the Navsāri plates of Jayabhāṭa III. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 76-77.

³ *E. H. D.*, (first ed.), p. 102.

Īśvaradatta's conquest will fall just about the same time as the foundation of the Traikūṭaka or Kalachuri era. This agreement induces me to consider Īśvaradatta as its founder. It seems further that the reign of the Traikūṭakas did not last long, as Viradāman's son Rudrasēna appears to have regained power and to have driven his foe out of the country. The Traikūṭakas then probably retired to the Central Provinces and there assumed the name Haihaya and Kalachuri. Afterwards the kings of this dynasty appear to have taken possession of their former capital Trikūṭa at the time of the final destruction of the Kshatrapa power. Dahrasēna must have ascended the throne just about this time which was the year 107+170 or 377 of the Saka era."¹

Till 1887, scholars were engaged in pointing out in a general way the epoch of the Chēdi or Traikūṭaka era. A definite suggestion about the month and the *tithi* of its actual commencement was first made by Prof. Kielhorn,² who, in his letters published in the *Academy* of December 10 and 24, 1887, and January 14, 1888,³ announced that his calculations of numerous week-days of later Chēdi inscriptions showed that the Chēdi era began not in 249, but in 248 A. C. Later on, in an article published in the *Nachrichten der Ges. d. Wissenschaften*, Göttingen (1888), pp. 31-41 and another in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff.) of August 1888, Dr. Kielhorn showed, from an examination of twelve dates of the Kalachuris and their feudatories and two of the Gurjaras, that the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chēdi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chēdi Samvat 0=248-49 A. C. and Chēdi Samvat 1=249-50 A. C., and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process, we must take the Chēdi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, 249 A. C.=Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307 current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chēdi era. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as one beginning with Bhādrapada, and if the dates were to be worked out by a uniform process, the former would appear to be even more suitable than the latter. He preferred, however, the *Bhādrapadādi* year because 'Albērūnī *does* mention a year beginning with *Bhādrapada*'.⁴ As regards the arrangement of the fortnights, Kielhorn showed from three dates that it was the *purnimānta* one in which the dark half of a month precedes the bright half.

Kielhorn's calculations, made on the basis of the epoch of 248-49 A. C., showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year is specified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year which may be taken as current if the Chēdi year was *Āśvinādi*, and expired if it was *Bhādrapadādi*.

This proportion of the current and expired years of the Chēdi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras such as the Vikrama, Saka and Nēwār eras. It was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar⁵ and others in connection

¹ See *P. V. O. C.* (1886), p. 221-22.

² Sh. B. Dikshit had earlier come to the conclusion that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chēdi dates, given by General Cunningham, would work out correctly with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., but his results were not published for the reasons stated by Fleet in the Introduction to *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 9 (published in 1888). The dates of the grants of the Uchchakalapā kings, which Fleet referred to the Kalachuri era (*ibid.*, introduction, pp. 8 ff.), are probably recorded in the Gupta era. See my article on the subject in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 187, n. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215, n. 5.

⁵ See his article 'The Epoch of the Gupta Era' (1889), pub. in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII, Part II (1887-1889), pp. 80 ff.

with the question of the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhī era that the Hindu's usual, though not invariable, way of expressing a date was not 'in the year so and so', but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event had taken place'. The case of the Chēdi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Dr. Fleet¹ in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era which are not qualified either as current or as expired should be taken as current. This controversy about the general custom of the Hindus in dating their records during the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusions about the epoch of the Chēdi era. In his article 'Die Epoche der Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth* and in another on the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvī in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, both of which were published in 1893,² Kielhorn expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chēdi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed 247-48 A. C. as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the year, he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nagpur on the 30th October, 1799—"The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is celebrated on the 10th lunar day." Kielhorn thought that the *Āśvinādi* year which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chēdi kingdom might be reminiscent of the Chēdi year, and as such a year suited all the twelve Chēdi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Āśvina śu. di. 1) 248 A. C. as the first day of the first current year, and the 26th August (Āśvina śu. di. 1) 249 A. C. as the first day of the first expired year of the Chēdi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable dates of the Later Kalachuris which were known till then were, without exception, in expired years.³ The two dates of the Navsāri and Kāvī plates of Jayabhāṭa III, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in the foot-notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, published in 1898-99 as an Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V.⁴

Three more Chēdi dates containing sufficient data for verification, which were discovered subsequently, were calculated by Kielhorn before his death, *viz.*, (1) the Sāmāth fragmentary Buddhist stone inscription of the time of Kaṇva, dated 'samva[tsarē 8] 10 Āśvina (Āśvina) sudi 15 Ravan (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday the 4th October 1058 A. C.⁵), (2) Tahankāpār (first plate) of Pamparāja, dated *Samvata(r) 965, Bhādrapadē vadi 10 Mṛiga-ri(r) kshē So[ma]-dinē* (corresponding, for the current year 965, to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A. C.⁶) and (3) Tahankāpār (second plate) of Pamparāja dated *Samvat 966 . . . Iṣva(śva)ra-samvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(r) kshē Ravi-dinē Śūry-ōpa-rāgē* (corresponding, for the expired Chēdi year 966, to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A. C.⁷). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chēdi dates, *viz.* (4) that of the Shēorinārāyaṇ image inscription, which he now read as *Kalachuri-samvatsarē 11898 11 Āśvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē* from a photograph supplied by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and which he found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chēdi year 898, to Monday, the 24th September 1145 A. C.⁸

¹ See his article 'The Gupta-Valabhī Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

² Kielhorn first expressed his view briefly in an article published in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. I (1893), p. 428. The Congress was held in London from the 5th to the 12th September 1892.

³ *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53-56.

⁴ See p. 57, nn. 6 and 7.

⁵ *A. R. A. S. I.* (1906-1907), p. 100.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 129.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 129-30.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chēdi era is 247-48 A. C. was confirmed by these new dates; for, while two of them (viz., 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the other two (viz., 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.

Since 1893, scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (corresponding to the 31st September) in 248 A. C. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, suggested that the Chēdi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina.¹

Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory—that the Chēdi era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas and was actually founded by a king named Īśvaradatta whom the Pandit considered to be an Ābhīra, and who, as shown by his coins, reigned sometime about 248-49 A. C. in Saurashtra—held the field for a long time. But in 1903, in his article 'Triakūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi era',² Dr. Fleet pointed out that all the early dates of the era came from Gujarat and the Thana District in Bombay and none from Saurashtra and that there was nothing to stamp the era as the Traikūṭaka era; for, the expression in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate on which Pandit Bhagvanlal relied might, in accordance with the early Hindu method of expressing dates, just as well mean 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 243 of (an unspecified era).' Dr. Fleet proposed to identify the founder of the era with the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna (not to be confused with, or identified with, the Īśvaradatta mentioned above) or with his father, the Ābhīra Śivadatta, if he did reign.

In 1908, in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, etc.*, Prof. Rapson considered the question of the Traikūṭaka era in connection with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He pointed out that the dates assigned by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī to the coins of Īśvaradatta rested on a mistaken observation, that the dates from 171 to 176 were quite continuous on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, and that the evidence of coins and coin-legends showed that the only interval to which the coins of Īśvaradatta could be assigned was that between 138, the last recorded date of *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasēna, and 161, the year in which his son Yaśōdāman I appears as *Mahākshatrapa*, i.e., between 236 and 239 A. C.³ He further drew attention to the fact that the Ābhīra Śivadatta bears no royal title in the Nāsik inscription of his son Īśvarasēna, which seems to indicate that the latter was the founder of the dynasty and presumably preceded Īśvaradatta. He thus placed both Īśvarasēna and Īśvaradatta before 249 A. C. As regards the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era, he observed, "It is of course quite possible that the establishment of the era may mark the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during the reign of one of their successors. There can be no doubt that the political conditions which admitted of the growth of a strong power in this part of India were due to the decline and fall of the Andhra Empire; but the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras."⁴

In 1911, a large hoard of Kshatrapa coins was discovered at Sarvāṇī in the former Bānswārā State of Rajputana. In his detailed account of it published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14*, pp. 227 ff., Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar examined

¹ See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marāṭhī) (first published in 1896), second edition, p. 375.

² *J. R. A. S.* (1903), pp. 366 ff.

³ *C. A. D.*, pp. cxxxv-vi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. cxii.

Prof. Rapson's view that Íśvaradatta flourished in the gap between the years 158 and 161. He pointed out that the Sarvāñā hoard contained a coin of Yaśōdāman dated in the year 160. This date lessens the gap between Yaśōdāman and his predecessor by one year. "It is still not impossible", wrote Dr. Bhandarkar, "to adjust the two years of Íśvaradatta's reign even in this lessened gap, viz., between 158 and 160, but just as the gap between 171 and 176, which was imagined by Bhagvanlal, no longer exists, a day will, no doubt, come when with the further find of coins the gap between 158 and 160, now existing, will also be completely filled."¹ Dr. Bhandarkar placed the rise of Íśvaradatta in the period 110-112 (188-190 A. C.) when the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasimha suffered a diminution of power and was reduced to the rank of *Kshatrapa*. He pointed out that the Ābhīras had acquired great predominance about this time; for, the Nāsik inscription of the Ābhīra Íśvarasēna can, on the evidence of palaeography, be referred to about the year 100 and the Gunda inscription² shows that in the year 103 and during the regime as *Kshatrapa* of Rudrasimha himself the post of *Sēnāpati* or Commander-in-Chief was held by an Ābhīra called Rudrabhūti.

In 1920, in an article entitled 'the Kushāna Chronology' published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), Vol. I, pp. 65 ff., Dr. R. C. Majumdar, after detailed examination of the evidence afforded by the Chinese works *Heou Han Chow* of Fan-Ye and *Wei-liao* of Yu Houan, came to the conclusion that the dates ranging from 72 to 136, found in the inscriptions of the Northern Satraps, Gondophares, Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, must be referred to the Saka era beginning in 78 A. C. Kanishka who flourished after Wema Kadphises must, therefore, be placed after 214 A. C. Following the principle that 'we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand-new era for the existence of which there is no evidence at all', Dr. Majumdar put forward the view that Kanishka founded the so-called Kalachuri era of 248-49 A. C. He referred to Prof. Rapson's conclusion based on a critical examination of Kshatrapa coinage that from the year 167 or 168 (245-46 A. C.) the Western Kshatrapas had to face troublous times and that their dominions were probably subject to some foreign invasion. Dr. Majumdar attributed this to the establishment, by the Kushāna Emperor, of a rival dynasty in the south to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas, and suggested that this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushānas long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

The main objection to Dr. Majumdar's theory is that there is no evidence of the establishment, by the Kushānas, of such a rival dynasty in the south, which curtailed the power of the Western Kshatrapas. Again, Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out that the reign of Vāsudēva, the last of the Kushānas, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudēva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vāsudēva, was occupied about 350 A. C. by the Yaudhēyas and the Nāgas, and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura and Padmāvati (or Pawāyā, at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pārā).³ The finds of Nāga coins as well as scattered references in Sanskrit literature indicate that the Nāgas, not the Kushānas, were powerful in Central India before the rise of the Guptas.⁴

In 1928, in his article entitled 'The Kalachuris of Tripuri', published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff., Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal

¹ *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1913-14, p. 229.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157. See also *J. R. A. S.*, 1840, p. 650.

³ *A. H. D.*, p. 31.

⁴ For other objections, see *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 468-69.

tried to revive Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory that the era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas, by identifying the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris. He suggested that Trikūṭa from which the dynasty derived its name was the Vindhya mountain which was so called because of its three peaks—Āmrakūṭa or Amarakaṇṭak, the Śālakūṭa or Śālētēkri in the Balaghat District and the Madhukūṭa or Mōhtur in the Chhindwara district. But the fact that all the early dates of the era are found in Western India—in Southern Gujarat and Western Maharashtra—is fatal to Dr. Hiralal's theory. Besides, there is no evidence to show that the Vindhya mountain was called Trikūṭa in ancient times. On the other hand, Kālidāsa clearly indicates in the *Raghuvamśa* that the mountain is situated in the Aparānta or North Konkan,¹ and this is corroborated by the discovery of the Anjaneri plates of Prithivīchandra Bhōgaśakti of the (Chēdi) year 461, in which a Trikūṭa *nishaya* is mentioned as situated in the kingdom of Puri-Konkana (*i. e.*, North Konkan).²

In 1933, in his *History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal attempted to prove that the Chēdi era was started by the Vākāṭakas. "The Purāṇas," he observed, "after the fall of the Sātavāhanas register the rise of Vindhyaśakti as the next great power or as the imperial power succeeding the Sātavāhanas. An era will be naturally counted from the rise of a new power, whether at once or subsequently Then the second fact to take note of in this connection is that Pravarasēna I became an Emperor and the previous Emperors, *i. e.*, the Kushāṇas, had in fact an imperial era. To start an era had become a chief symbol of imperial position."³ Jayaswal, therefore, concluded that Pravarasēna I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, who became Emperor, must have started the era, dating it from the coronation of his father. He read the dates on two coins which he ascribed to Pravarasēna I and Rudrasēna I as 76 and 100 respectively, and referred these dates together with the date 52 of the Gīṇjā inscription of Mahārāja Śrī-Bhīmasēna to the Chēdi era dating from the rise of the Vākāṭaka power. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on these coins are extremely doubtful.⁴ Besides, his theory that the Chēdi era was really founded by the Vākāṭakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākāṭakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years.⁵

In 1936, while editing the Kōsam stone inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman, dated in the year 130, in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff., Mr. A. Ghosh drew attention to certain palaeographical peculiarities noticed in the record, such as the round and narrow-headed *ś*, the unlooped *śh* and *s*, and the undeveloped curves representing medial *i*—peculiarities which are known to be characteristic of Kushāṇa rather than Gupta inscriptions. He, therefore, referred the date 130 of that inscription to the Chēdi era. Subsequently, some more inscriptions of Praushthasriya, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman were found at Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh, and some of them were published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and elsewhere.⁶ These records exhibited the same palaeographic peculiarities which indicated that they belonged to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta age. The system of dating and the mixed nature of the language used in them were also believed to point to the same conclusion. Their dates also were, therefore, referred by some scholars to the Chēdi era. The fact that some of these records came from that part of the country which in ancient times was known as Chēdi lent colour to this view.

¹ Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

² No. 31, l. 38.

³ *History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, p. 111.

⁴ See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V, pp. 130 ff.

⁵ Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, p. 26.

⁶ See, *e.g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff; Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff and pp. 253 ff. *etc.* Also *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff.

It was, therefore, believed that these records of the Magha kings found at Giñjā, Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh supplied the early dates of the Chēdi era which had been missing till then.

This view was criticised by the present writer in an article entitled 'Dates of some Early Kings of Kauśāmbī' which, though written as early as 1941, was, on account of the Second Great War and other reasons, not published till 1952.¹ In this article it was pointed out that if the dates of the Magha records are referred to the Chēdi era, Bhādrāmagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. If these rulers were ruling at Kauśāmbī, they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. But, strange as it may seem, none of them mentions any Gupta overlord. Besides, they issued coins in their own names, indicating their independence.² They must, therefore, have flourished before the rise of the Guptas. The dates of their records have consequently to be referred to the era of Kanishka. As for the palæographic peculiarities noticed in these records, it was pointed out that all of them can be traced in several records of the Kushāṇa age.

Till 1937, Dr. Kielhorn's view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 was generally accepted. In an article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era', which the present writer read at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937, he examined thirteen later dates of the era discovered since Kielhorn's time and showed that, though they verified the epoch of 247-48 A. C. fixed by Kielhorn, they clearly showed that the Chēdi year could not have commenced in Āśvina. It must have begun on some day between Āśvina śu. di. 15 and Phālguna va. di. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśīrṣa to Phālguna, it appeared probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chēdi year also commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1. As regards Colebrooke's statement on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1, it was pointed out that the statement in question referred to the festival of Durgā which is, to this day, celebrated with great *śelat* not only in Madhya Pradesh but in other parts of India also. Colebrooke was clearly mistaken when he thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year. Besides, the Chēdi year could not have been current in Nagpur as that part of the country was, except in very early times, not included in the kingdom of the Kalachuris.³

In 1944, the present writer showed from an examination of the so-called Indore plates of the *Mahārājas* Svāmīdāsa and Bhulūṇḍa that they originally belonged to Khandesh and that their dates and also the date 117 of the Sirpur plate of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa should be referred to the era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. These princes of Khandesh explicitly mention their own feudatory status in their grants. They must, therefore, have owned the suzerainty of the contemporary Ābhīra kings ruling over Northern Maharashtra.⁴

In 1945, the present writer further showed that the date 167 of the Barwāni plate of *Mahārāja* Subandhu also must be referred to the same reckoning.⁵

In 1946, the present writer, again, showed that the date of the Kānākherā stone inscription of the Saka Śrīdhavarman, which he read as 102, also refers to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era.⁶

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 f.

² *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.

³ For a full discussion of this matter, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

⁴ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff.

In 1949, in an article entitled 'New Light on the Epoch of the Kalachuri Era' published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 81 ff., the present writer showed that the date 322 of the Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja, which had been discovered in the preceding year, probably referred to the Kalachuri era, and that the details of the date recorded in the grant indicated a new epoch of the era, *viz.*, 250-51 A. C.¹

We have so far seen how our knowledge about the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era has advanced step by step since 1859 when Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall first made his ingenious conjecture on the subject. We shall next examine such dates of the era as furnish details for computation in order to determine the exact epoch of the era.

Leaving aside the date of the Nagardhan plates which appears exceptional, we find that the dates of the Kalachuri era fall into two groups, *viz.*—(1) the earlier ones down to the year 490 which come from Gujarat and Maharashtra where, as shown below, the era had its origin, and (2) the later ones from the year 722 to the year 969 which come from Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh including Chhattisgarh, where the era was introduced with the extension of the Kalachuri power. It has already been pointed out by Kielhorn² that the same epoch does not suit these two groups of dates. In regard to the first, the only equation which yields satisfactory results is Kalachuri-Samvat 0=248-49 A. C., while in regard to the second, the equation is Kalachuri-Samvat 0=247-48 A. C. In both the periods the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1, but in the earlier period the months were generally *amānta*, while in the later one they were generally *pūrṇimānta*.

EARLY DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

As the epoch for these dates is 248-49 A. C., the first day of the first current year of that era is the *amānta* Kārttikā śu. di. 1 (25th September) in 249 A. C. (corresponding to the expired Saka year 171). Therefore, to convert a *current* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 170 when the date falls in any of the months from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 171 in all other cases. Similarly to convert an *expired* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 171 and 172 respectively in the same circumstances.

Among early dates of the era, there are only five which contain the details necessary for computation. Three of these are in expired years, and the remaining two, in current ones, as shown below :—

Dates in Expired Years

1. Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III (No. 21, p. 82)—Lines 30-31—*Māgha-suddha-pañchadaśyām candra-ōparāgē*, 'on the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.' Lines 41-42 give the year 456 (expressed in both words and numerical symbols). The plates mentioned also in l. 43 the *tithi* (now completely lost) and the week-day (which, judging from the traces left, was either Monday or Tuesday) on which the grant was recorded. Assuming that the grant was recorded on the same day on which it was made, *i. e.*, Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday or Tuesday, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 456 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year 456+171=627) is Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A. C. On that day, the aforementioned *tithi* ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

If the year 456 is applied as *current*, the *tithi* falls on the 14th January 705 A. C., which was a Wednesday (not Monday or Tuesday as required). Besides, there was no lunar

¹ The same epoch appears to be applicable in the case of the date of the Ellora plates of Dantidurga, which should be read as *Sam.* 463, not as *Sam.* 663. *J. B. R. A. S. (N. S.)*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 163 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 37, notes 6 and 7.

eclipse on that day. In 704 A. C. also there was no lunar eclipse on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the epoch 247-48 A. C. which suits later dates of the era is wholly inapplicable in this case.¹

2. Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III (No. 22, p. 90)—Line 30—*Āṣvayuja-babul-aikādaśyūni Tulā-saṅkrānti ravan*, 'on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, on the occasion of the sun's entering into the Tulā-*rāṣi* (the zodiacal sign of Libra).' Line 39 gives the same *tithi* together with the year 460 (expressed in numerical symbols). The occurrence of the Tulā-saṅkrānti in the dark fortnight of Āśvina shows that the month was *amānta*. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. with the year commencing on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 460 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $460 + 172 = 632$), to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A. C. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina commenced 45 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 22 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the same day. Like the *tithi* of the Kāvī plate of K. 486 (No. 23) this was, therefore, a *kṣaya-tithi*; but as the Tulā-saṅkrānti occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day while the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina was current, it is coupled with the latter.

If the year is applied as *current*, the Tulā-saṅkrānti falls on Āśvina pūrṇimā (the 23rd September 709 A. C.), not on Āśvina va. di. 11 as required. In 708 A. C. also, the Tulā-saṅkrānti did not occur on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case also.

3. Kāvī plate of Jayabhāṭa IV (No. 23, p. 96)—Lines 15-16—*Aśhāḍha-suddha-daśamyām Karṇāṭaka-rāṣan saṅkrānti ravan*, 'on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āśhāḍha on the occasion of the sun's entering into the zodiacal sign of Karṇāṭaka.' Lines 24 and 25 give the year 486, Āśhāḍha śu. 12,² Sunday, as the date of the recording of the grant. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the Karṇāṭa-saṅkrānti in the *expired* year 486 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $486 + 172 = 658$) occurred about 8 h. after mean sunrise on the 22nd June 736 A. C. The tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśhāḍha commenced 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd June and ended 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of the following day. It was, therefore, a *kṣaya-tithi*; but as the Karṇāṭa-saṅkrānti took place during the tenth *tithi*, it is coupled with it. Again the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the same lunar month fell on Sunday (the 24th June 736 A. C.) as required. The date is thus perfectly regular.

In the *current* year 486, on the other hand, the saṅkrānti occurred on Thursday, the 23rd June 735 A. C., which was the 13th of the dark fortnight of Āśhāḍha (not the 10th of the bright fortnight of that month as required).

In 734 A. C. also, the saṅkrānti did not occur on Āśhāḍha śu. di. 10. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case too.

Dates in Current Years

4. Kāsārē plates of Allāśakti (No. 25, p. 110)—Lines 31-33—*Sam 404, Āśhāḍha ba A(A)māvāsya[ni] sūrya-grab-ōparāgē*, 'in the year 404, on the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of Āśhāḍha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the *amāvāsya* of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśhāḍha in the *current* year 404 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $404 + 171 = 575$) fell on the 1st June 653 A. C., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the plates. There was no solar eclipse on the *amānta* Āśhāḍha of this year.

¹ According to this epoch of 247-48 A. C., the date should fall in 704 A. C. if the year 456 was a current year, and in 705 A. C. if it was an expired one.

² As regards the reading of the number of the *tithi*, see below, p. 98.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the date would fall in 654 A. C., but there was no solar eclipse on the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Āshāḍha of that year.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A. C., the *tithi* should fall in 652 A. C. or 653 A. C., according as the year 404 was current or expired. In 652 A. C. there was no solar eclipse at all. In 653 A. C., of course, the eclipse did occur on the stated *tithi* as shown above and so the date may be said to be in an expired year according to that epoch. But if we have to explain all early dates according to a *uniform* process, this date will have to be regarded as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. rather than in an expired year according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C.

3. Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha (No. 28, p. 127)—L. 19—*Chaitra-māsa-suddha-datamyām Vishuvā (Vishuvā)*, 'on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, on the occasion of the vernal equinox.' Line 28 gives the date *Sam 436 Chai su 10, i. e.*, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 436. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the corresponding Christian date for the *current* year 436 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $436 + 171 = 607$) is the 21st March 685 A. C. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Vishuva or Mēsha-saṅkrānti had occurred 3 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day. The saṅkrānti did not thus take place during the 10th *tithi*, but as the *punya-kāla* of the Mēsha-saṅkrānti extends to as many as 15 *ghaṭikās* before and after the saṅkrānti, the *tithi* seems to be coupled with the saṅkrānti.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* would fall on the 10th March 686 A. C., but the Mēsha-saṅkrānti took place 10 days later, on the 20th March 686 A. C.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A. C., the date would be expected to fall in 684 A. C. if the year 436 was current, and in 685 A. C. if it was expired. But in 684 A. C. the *tithi* fell on the 3rd March, while the Mēsha-saṅkrānti occurred 16 days later on the 19th March. In 685 A. C. the saṅkrānti occurred on the same day as the mentioned *tithi*, but in view of the other early dates for which the epoch of 247-48 A. C. appears wholly inapplicable, it seems better to take this date as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C.

A careful examination of these five early dates of the Kalachuri era will show that—

- (1) All these dates can be shown to be regular according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C.; for, though the dates 4 and 5 can also be explained as dates in expired years according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., that epoch will not at all suit the first three dates.
- (2) Date 2 shows that the month of Āśvina stood at the close of the Kalachuri year; *i. e.*, the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Āśvina, probably in Kārttika.
- (3) Among the five dates there are only two (2 and 4) which fell in the dark fortnight. As shown above, one of them (2) shows that the month cited in it was *amānta*, and the other date (4) indicates that it was *pūrṇimānta*. From this, one cannot, of course, draw any definite conclusion. But it is noteworthy that the months of the Saka era, which was current in Maharashtra both before the rise and after the disappearance of the Kalachuri era, were almost invariably *amānta*.¹ Besides, the date 4 comes from Khandesh and belongs to the reign of the Sēndraka prince Allasakti. Another date from Khandesh which occurs in a record of this same Allasakti's son Jayasakti mentions that the Mīna-saṅkrānti in the Saka year 602 (680-81 A. C.)

¹ Among the 400 dates of the Saka era which Prof. Kielhorn collected, there was only a single one which could confidently be said to be according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 272.

occurred on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.¹ This clearly shows that the month Phālguna was *amānta*. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year as current in Maharashtra and Gujarat were generally *amānta* and only exceptionally *pūrṇimānta*.

- (4) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 3 : 2. This is in keeping with that observed in the case of other eras. Most of the early dates of the Kalachuri era are not verifiable for want of the necessary details. Otherwise, the proportion of expired years would have been still higher.

According to the testimony of these five dates, therefore, the Kalachuri era commenced on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

LATER DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

We shall next take the later dates of the Kalachuri era. As stated before, these dates come from North India and Chhattisgarh where the era was introduced by the Kalachuris. The epoch which suits these dates is that of 247-48 A. C., the year commencing on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1. The first day of the first current year of the Kalachuri era, according to this epoch, was *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in 248 A. C. Therefore, to convert a *current* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrsha to Phālguna and 170 in other cases. Similarly, to convert an *expired* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

Dates in Expired Years

1. Banaras plates of Kaṇva (No. 48, p. 236)—Lines 39-40—*Śrīmad-Gāṅgēyadēvāya samivatsarē(a)-srā(trā)ddhē Phālguna-va(ba)bula-pakṣa-dvitiyāyām Sa(sa)naischa(ścha)ra-vāsarē*, 'On the occasion of the first annual *śrāddha* of the illustrious Gāṅgēyadēva, on Saturday, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' Line 48—*Samvat 793 Phālguna va di 9 Sēmē*, 'on Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793.'

Of the two dates mentioned in this record, the second regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 793 (*i.e.*, Saka 793 + 170 = 963), to Monday, the 18th January 1042 A. C., on which day the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 18 h. after mean sunrise. In 1041 A. C. the *tithi* fell on a Thursday. So the year cannot be applied as *current*.

The first date is irregular; for, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna fell on Monday (the 11th January 1042 A. C.), not on Saturday, but the apparent irregularity can be satisfactorily explained as shown elsewhere.²

2. Goharwa plates of Kaṇva (No. 50, p. 232)—Line 41-42—*Śrīmat-Kaṇva-prakāśē vyavaharāṇē saptaṃsa-samivatsarē Kārttikē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣa-Kārttikī-paurṇamāsyām tithau Guru-dinē*, 'During the seventh year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Kaṇva, on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika.' As shown elsewhere, Kaṇva came to the throne some time after Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792. If the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Kaṇva's reign would fall in the *expired* year 793. The same month in the seventh regnal year would fall in the *expired* year 799 (*i.e.*, in the expired Saka year 799 + 170 = 969). The full-moon *tithi* in this year ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A. C. The date is thus quite regular. It shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some *tithi* before Kārttika *paurṇimā*.

¹ A. R. B. I. S. M. (Saka 1834), pp. 169 ff.

² See below, pp. 239-40.

If the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Kārttika, the date would fall in 1046 A. C. But in that year the full-moon day of Kārttika fell on a Friday (the 17th October), not on a Thursday as required.

3. Rewa stone inscription of Karna (No. 51, p. 263)—Line 31—[Kba*]ra-[nāmnā(mn)] *mahā-māṅgala-samvatsarē*] 1180011 'In the very auspicious year 800, named Khara.' The date does not give any details for verification except the name of the Jovian year Khara. Now, the *expired* Kalachuri year 800 corresponded to 1048-49 A. C. The corresponding Jovian year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. The date is thus regular. If the year 800 had been a *current* year, the Jovian year would have been Vikṛita.
4. Rewa stone inscription of Karna (No. 53, p. 278)—Line 20—*Samvatsata(va)* 812 *śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśa(sa)-vyavaharāyā navama-sam(n)vatserī Māgha-sudī 10 Gurau*, 'In the year 812, the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by Karna, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on Thursday.' The corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 812 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $812 + 170 = 982$) is Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A. C., when the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The date is thus regular.

In the *current* year 812, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1060 A. C.

5. Ratanpur stone inscription of Jajalladēva I (No. 77, p. 409)—Line 31—*Samvat* 866 *Mārgga-sudī 9 Ravau*, 'In the year 866, on Sunday, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 866 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $866 + 170 = 1036$), to Sunday, the 8th November 1114 A. C. On that day the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa ended 20 h. after mean sunrise. In the *current* year 866, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 19th November 1113 A. C.
6. Shēorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 82, p. 419)—Line 26—*Samvata(t)* 878, *Bhādra-sudī 5 Ravau*, 'In the year 878, on Sunday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 878 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $878 + 171 = 1049$), to Sunday, the 14th August 1127 A. C. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 878, the *tithi* fell on Tuesday, the 24th August 1126 A. C.

7. Sarkho plates of Ratnadēva (No. 83, p. 423)—Lines 23-24—*Tēn=āsi(tī)ty-adhik-āśṭa-vatsara-śatē jā(yā)tē dinē Gīḥpatē Kārttikyām=atba Rōhiṇ-ībha-samayē nātreś=eba yāma-trayē Śrīmad-Ratna-narāśvarasya sadasi jyōtir-vidām-agrataḥ sarvagrāsam=anushāgōḥ pravadatā tīrṇṇā pratijñā-nadī* 11 'The expired year 880, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Thursday, with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rōhiṇī.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 880 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $880 + 170 = 1050$), to Thursday, the 8th November 1128 A. C., when the moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇī commenced 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The date is thus perfectly regular.

The explicit statement that the year 880 was *expired* is important. It shows that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits all later dates, the Kalachuri year must have commenced before Kārttika *pūrṇimā*.

8. Pāragaon plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 122, p. 622)—Lines 22-23—*Rāhu-grastē Kārttikē māsi bhānan*, 'When the sun was devoured by Rāhu in the month of Kārttika'; l. 30—*Kalachuri samvatsarē* 885 *Āvi(śvī)ma sudī 1 Vn(Bu)dbē*, 'In the Kalachuri year 885, on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, on Wednesday.' This date corres-

ponds, for the *expired* year 885 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $885 + 171 = 1056$), to Wednesday, the 19th September 1134 A. C. On that day the *titthi* Āśvina śu. di. 1 commenced 19 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.

This date shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some day after Āśvina śu. di. 1.

There was, however, no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika (*amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*) in K. 885 or even in K. 884. Perhaps *Kārttikē māsi* in ll. 22-23 is a mistake for *Śrāvaṇē māsi*; for, there was a solar eclipse in the month of *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa in K. 885, on the 23rd July 1134 A. C.

In the *current* Kalachuri year 885, on the other hand, the *titthi* fell on Friday (the 1st September 1133 A. C.), not on Wednesday as required. As stated before, there was no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika, *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* in that year.

9. Daikoni plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 86, p. 443)—Line 23—*Rāhu-grastē rajani-tīlakē Kārttikē pañchadasyā(jyā)ni*, 'When the ornament of the night (*i. e.*, the moon) was devoured by Rāhu on the fifteenth *titthi* of Kārttika; ll. 26-27—*Samvat* 890, *Mārgga vadi* 11 *Ravan*, 'In the year 890, on Sunday, the 11th *titthi* of the dark fortnight of *Mārgga-sīrsha*.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 890 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $890 + 170 = 1060$), to Sunday, the 30th October 1138 A. C. On that day the eleventh *titthi* in the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgasīrsha commenced 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. There was a lunar eclipse on the preceding Kārttika *pūrṇimā* (the 19th October 1138 A. C.).

In the *current* Kalachuri year 890, on the other hand, the *titthi* in the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgasīrsha fell on Thursday (the 11th November 1137 A. C.). Besides, there was no lunar eclipse in the preceding Kārttika.

10. Rājim stone inscription of Prithvidēva II (No. 88, p. 450)—Lines 18-19—*Kalachuri-samvat-sara(rē)* 896 *Māghē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣhē rath-āshṭamyām* *Vu(Bu)dha-dinē*, 'In the Kalachuri year 896, on Wednesday, the eighth *titthi* (called *Rathāshṭami*) of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 896 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $896 + 170 = 1066$), to Wednesday, the 3rd January 1145 A. C. On that day the eighth *titthi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 896, on the other hand, the *titthi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1144 A. C.

11. Bilaigarh Plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 89, p. 458)—Line 27—*Sūrya-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi*, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse'; l. 36—*Samvat* 896 *Aminē* 5 (*Āśvinē* 15) 'In the year 896, on the 15th *titthi* of Āśvina'. The date does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that in the *expired* year 896 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $896 + 170 = 1066$) there were two solar eclipses, one in the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha (on the 26th December 1144 A. C.), and the other in the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha (on the 22nd June 1145 A. C.). The latter is probably intended here.

In the *current* year 896, there was no solar eclipse.

12. Pāragaon plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 123, p. 626)—Line 37—*Samvat* 897 *Phālguna* *su di* 15 *Vu(Bu)dhavārē*, 'In the year 897, on the fifteenth *titthi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, on Wednesday.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 897 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $897 + 170 = 1067$), to Wednesday, the 27th February 1146 A. C. On that day the *titthi* Phālguna śu. di. 15 commenced 8 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* Kalachuri year 897, on the other hand, the *titthi* fell on Friday (the 9th February 1145 A. C.), not on Wednesday as required.

13. Amōḍā plates (first set) of Pṛithvidēva II (No. 91, p. 474)—Line 24—*Chaitrē sōma-grahāṇ sātī*, l. 32—*Samvat* 900, 'The year 900, with a lunar eclipse in the month of Chaitra.' The corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 900 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $900 + 171 = 1071$) is Friday, the 25th March 1149 A. C. On that day there was a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur.

In the *current* year 900 (1148 A. C.), on the other hand, there was no lunar eclipse in Chaitra.

14. Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnadēva (No. 58, p. 305)—Lines 20-22—*Navasa-(śa)ta-yugal-ābd-ādhikya-gē Chēdi-dishta(jē) ja[na*] padam-avat-imam śrī-Gayākarnadēv* | *Pratipadi śuchi-māsa-śvāta-pakṣhī-rkka-nārī* . . . 11, 'In the year 902 of the Chēdi era, on Sunday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarna.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 902 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $902 + 171 = 1073$), to Sunday, the 17th June 1151 A. C., on which day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha ended 2 h. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 902, on the other hand, there were two Āshāḍhas. In the *adhika* Āshāḍha, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 29th May 1150 A. C., and in the *nija* Āshāḍha, on Tuesday, the 27th June 1150 A. C.

15. Amōḍā plates (second set) of Pṛithvidēva II (No. 94, p. 491)—Line 35—*Mani(Sam)-vata(r)* 905 *Āsvi(śvi)na su di 6 Bhaumē*, 'In the year 905, on Tuesday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 905 (*i. e.*, Saka year $905 + 171 = 1076$), to Tuesday, the 14th September 1154 A. C. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina commenced 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 248 A. C., this date should fall in 1152 A. C. if the Kalachuri year 905 is taken as current, and in 1153 A. C. if it is taken as expired. But in 1152 A. C. the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September), and in 1153 A. C. it ended 7 h. after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular.

16. Bhērā-Ghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (No. 60, p. 312)—Line 29—*Samvat* 907 *Mārgga sudi 11 Ravan*, '(in) the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 907 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $907 + 170 = 1077$), to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C., on which day the *tithi* commenced 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. It ended 45 m. after mean sunrise on the next day. Though not current at sunrise, the *tithi* must have been joined to the week-day 'which was almost entirely filled by it.' In the *current* year 907, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 17th November 1154 A. C.

17. Lāl-Pahād rock inscription of Narasimha (No. 61, p. 321)—Line 7—[*Sam*]vat 909 *Śrā(Śrā)vaṇa su di 5 Vuddhē (Budhē)*, 'In the year 909, on Wednesday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa.' In the *expired* Kalachuri year 909 (corresponding to the expired Saka year $909 + 171 = 1080$) there were two Śrāvaṇas. The first or *adhika* Śrāvaṇa is evidently meant here;¹ for, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the 2nd July 1158 A. C.

In the *current* year 909, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 13th July 1157 A. C.

18. Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha (No. 63, p. 324)—Lines 25-26—*Samvat* 918 *Āśvina su di paurṇamāsyārṇ tithau śa(śa)ni-dinē* *Sōma-grahāṇ*, 'In the year 918, on Saturday,

¹ For another instance of an intercalary month not so specified, see date 20, below.

the full-moon *tithi* of Āśvina, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 918 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $918 + 171 = 1089$), to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A. C. On that day the full-moon *tithi* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 248 A. C., this date should fall in 1165 A. C. if the year was current, and in 1166 A. C. if it was expired. But in 1165 A. C. the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September), and in 1166 A. C. it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again, in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given *tithi*.

If the year 918 is applied as *current*, the *tithi* should fall in 1166 A. C., but as shown above, it would not be regular.

19. Rewa plate of Jayasimha (No. 65, p. 340)—Line 14—*Samvat* 926, *Bhādrapada-māsē sukla-pakṣhē* [C]ha]turthyānē *tithau Guru-dinē Rāṇaka-tri-Vatsarājaśya(sya) nimittē pīṇḍ-ārchanā-sthānē*, 'In the year 926, on Thursday, the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada at the place of worshipping the balls (of rice) offered in honour of the Rāṇaka, the illustrious Vatsarāja'. The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 926 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $926 + 171 = 1097$), to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A. C. On that day, the *tithi* commenced 9 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, it is coupled with the week-day as it was current in the afternoon at the time of the performance of the *śrāddha*.

In the *current* year 926, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 3rd August 1174 A. C.

20. Tewar stone inscription of Jayasimha (No. 66, p. 344)—Line 7—*Samvat* 928 *Śrāvaṇa su di 6 Ravan Hastē*, 'In the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism of Hasta.' There were two Śrāvaṇas in the *expired* Kalachuri year 928 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $928 + 171 = 1099$). Of these, the first or *adbika* Śrāvaṇa is intended here;¹ for, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A. C. and the *nakṣatra* Hasta also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. In the *nija* Śrāvaṇa of that year, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 1st August, and the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā.

In the *current* year 928, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 14th July 1176 A. C., and the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā.

21. Sāhaspur statue inscription of Yaśōrāja (No. 115, p. 595)—Line 5—*Samvat* 934, *Kārttika su di 15 Vu(Bu)dhe*, 'In the year 934, on Wednesday, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 934 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $934 + 170 = 1104$), to Wednesday, the 13th October 1182 A. C. On that day, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 14 h. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 934, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 24th October, 1181 A. C.

22. Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha (No. 68, p. 346)—Line 26—*Chatvārimśaty-ādhikē=vdē(bdē) chaturbbir=mnavamē śatē* | *Sukrē Sābasamall-ānkē Nābbasye prathamē dinē* || *Samvat* 944 *Bhādrapada su di 1, Sukrē*, 'In the year 944 called *Sābasamallāṅka*, on Friday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 944 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $944 + 171 = 1115$), to Friday, the 30th July 1193

¹ For a similar case of an intercalary month, cited without being specified as such, see above, page xvii, date 17.

A.C. On that day, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 944, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 10th August 1192 A. C.

23. Bēṣāni stone inscription (No. 71, p. 368)—Line 1—*Samvata*(t) [9]58 *pratibama-Āsha(shā)-dhā sudi* 3—The *expired* Kalachuri year 958 corresponds to 1206-07 A. C. In 1207 A. C. there were two Āshāḍhas, of which the first or intercalary Āshāḍha lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June.

In the *current* year 957, on the other hand, there was no intercalary Āshāḍha.

24. Dhurēti plates of Trailōkyamalla (No. 72, p. 369)—Line 7—*Samvata*(va)t 963 *Jyēshṭha su di* 7 *Sāmī dinam*(nī), 'In the year 963 on Monday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha.' The details do not work out satisfactorily; for, according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 20th May 1211 A. C.), if the year 963 was current, and on Wednesday (the 9th May 1212 A. C.) if it was expired. In view of the slovenly manner in which the record has been written throughout, it is not unlikely that *Sāmī* (Monday) is a mistake for *Saunmyā* (Wednesday), in which case the date would regularly correspond, for the *expired* year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A.C.

25. Penḍrābandha plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 101, p. 343)—Line 26—*grāmō Makara-saṅkrāntau dattaḥ saṅkalpa-pūrvakab*; l. 35—*Samvata*(t) 965 *Māgha su di* 10 *Manigaladinē*. The details of the date are 'Makara-saṅkrānti; the year 965, Tuesday, the 10th of the bright fortnight of Māgha.' As it stands, the date is irregular; for, in none of the years 1212-1213 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of 'Māgha connected with a Tuesday'. If, however, *sudi* is taken to be a mistake for *vadi*, the date corresponds, for the *expired* year 965 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $965 + 170 = 1135$), regularly to Tuesday, the 7th January 1214 A. C. On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Makara-saṅkrānti had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December 1213 A. C.

In the *current* year 965, the *tithi* Māgha *su. di.* 10 fell on Saturday, the 2nd February 1213 A. C.

26. Tahankāpār plate of Pamparājadēva (No. 117, p. 599)—Lines 7 and 8—*Īśva(śva)rasamvatsarē Kārtti(tī)ka-māsē Chitrā-rī(rī)kshē Ravi-dinē su(sū)ry-ōparāgē*; l. 10—*Samvat* 966, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month of Kārttika in the cyclic year Īśvara, in the year 966'. The date corresponds, for the expired year 966 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $966 + 170 = 1136$), to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A. C., when there was a solar eclipse visible at Kāṅkēr, the *tithi* being the new-moon day of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika, and *nakshatra* Chitrā. The cyclic year, however, does not agree. According to the southern luni-solar system it was Bhāva, and according to the northern system it was Bahudhānya. The discrepancy is evidently due to the writer's carelessness.

In the *current* year 966, on the other hand, there was no solar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Kārttika.

27. Bilaigarh plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 102, p. 349)—Line 28—*Āshāḍhyām Sōma-parvāni*; l. 38—*Samvat* 969, 'A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha; in the year 969.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 969 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $969 + 171 = 1140$), to the 9th July 1218 A. C. On that day the full-moon *tithi* of Āshāḍha ended 18 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise and there was also a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

In the *current* year 969 (corresponding to 1217 A. C.), there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon *tithi* of Āshāḍha.

Dates in Current Years

28. Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgēyadēva (No. 47, p. 234)—Line 1—*Samvat* 772, *Kārttika* *su di* 12 *Vu(Bu)dba-dinē*, 'on Wednesday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 772.'

This date, occurring in the month of Kārttika, should fall in 1019 A. C. if the year 772 was current, and in 1020 A. C. if it was expired; but in 1019 A. C., the aforementioned *tithi* ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), and in 1020 A. C., 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was it connected with a Wednesday. But if the deviation of one day is overlooked, it may be taken to correspond to the 13th October 1019 A. C.

29. Sārnāth stone inscription of Kama (No. 52, p. 275)—Line 6—*Samva[tsarē*][8*]10 Āsvina* (*Āsvina*) [*su*] *di* 15 *Ravan* 'In the year 810, on Sunday, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina.' The date corresponds, for the *current* year 810 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $810 + 170 = 980$), to Sunday, the 4th October 1058 A. C. On that day the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 810, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday, the 24th September 1059 A. C.

30. Raipur Plate of Pṛithvidēva I (No. 75, p. 398)—Line 7—*Uttarāyaṇa-sakrau* (*saṅkrāntau*), 'On the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti'; l. 17—*Samvat* 821, *Magha* *va di* 8 *Ravan*, 'In the year 821 on Sunday, the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 821, to Sunday, the 18th January 1069 A. C. On that day the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Māgha ended at 20 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise. The Uttarāyaṇa- or Makara-saṅkrānti had occurred more than a fortnight before, on the 23rd December 1068 A. C.

According to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 20th December 1068 A. C., and the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti occurred three days after, on the 23rd December.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* in the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha fell on Thursday (the 7th January 1070 A. C.) and in the *amānta* Māgha on Saturday (the 6th February 1070 A. C.). In both the cases it would have to be regarded as irregular.

31. Amōḍā plates of Pṛithvidēva I (No. 76, p. 401)—Lines 27-28—*Gba(Phā)lguna-kṛishṇa-saptamyām* *Ravi-dinē*; l. 41—*Chōd-isa(sa)sya* *Sani* 831, 'In the year 831, on Sunday, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 831 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $831 + 169 = 1000$), to Sunday, the 27th January 1079 A. C. On that day, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 831, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Thursday, the 16th January 1080 A. C.

32. Shēorinārāyaṇ statue inscription (No. 110, p. 582)—Line 5—*Kalachuri-samvatsarē* 898 *Āsvini* (*Āśvina*) *su di* 2 *Sōma-dinē*. This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 898 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $898 + 170 = 1068$), to Monday, the 9th September 1146 A. C. On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 898, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Sunday, the 28th September 1147 A. C.

33. Kōni stone inscription of Prithvidēva II (No. 90, p. 463)—Line 23—*Rāhu-mukha-sthā bhāvan*, 'When the sun was in the mouth of Rāhu'; l. 28—*Sam(n)vat 900*, 'In the year 900.' In the *current* year 900, there was a solar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha (on the 20th April 1148 A. C.), but none at all in the expired year.
34. Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (No. 116, p. 396)—Line 9—*Samvata(r) 965 Bhādrapada va di 10, Mṛiga-ri(ri)kshē Sōdwa(na)-dinē*, 'In the year 965, on Monday, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, the *nakshatra* being Mṛiga.' This date corresponds, for the *current* year 965 (or the expired Saka year $965 + 170 = 1135$), to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A. C. On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada commenced 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise and the *nakshatra* Mṛiga ended 14 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. Though the *tithi* was not current at sunrise on Monday, it is coupled with that week-day probably because it was current at the time when the transaction recorded in the plate was made.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* would fall on Saturday (the 2nd August 1214 A. C.).

A careful examination of these 34 later dates¹ of the Kalachuri era will show that—

- (1) All of them can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C.; for, though the first twenty-seven dates can also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., that epoch will not at all do for the remaining seven dates 28-34.
- (2) The dates 6, 19 and 22 clearly show that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C., the Kalachuri year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada. Kielhorn's earlier view that the Kalachuri year was *Bhādrapadādi* is, therefore, wholly untenable.
- (3) The dates 8, 15 and 18 indicate that the month Āśvina stood at the close, and not in the beginning, of the Kalachuri year. Kielhorn's final view that the Kalachuri year was *Āśvinādi* is clearly disproved by these three dates.
- (4) From the date 18 it appears that the Kalachuri year commenced some time after Āśvina śu. di. 15, while the dates 2 and 7 plainly indicate that the year began before Kārttika śu. di. 15. Between these two limits the only *tithi* which suggests itself for the commencement of the Kalachuri year is Kārttika śu. di. 1. This conjecture may be said to be corroborated by the date 28, though its testimony is somewhat weakened by a slight error in the specification of the week-day.
- (5) Among the later dates examined above, there are only seven, *viz.*, 1, 9, 25, 26, 30, 31 and 34, which fell in the dark fortnight. Six of these, *viz.*, 1, 9, 25, 26, 31 and 34 work out satisfactorily only with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar months and only one, *viz.* 30, with the *amānta* scheme. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year generally ended on the full-moon day.

¹ Among these 34 dates there are only three, *viz.*, Nos. 24, 25 and 28, which are slightly irregular. The others work out quite satisfactorily with the epoch of 247-48 A. C. The following dates have been omitted for the reason stated in each case :—(1) The Khaichā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (No. 56), because the year of the date is manifestly wrong. See below, pp. 301-02. (2) The Ghoṣā plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 92), because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect. See below, p. 479. (3) The Amōḍā plates of Jājalladēva II (No. 99), because the last figure of the date is uncertain. See below, p. 529. (4) The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasinhha (No. 64), because its evidence is not conclusive; the date can be taken as recorded either in a current or in an expired year. See below, p. 332, n. 2. All these dates have, however, been fully discussed in the introductory articles of these inscriptions. I have omitted one more date, *viz.*, K. 928, Māgha-vadi 10, Monday, though it regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 928, to Monday, the 27th December 1176 A. C.; for, it is known only from a statement of Caaningham. See his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 111 and *Indian Eras*, p. 61.

(6) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 27 : 7, which is in accordance with the general usage of quoting expired years, noticed in the case of the other Indian eras.

The uniform agreement of these 34 later dates of the Kalachuri era clearly establishes that the era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta Kārttika śu. di. 1* (the 6th October) in 248 A. C.

Now, this conclusion conflicts with the result already obtained from an examination of the available five early dates of the era which contained the necessary details for computation, *viz.*, that the era commenced on the *amānta Kārttika śu. di. 1* (the 25th September) in 249 A. C. It may be noted in this connection that the two types of dates do not come from the same part of the country. The earlier dates come from Gujarat and Maharashtra, while the later ones are obtained from North India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. It seems to me that the only way in which we can reconcile these two epochs of the era is to suppose that when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India, its current years were erroneously supposed to be expired ones. The commencement of the era came consequently to be antedated by one year.¹ Again, though the year continued to be *Kārttikādi*, its months became *pūrṇimānta* in accordance with the general usage prevailing in North India.

The Kalachuri-Chēdi era, therefore, originally commenced on *Kārttika śu. di. 1* (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ERA

We shall next turn to the question, 'What historical event does this era commemorate?' For a correct answer to this question we must take the following points into consideration.

(1) Though in some later records, the years of the era are specified as *Chēdi-saṃvat* or *Chēd-īśasya saṃvat* and *Kalachuri-saṃvat*, it by no means follows that the era was known by either of these names from early times; for, in the early records of the Māhārājās of Khandesh, the Traikūtakas, the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas, the years of the era are introduced simply by the word *saṃvat*. The name *Chēdi-saṃvat*, *Chēdi-dishṭa* (or *Chēd-īśasya saṃvat*) and *Kalachuri-saṃvat* occur in only nine records,² eight of which come from Chhattisgarh. The earliest of them belongs to the last quarter of the eleventh century A. C. The reason why this era came to be known by these names in Chhattisgarh is not far to seek. Before the advent of the Kalachuris, the general custom prevailing in Chhattisgarh, as in several other parts of India, was to date events in the regnal years of the ruling king.³ When the Kalachuris established themselves in Chhattisgarh, they introduced there the era which they had been using in their home province of Dāhala for several centuries. It, therefore, came to be designated as *Kalachuri-saṃvat*. The other name *Chēdi-saṃvat* or *Chēd-īśasya saṃvat* was also appropriate; for, the Imperial family to which the Tummāṇa branch owed allegiance was then ruling over the Chēdi country.

¹ A mistake of the opposite type seems to have occurred in recording the date Śaka 1322 of No. 107. The correct date was *expired* Śaka 1323, but the writer seems to have taken it as *current* and so put down Śaka 1322, evidently as an expired year. Three other instances of the same type (*viz.*, expired Śaka years erroneously regarded as current ones) were noticed by Kielhorn during his examination of the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 268.

² The phrase *Chēd-īśasya saṃvat* occurs in the date 831 of No. 76, *Chēdi-saṃvat* in the dates 919 and 933 of Nos. 98 and 100, and *Chēdi-dishṭa* in the date 902 of No. 38 (which is in verse). The expression *Kalachuri-saṃvatsara* is noticed in the dates 885, 893, 896, 898 and 910 of Nos. 122, 87, 88, 110 and 95 respectively. Of these, only the date 902 comes from the country, north of the Narmadā.

³ See, for instances, the dates of the records of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of the Sōmavarṇśī dynasty. The only early record from Chhattisgarh which is dated in any era is the Āraṅg plate of Bhīmasēna. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. It contains the date 182 of the Gupta era. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the contemporary ruler of Tripuri is invariably referred to as *Chēd-īśa*, *Chēdi-narāṇdra* or *Chēdiya* (the lord of Chēdi) in the records from Chhattisgarh.¹ These names of the era do not, therefore, indicate that the era was started by the Kalachuris or that it originated in the Chēdi country.

The other name *Traikāṭaka*, which is sometimes used to designate the era, is due to a wrong interpretation of an expression occurring in the Kaphēri plate, dated K. 245, as already pointed out by Dr. Fleet.²

Like several other eras, the era of 249-50 A. C. also had no special name in the beginning. Its years were introduced by the simple word *sam* or *samvat*.

(2) The earliest records dated in this era come from Central India, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nagpur, Nasik and Khandesh. No certain dates of this era come from North India until the middle of the ninth century A. C., i. e., until after its introduction in the Chēdi country by the Kalachuris. We have already seen that the theories that the records of Kanishka and his successors, the so-called Kushāṇa-putras, the Maghas of Kausāmbi and the Uchchakalpas of Central India are dated in the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era are untenable.³ The era must, therefore, have originated south of the Narmadā.

These considerations point to Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra as the original home of the era. Let us next consider the political condition in circa 250 A. C. in this part of the country which led to its foundation.

The Purāṇas say that when the kingdom of the Andhras will come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants.⁴ Among these latter are mentioned ten Ābhīra kings who are said to have ruled for 67 years. Scholars are not unanimous as to when the kingdom of the Andhras came to an end. The duration of the Andhra or Sātavāhana rule is variously given by the Purāṇas, viz., as 460 years by the *Matsya*, 411 by the *Vāyu* and 456 by the *Brahmāṇḍa*, the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata*.⁵ The date of the commencement of their rule is also uncertain. Inscriptions afford, however, some basis for calculation. It is well known that there was an interruption in the Sātavāhana rule over Gujarat and Maharashtra. The Śaka Satrap Bhūmaka established himself in Gujarat and Nahapāna in Maharashtra. The Sātavāhanas, who were ousted from this part of the country, seem to have retired to Vidarbha.⁶ They attempted to reconquer their lost territory during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This Sātavāhana king is said to have exterminated the Kshaharāta family to which Nahapāna belonged.⁷ The decisive battle seems to have been fought in the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra's reign; for, soon after

¹ See line 19 of No. 77, l. 5 of No. 93 and l. 18 of No. 98. Cunningham's view that Chhattisgarh was Eastern Chēdi is erroneous.

² *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 567.

³ See above, pp. viii ff.; also *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 171 ff. As for the theory that the era was started by Vamataksha of the Kushāṇaputra dynasty (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 191 ff.), it is in the first place not clear that there was such a dynasty; for, the expression *Kushāṇaputra* occurs only in one record, viz., that of Vamataksha himself and may simply mean 'a scion of the Kushāṇa family'.

⁴ Cf. *Andhrāṅgām samsthithē rājyē teshām bhṛity-ānvayā nṛpāḥ | sapt=iv=Āndhrā bhavishyanti daś=Ābhīras=tathā nṛpāḥ || D. K. A.*, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45 and n. 33.

⁶ Gautamīputra calls himself *Bhāṇakapa-māmī* in his Nāsik cave inscription (Lüders' List, No. 1125). That Bhāṇakapa was a district of ancient Vidarbha is shown by the Tirōḍi plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravara-sēna II. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff. See also *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

⁷ See the expression *Kshaharāta-vata-niravaseṣa-karasa* describing Gautamīputra in l. 6 of the Nāsik cave inscription. Lüders' List, No. 1125; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

the victory he donated a field to the Buddhist monks living in the caves near Nasik.¹ The Kshaharāta Satrap defeated by Gautamīputra is not named, but he was probably Nahapāna himself; for we know of no successor of the latter. Besides, Gautamīputra is known to have called back and restruck Kshatrapa coins in order to proclaim the establishment of his rule. The Jogaltembhi hoard, discovered in 1906, contained hundreds of coins of this type. But among them there was not a single coin of any successor of Nahapāna, which shows that Gautamīputra came immediately after Nahapāna.²

Now, the last known date of Nahapāna is 46, which it seems best to refer to the Saka era. It is thus equivalent to *circa* 124 A. C. Supposing that Nahapāna suffered a defeat in this very year, 124 A. C. becomes the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign. Gautamīputra may, therefore, have come to the throne in *circa* 107 A. C. The Purāṇas name the successors of Gautamīputra and give their reign-periods as follows :—

Gautamīputra	..	21 years,	<i>circa</i>	107—127 A. C.
Puṣumāvi II	..	28 „	„	128—155 „
Sātakarṇi	..	29 „	„	156—184 „
Śivaśrī Puṣumāvi III	..	7 „	„	185—191 „
Śivaskanda	..	3 „	„	192—194 „
Yajñaśrī	..	29 „	„	195—223 „
Vijaya	..	6 „	„	224—229 „
Chandaśrī Śāntikarṇa	..	10 „	„	230—239 „
Puṣumāvi IV	..	7 „	„	240—246 „

The find of potin coins at Tarhālā in the Akola District of Berar plainly indicates that all these kings³ continued to hold Maharashtra to the end of the Sātavāhana age. The reign-periods mentioned in the Purāṇas are not, however, absolutely trustworthy. In the first place, there are many variants, and even if we take the readings supported by the best MSS., their statements are in some cases contradicted by contemporary inscriptions. The Purāṇas, for instance, assign a reign-period of only 21 years to Gautamīputra, but from a Nasik cave inscription⁴ he is known to have reigned for at least 24 years. There may, therefore, be similar discrepancies in other reign-periods also. Besides, it is not certain that the battle between Gautamīputra and Nahapāna was fought in the Saka year 46 and not later. Notwithstanding these circumstances which render the accuracy of the dates doubtful, we may say that the Sātavāhanas continued to rule in Maharashtra till the middle of the 3rd century A. C. The Purāṇas say that the successors of the Andhras (*i. e.*, the Sātavāhanas) were the Ābhīras. And it is worthy of note that we do find an inscription of the reign of the Ābhīra king Śīvarasēna, the son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta, at Nasik.⁵ Its characters and the predominance of Sanskrit in its language suggest that Śīvarasēna flourished later than the Sātavāhanas, all of whose records are in Prakrit. Śīvarasēna's father Śivadatta bears no princely title. This indicates that Śīvarasēna was the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 ff.

² See *P. H. A. I.* (fourth ed.), p. 490.

³ *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 ff. The hoard contained coins of Sātakarṇi (probably identical with Gautamīputra), Puṣumāvi, Śivaśrī-Puṣumāvi, Skanda (probably identical with Śivaskanda), Yajñaśrī, Vijaya, Karṇa, probably the same as Chandaśrī-Śāntikarṇa, and Puṣumāvi (probably identical with Puṣumāvi IV). Some of the coins with legend *Sātakarṇi* can, on palaeographic grounds, be referred to a Sātakarṇi later than Gautamīputra. They were probably issued by the (Vāsishṭhīputra) Sātakarṇi who according to a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* succeeded Puṣumāvi and ruled for 29 years. *D. K. A.*, p. 42.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 73.

⁵ No. 1.

founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. Perhaps, he was previously a military officer of the Sātavāhanas.¹ From the Gunda inscription² we know of another Ābhīra *Sēnāpati* named Rudrabhūti, the son of the commander Bāhaka, who was in the service of the Western Kshatrapa Rudrasamha I in 181 A. C. Īśvarasēna may have held a similar office under the last Sātavāhana king Puṣumāvi IV. In that case his military power and the influence he commanded may have helped him in usurping the throne after Puṣumāvi IV.

Several scholars identify this Īśvarasēna with Īśvaradatta whose silver coins dated in the first and second regnal years have been discovered at several places in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana. About the exact period in which he flourished, there has, however, been a great divergence of opinion.³ Pandit Bhagvanlal placed him in the gap of the years 171-176, for which no coins of the Western Kshatrapas were available in his time. Later on, Prof. Rapson showed that the gap did not exist, as he discovered coins of the dates from 171 to 176. Rapson himself assigned him to the gap between the years 158 and 161, but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that that gap too was virtually non-existent, as he found a coin dated 160 in the Sarvāñā hoard. Īśvaradatta may, of course, have been an Ābhīra, though his coins do not say so explicitly; for, the Nasik inscription shows that the Ābhīras bore names ending in *datta* as well as in *sēna*. But it is doubtful if he was identical with Īśvarasēna, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty; for, his coins are dated only in the first and second years of his reign⁴ and are found only in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana.⁵ This plainly indicates that he had a meteoric rise in that part of the country, but was promptly subdued by the Western Kshatrapas. If he later on retired to Maharashtra and established himself there, his coins dated in subsequent years should have been found there; for, the Nāsik inscription shows that Īśvarasēna continued to hold Maharashtra at least till the ninth regnal year.

Prof. Rapson, who placed Īśvaradatta in the gap of Saka 159-160, suggested that the era of 249-50 A. C. might have marked the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during one of the successors of Īśvardatta rather than its first beginnings.⁶ But the history of other Indian eras shows that they generally originated in an extension of regnal dates. The Kushāṇa era, for instance, owed its use to the continuation of Kanishka's regnal dates by his successors Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vāsudēva. The same may have happened in the case of the era of 249-50 A. C. It seems to have commenced with the reign of the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, and was apparently continued by his successors, of whom as many as nine reigned according to the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas unfortunately do not name these Ābhīra kings, but they state that their rule lasted for 67 years. Judging by the extent of the use of their era, their kingdom seems to have comprised parts of Central India as well as Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nasik and Khandesh.

It has been suggested that the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas were identical, Ābhīra being a racial name, and Traikūṭaka, a regional one. The names of the princes belonging to these two dynasties end in either *datta* or *sēna*, which lends colour to this identification.

¹ It may be noted that the Purāṇas call the Ābhīras *Andrabhṛītyas* or servants of the Andhras (*i.e.*, of the Sātavāhanas).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157; *J. R. A. S.* for 1890, p. 650.

³ See above, pp. vii ff.

⁴ The legend on his coins is *Rājās Mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varshē prathamē* (or *dvitīyē*).

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 624. Sarvāñā, where also the coins of Īśvaradatta were found, is in the former Bānswārā State in Rajputana. The Sonpur (Chhindwārā District, Madhya Pradesh) hoard apparently did not contain any coins of Īśvaradatta. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, Num. Suppl., pp. 93 ff.

⁶ *C. A. D.*, p. clxii.

But the Chandravalli inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūrasārman,¹ which may be referred to the fourth century A.C., mentions the Ābhīras separately from the Traikūṭakas. This suggests that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were not identical. The Ābhīras, who probably had their stronghold in Khandesh,² held imperial sway, while the Traikūṭakas, who rose to power in the Nasik District, may have been a feudatory family owing allegiance to the Ābhīras. As stated before, the Purāṇas assign a period of only 67 years to the reign of ten Ābhīra kings. This is abnormally low. Perhaps the expression *sapta-shashṭhi śatān=īha*,³ stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, is a mistake for *sapta-shashṭim śatañ=ch=īha*.⁴ In that case the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years or till 415 A. C. After the fall of the Ābhīra dynasty the Traikūṭakas attained imperial position. As shown elsewhere, *Mahārāja* Indradatta, the first known Traikūṭaka king, seems to have flourished in the period *circa* 415—440 A. C.⁵ He and his successors continued the era started by the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, as it had by that time become 'the habitual and well-established reckoning of the country.' The history of other Indian eras shows that once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harsha, for instance, continued to be used long after him though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. It is, therefore, not surprising that the era of the Ābhīras also remained current in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra long after the downfall of the Ābhīra dynasty.

LOCALITY OF THE ERA

The earliest date of the era is K. 9, which belongs to the reign of the founder, the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. The next three dates, *viz.*, K. 67, 107 and 117 come from Khandesh and are furnished by the grants of a feudatory family which plainly owed allegiance to the contemporary Ābhīra Emperors. We have then the dates K. 102 and 167, the first from Kānākhērā near Sāñchī and the second from the former Barwāni State, which belong to the reigns of the Śaka king Śrīdhavarman and Subandhu of Māhishmatī respectively and clearly show that the era had spread beyond the Narmadā in the North. The three following dates K. 207, 241 and 245 belong to the Traikūṭakas who succeeded the Ābhīras in Gujarat, Konkan and the Nasik District. Following upon these is the date K. 292 of No. 11. It belongs to the reign of *Mahārāja* Saṅgamasimha, who seems to have occupied Central Gujarat after the fall of the Traikūṭakas. The next date K. 322 of No. 120 comes from the Nagpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and belongs to the reign of Svāmīrāja, who was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja.

Of the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī who succeeded the Traikūṭakas in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, we have the next three dates, *viz.*, K. 347, 360 and 361 of Nos. 12, 14 and 15, one of which belong to Gujarat and the other two to the Nāsik District of Maharashtra. The inscriptions of the Gurjara kings who held Gujarat north of the Kīm after the fall of the Kalachuris furnish the next eight dates, *viz.*, K. 380, 385, 391 392 (in two grants) 427, 456, 460 and 486 (in two grants) of Nos. 16-20, 121 and 21-24. Contemporaneously with these, we have two dates, *viz.*, K. 404 and 406 of Nos. 25 and 26, belonging to the

¹ A. R. A. S. M. (1929), p. 50.

² Ābhīra kings were ruling at Bhambhāgiri (Bhāmēr in the Pimpalner *tāluka* of West Khandesh) till the time of the Later Yādava king Simhaṇa. *Fp. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 203.

³ D. K. A., p. 46, n. 37.

⁴ For a similar expression, see *pañcha varsha-śatān=īha* (*ibid.*, p. 47), which Pargiter takes as 'probably meaning 105 years'. *Ibid.*, p. 72, n. 15.

⁵ See below, p. xlii.

Sēndrakas, who held Southern Gujarat and Khandesh as feudatories of the Western Chālukyas, and four more, *viz.*, K. 421, 436, 443 and 490 of Nos. 27-30, furnished by the records of a feudatory Chālukya family which was at first ruling over the Nasik District, but later on supplanted the Sēndrakas in Southern Gujarat. Finally, the Hariśchandriyas, whom the Western Chālukyas placed in charge of Konkan and the Nasik District, furnish only one date, *viz.*, K. 461 of No. 31.

After K. 461 (709-10 A. C.) we have no dates of this era from Konkan or Maharashtra. Even before this date we find that the era was yielding ground to its rival, the Saka era. The Western Chālukyas and their feudatories, the Sēndrakas, who came from the Kanarese country, were using the Saka era in their home province. When they conquered and established themselves in Gujarat and Maharashtra, they continued to use the Kalachuri era evidently because it had become the habitual reckoning of that part of the country, but they gradually introduced there the Saka era which was current in their home province. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti, for instance, issued two charters in 656 A. C. Both of them were granted in Gujarat, but while one of them (No. 26) which records the gift of a village in Gujarāt is dated in the year 406 of the Kalachuri era, the other which registers the donation of another village situated in Khandesh bears the date 577 of the Saka era.¹ Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also, who was ruling over Khandesh, dates his Mundkhēḍē plates in the Saka era.² The Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas generally used the Kalachuri era in dating their land-grants in Gujarat. But Maṅgala-rāja, who succeeded Dharaśraya-Jayasimha, is known to have issued a charter, dated in the year 653 of the Saka era.³ The charter is not forthcoming now, but in view of another record of the same prince from the Thana District⁴ it may be conjectured that it registered a grant of land in North Konkan.

In the Nasik District and Gujarat the Kalachuri era lingered a little longer. The latest date of that era from the Nasik District is K. 461 (710-11 A. C.).⁵ The Saka era, which had already penetrated into Southern Maharashtra before 687 A. C., the date of the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya,⁶ soon ousted the Kalachuri era from Northern Maharashtra also. In Gujarat the era was current for at least 30 years more till 740 A. C.; for, the Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin are dated K. 490 (740 A. C.). After Pulakēśin's death, the country to the north of the Kīṃ was occupied by the Chāhamānas, who, coming as they did from the north, had a predilection for the Vikrama era. Their Hansot grant found in Gujarat is dated V. 814 (756 A. C.).⁷ Southern Gujarat was held by a feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family which for the first time introduced the Saka era in that part of the country. Their earliest grant from Gujarat is dated Saka 679 (757 A. C.).⁸ After the middle of the 8th century A. C. we have no date of the Kalachuri era from Konkan, Gujarat and Maharashtra, the provinces where it had originated five centuries before.

When the Kalachuris migrated to Central India and shifted their capitals to Kālañjara and Tripurī, they took with them the era which they had habitually used in their earlier

¹ See the Nāgād plates, dated Śaka 577, edited by G. H. Khare in the *Sanskṛtśākhā* (Dhulia), Vol. VIII.

² They are dated in Śaka 602. See *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Ś. 1834), pp. 169-171.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁴ This charter is dated Ś. 613 and records the grant of some villages in the Thana District of the Bombay State. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ If my reading and interpretation of the date of the Ellora plates are correct, that record would furnish a later date, *viz.*, K. 463 from the Aurangabad District of the Hyderabad State.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 63 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

⁸ See the Antroli-Chharoli plates of Karka II, Ś. 679. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

kingdom and made it current throughout their dominions.¹ Unfortunately, the earliest records of this era found at Saugor and Chhoti-Deori are undated. The first date of the Kalachuri era obtained from North India is K. 393 (841-42 A. C.) of No. 37, furnished by a record from Kātitalāi in the Jabalpur District. It is followed by twenty dates ranging from K. 724 to K. 963. Most of them are from the inscriptions of the Imperial Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. Among these, seven dates, *viz.*, K. 724, 772, 789, 800, 812, 823 (?) and 961 (or 962) of Nos. 44, 47, 1 (App.), 51, 53, 56 and 70 respectively, come from the former Rewa State in Vindhya Pradesh; two dates, *viz.*, K. 909 of No. 61 and K. 958 of No. 71, are furnished by the former States of Nāgōd and Pannā; two more dates, *viz.*, K. 793 of No. 48 and K. 810 of No. 52, are obtained from Uttar Pradesh and the remaining six, *viz.*, 529 (?), 902, 907, 918, 926 and 928 of Nos. 2 (App.), 58, 60, 63, 64 and 66 respectively, are supplied by the Jabalpur, Damoh and Saugor Districts of Madhya Pradesh. Two dates, *viz.*, K. 926 of No. 65 and K. 944 of No. 67, belong to the feudatories of the Kalachuris, *viz.*, Kirtivarman and Malayasimha, who were holding parts of the former Rewa State. The territory round Rewa passed into the possession of the Chandēlla Trailōkyamalla (or Trailōkyavarman) in *circa* K. 962. The Chandēllas were using the Vikrama era in their own records, but in the Dhureti plates which record a transaction made in the beginning of Trailōkyamalla's rule in the Chēdi country the Kalachuri era, not the Vikrama *saṃvat*, is used for the purpose of dating.

K. 963 (1212 A. C.) is the last date of the Kalachuri era which comes from North India. With the contraction of Kalachuri power during the reigns of the weak successors of Yaśaḥkarna, the era gradually lost ground to its rival, *viz.*, the Vikrama *saṃvat* which was current in the adjoining provinces ruled by the Paramāras, the Chandēllas and the Gāhaḍavālas. The gradual encroachment made by the Vikrama era is illustrated by two dates, V. 1216 (1159 A. C.) of No. 62 and V. 1253 (1195 A. C.) of No. 68. Both of them come from the northern parts of the Rewa State, and mention the contemporary Kalachuri Suzerains Narasimha and Vijayasimha. But instead of being dated in the era of the Imperial family, they refer themselves to the Vikrama *saṃvat*. With the downfall of the Kalachuris of Tripuri, the era vanished from North India.

As stated above, the earlier North-Indian dates of the era are not forthcoming, but speaking generally, in the period 750 to 1215 A. C. the era was current some time or other in that portion of India which would be bounded by straight lines drawn from Saugor to Allahabad, then to Banaras, from there through Bandhogarh to the Narmadā and then along the bank of the river to the western boundary of the Jabalpur District.

When a branch of the Kalachuri family established itself at Tummāṇa towards the close of the ninth century A. C., it introduced the era in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. But here too, as in the other parts of India, the earlier dates of the era are not available. The first date which comes from Chhattisgarh is K. 821 (1069 A. C.) of No. 75. This is followed by 24 other dates ranging from K. 831 to K. 969. They are furnished by the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and their feudatories, ruling in Chhattisgarh including the former States of Kawardhā and Kānkēr. Down to 1220 A. C. the era was current in that portion of South India which stretched from the eastern boundary of the Balaghat, Bhandara and Chanda districts in the west to that of the Raigarh District in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the northern part of the Bastar District in the south.² After 1220

¹ The branch of the Kalachuris which established itself in the country of Sarayūpāra does not, however, appear to have used the Kalachuri era.

² Two copper-plate inscriptions, dated in the years 260 and 283 of an unspecified era, have been found at Soro in the Balasore District and Paṇḍakellā in the Cuttack District of Orissa respectively (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol.

A.C. the era began to lose ground in this part of the country also. The later records of the Kalachuris themselves came to be dated in the Vikrama samvat. The earliest of such dates is V. 1458 (1402 A.C.) of No. 107, which belongs to the reign of the later Kalachuri king Brahmadēva, who ruled at Raipur and Khalvāṭikā (modern Khalāri) in the Raipur District. As the memory of the Kalachuri era soon faded from the public mind, it was found necessary to change the Kalachuri date 900 of No. 93 to 1207 of the Vikrama samvat.

SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE CALCULATED DATES

Jovian years—Only three Kalachuri dates, viz., K. 322 of No. 120, K. 800 of No. 31, and K. 966 of No. 117 cite Jupiter's years. The first of these is of the twelve-year cycle, and the other two, of the sixty-year cycle. The first date is regular, but suggests a new epoch of the era, viz., 250-51 A.C. The second date works out regularly according to the northern luni-solar system; for, the cyclic year Khara was current during the Kalachuri year 800. The third date has quoted the cyclic year Īśvara incorrectly; for, according to the northern mean-sign system, the Jovian year had ended more than a year before the commencement of the cited Kalachuri year.¹

Intercalary months—Only one date, K. 938 of No. 71 cites an intercalary month, viz., Āshāḍha which is specified as *prathama* Āshāḍha. It works out quite regularly. In two other cases also, viz., K. 909 of No. 61 and K. 928 of No. 66, the month Śrāvaṇa was intercalary, though it is not so specified. Prof. Kielhorn has noticed several similar cases of the Vikrama and Śaka dates in which the months were intercalary, though they were not so indicated by the wording of the dates.²

Irregular tithis—The only cases of irregular *tithis* noticed among the dates of the Kalachuri era which contain the necessary details for verification are five, viz., K. 772 of No. 47, K. 823 of No. 36, K. 883 of No. 122, K. 963 of No. 72 and K. 963 of No. 101. The first of these shows deviation of only one day in the specification of the week-day, which is not rare in inscriptional dates. In the second case the numerals of the date have been wrongly written as appears plain from other evidence. The irregularities in the remaining three cases can be clearly attributed to the carelessness of the scribes. Besides these, there is one more date, viz., K. 1000 of No. 92, in which the mistake is of the copyist who transcribed the record on the present plates from others which had probably suffered damage by corrosion.

Current tithis—In ten dates (viz., K. 460 of No. 22, K. 436 of No. 28, K. 486 of No. 23, K. 883 of No. 122, K. 890 of No. 86, K. 897 of No. 123, K. 903 of No. 94, K. 907 of No. 60, K. 926 of No. 63 and K. 963 of No. 116) the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced, and not, as is usual, with the week-day on which it ended. In the first and third of these cases the reason is obvious; for, they are cases of *saṅkrāntis* which occurred during the particular *tithi*, though the latter were not current at sunrise. The second case is similar to that of Śaka 996 (in the Bijāpur stone inscription of the Western

(Continued from the last page.)

XXIII, pp. 197 ff., and Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff). They refer themselves to the reign of *Mahārāja* Sambhuvāsas, the ruler of Tōsalī. These dates have been referred to the Kalachuri era on the evidence of palæography. Apart from these doubtful cases, no records of this era have been found in Orissa. On the other hand, the Āraṅ plates of Bhīmasēna, dated in the year 182, and the Ganjām plates of Śatāṅka, dated in the year 300, expressly refer themselves to the Gupta era, which clearly shows that the Gupta era was current in Chhattisgarh and Ganjām in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. As for the early forms of the test letters noticed in the aforementioned records, they can be satisfactorily accounted for, as these records fall in the period 580-603 A.C. if their dates are referred to the Gupta era.

¹ In two other records edited here (viz., Nos. 107 and 108) the cyclic years are correctly cited according to the northern luni-solar system, but these records are dated not in the Kalachuri, but in the Vikrama and Śaka eras.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 411; Vol. XXV, p. 271.

Chālukya Sōmēśvara II) which Prof. Kielhorn has taken to be regular.¹ In the seventh and eighth cases the *tithis* which commenced within about two hours after mean sunrise have been cited probably because they were current almost throughout the day. The sixth and ninth are *śrāddha-tithis*, and it is well-known that for the performance of a *śrāddha* the particular *tithi* is required to be current in the afternoon. In the remaining cases the *tithi* may have been cited, because it was current at the time of the transaction.

Special names of *tithis*—The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha is called *akshaya-tritīyā* in the date K. 905 of No. 94. Several grants dated in this era were made on the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, but only in two records (*viṣ.*, Nos. 11 and 30) the *tithi* is called *Mahā-Kārttikī*. The eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha is called *Rath-āshṭamī* in No. 88. This *tithi* goes now by the name of *Bhīṣm-āshṭamī*, the preceding *tithi* being called *Ratha-saptamī*. The latter is correctly named in No. 121. Appendix, No. 4 mentions a *yugādi* as a holy *tithi* on which Gōsaladēvī, the mother of the king Vijaya-siniha, bathed in the Narmadā, but it is not further specified.

Nakshatras—No early record of the era mentions any *nakṣatra*. The first inscription in which a *nakṣatra* is referred to is No. 83. It states that the moon was in conjunction with the *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇī at the time of her eclipse on the Kārttika *paurṇimā* in K. 880. *Nakṣatras* are correctly quoted in three other records, *viṣ.*, Hasta in K. 928 of No. 66, Mṛiga in the date K. 965 of No. 116 and Chitrā in K. 966 of No. 117. There is no mention of *karaṇas*, *yōgas* or *lagnas* anywhere in the records of this era.

Eclipses—Lunar eclipses are quoted in six dates, *viṣ.*, K. 456 of No. 21; K. 880 of No. 83; K. 890 of No. 86; K. 900 of No. 91; K. 918 of No. 63 and K. 969 of No. 102. Of these, the lunar eclipse of K. 880 is noteworthy; for, it was predicted by an astrologer in opposition to others who held a divergent opinion at the court of Ratnadēva II. When his prediction came true, he was rewarded with the grant of a village. Solar eclipses are cited in seven dates, *viṣ.*, K. 322 of No. 120; K. 404 of No. 25; K. 885 of No. 122; K. 896 of No. 89; K. 900 of No. 90; K. 926 of No. 64 and K. 966 of No. 117. All these eclipses, except that in K. 885, occurred on the days and in the years mentioned and were visible in India. As regards the eclipse in K. 885, there is probably a mistake in the specification of the month in which it occurred.

Saṅkrāntis—Three early dates, *viṣ.*, K. 436 of No. 28, K. 460 of No. 22 and K. 486 of No. 24, mention saṅkrāntis. The first of these—the Vishuva or Mēsha-saṅkrānti—took place about seven hours before the commencement of the *tithi* with which it is coupled.² The other two saṅkrāntis, *viṣ.*, the Tulā and the Karkaṭaka, occurred during the respective *tithis*. Among later dates, only three, *viṣ.*, K. 821 of No. 75, K. 823 of No. 56, and K. 965 of No. 101, record grants made on the occasion of saṅkrāntis. In the first of these, the saṅkrānti was the Uttarāyaṇa or Makara; in the second, it is not specified, but as it is said to have occurred on the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, it must have been Mīna. This saṅkrānti does not work out regularly. There is apparently some mistake in the numerals of the year which should be 827. The third saṅkrānti was again Makara, but it is not coupled with any *tithi* or week-day and, therefore, does not admit of verification.³

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 294.

² For a similar case, see the date Ś. 996. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

³ The Jabalpur copper-plate inscription of Yaśaḥkarna (No. 57) also recorded a grant made on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti, but the details of the date, which occurred on the second plate, now lost, are uncertain. For a conjectural restoration of it, see below, p. 302. No. 74 also mentions the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti which occurred during the stated *tithi*, but its date belongs not to the Kalachuri era, but to the Vikrama era.

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE ABHIRAS

The Abhīras were an ancient race which, according to the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa* and the Purāṇas, had spread in the western provinces of India from the Panjab in the north to Maharashtra in the south. They are, in many passages, conjoined with the Sūdras, with whom they appear to be conterminous in the north-western parts of India.¹ They spoke a language which, according to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*², was called Apabhraṃśa. The *Mahābhārata*³ and the *Vāyupurāṇa*⁴ call them *Mlēcchhas*. This term, according to Patañjali, signifies those who could not pronounce the Āryan language correctly.⁵ Like the Sūdras, therefore, the Abhīras were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the country who were gradually admitted to the Hindu fold.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions three divisions of the Abhīras dwelling in the north-west of India, *viz.*, those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvatī, fishermen and mountaineers.⁶ In another passage the epic states that the *śīrṭha* Vinasana lay in the country of the Abhīras as the sacred river Sarasvatī disappeared at the place through hatred of the Sūdras and the Abhīras living there.⁷ Elsewhere, Pañchanada, the land of the five rivers, is described as the stronghold of the Abhīras.⁸ We are told that while Arjuna was encamped in that fertile country together with the women of the Vṛishnis and the Andhakas, whom he was escorting from Dvārakā to Hastināpura after the internecine fight amongst the Yādavas, he was attacked by the Abhīras. All these references indicate the eastern part of the Panjab between the Satlaj and the Yamunā as the original home-land of the Abhīras. From there they appear to have spread beyond Mathura in the east and to Saurashtra, Gujarat and Maharashtra in the south. Ptolemy mentions Abiria, which was evidently the country of the Abhīras. It was situated above Pattalene on the Sindhu and probably corresponds to the central portion of Sindh above the delta of that river.⁹ According to the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, the Sūdras and the Abhīras inhabited the provinces of Saurāshṭra, Avanti (Western Malwa), Sūra (Mathurā), Arbuda (Aravali) and Marubhūmi (Marwad).¹⁰ The *Bṛihatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira mentions the Abhīra country with Kōṅkaṇa among the *janapadas* of the south.¹¹ Parāśara, cited in the commentary of the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, also groups the Sūdra-Abhīra country with Saurāshṭra, Mahārāshṭra, Sindhu-Sauvīra and other countries of the south-west.¹² The *Vāyṇ* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* Purāṇas mention in one passage that the Abhīras dwelt in the north-west region, but in another passage they place them in the south together with the

¹ See MBH., Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10; Śalyaparvan, ad. 37, v. 1; Parāśara cited in BS., Vol. I, p. 288; VSHP., arṇa II, ad. 3, v. 16.

² *Kāvyādarśa*, ch. I, v. 36. Namisādhu, a commentator of Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, also mentions Abhira as one of the three varieties of Apabhraṃśa. See *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, II, 12. According to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XVIII, 44), the language of the Abhīras was called Śābarī.

³ MBH. Mausalaparvan, ad. 7, v. 63.

⁴ VP., ad. 37, v. 263.

⁵ *Mahābhāṣya*, (ed. by Kielhorn), Vol. I, p. 2. The *Mlēcchhas* were not necessarily foreigners. Pāṇini in his *Dhātupāṭha* gives √ *mlēchh* in the sense of 'indistinct speech'. The word occurs in a Brāhmaṇa passage cited in the *Mahābhāṣya*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10.

⁷ Śalyaparvan, ad. 37, v. 1.

⁸ Mausalaparvan, ad. 7, vv. 43 ff. Also VSHP., arṇa V, ad. 38, v. 12.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 324.

¹⁰ VSHP., arṇa IV, ad. 24, v. 68.

¹¹ BS., Vol. I, p. 288.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

inhabitants of Mahārāshtra, Vidarbha, Āśmaka, Kuntala and others.¹ In a third passage the *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa* groups the Ābhīras with the people of Bhṛigu-kachchha, Kōṅkaṇa, Mahārāshtra, Karpāta, the country on the banks of the Vēṇī (Waingāṅgā), Nāsikya and others.² These passages seem to point to the modern district of Khandesh as their stronghold in the south. Even now the Ābhīras or Ahīras predominate in that district of the Bombay State.

From ancient times the Ābhīras have followed the profession of cowherds. Their settlement was called *ghōṣha*.³ The *Harivaṃśa* describes how Kṛishṇa, the incarnation of Viṣṇu, was brought up, since his birth, in a *ghōṣha* or settlement of cowherds.⁴ From certain similarities between the early lives of Kṛishṇa and Christ, such as the worship of the boy-god, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son and the massacre of innocents, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar inferred that the Ābhīras must have brought these stories with them when they migrated to India in the first century of the Christian era.⁵ This theory has since been shown to be untenable. The *Harivaṃśa* nowhere states that the cowherds among whom Kṛishṇa was brought up belonged to the Ābhīra race. The main incident of Kṛishṇa's early life, viz., his killing of Kāṁsa, was well-known long before the time of Patañjali (circa 150 B. C.); for, we learn from the *Mahābhāṣya* that it was dramatised and represented on the stage.⁶ Moreover, Patañjali specifically mentions the Ābhīras. While discussing the nature of the compound *Sūdr-Ābhīram*, he mentions the *prima facie* view that Ābhīra is a sub-caste under Sūdra and ultimately states his *siddhānta* that it is an altogether different caste.⁷ The discussion makes it plain that if the Ābhīras were foreigners, they must have migrated to India long before the second century B. C., in which we find them not only admitted to the Hindu fold but given a definite place in the caste system.

The status of the Ābhīras seems to have undergone changes in the course of ages. We have seen that in the time of Patañjali they were generally associated with the Sūdras, but were relegated to a different caste. According to the *Manusmṛiti*, the son of a Brāhmaṇa from an Ambashṭha woman belongs to the Ābhīra caste.⁸ Another *smṛiti*, cited by Kaiyaṭa, states that the woman should be of the Ugra caste.⁹ These are, of course, theories of Brahmanical writers. In practical life the Ābhīras generally resembled the Sūdras. The *Kāśikā*, a well-known commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, says that the Ābhīras were Mahāśūdras, i. e., superior Sūdras¹⁰ and this view is adopted in the *Amarakōśa*. As

¹ MP., ad. 57, vv. 35 and 47; VP., ad. 45, vv. 115 and 126.

² MP., ad. 58, vv. 21 ff.

³ Cf. *Ghōṣha Ābhīrapallī śyāt* in AK., II, 2, 20.

⁴ Cf. HV., Viṣṇuparvan, ad. 7, vv. 28 ff.

⁵ *Vaiṣṇavism, Sāivism, etc.* pp. 37 ff.

⁶ *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 36.

⁷ Cf. सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोक्तं द्वन्द्वो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोद्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते ब्रह्ममीरम्, गोबलीवर्धम्, तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैव दोषः । इह तावत् ब्रह्ममीरमिति ब्रह्मीरा जात्यन्तराणि ॥ *Mahābhāṣya*. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, p. 36.

⁸ MS., ad. X, v. 15. The children of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother belong to the Ambashṭha caste.

⁹ See Kaiyaṭa on the passage cited in n. 7, above. The children of a Sūdra woman from a Kshatriya belong to the Ugra caste.

¹⁰ The *Mahāśūdras* are mentioned in Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* as well as in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, but their identification with the Ābhīras is for the first time given by the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4. *Mahāśūdra* is mentioned in the *Kaṇṭika-sūtra* (XVII, 16) also, in connection with the coronation of a king. A commentator explains the term as *Sūdrāṇāṃ bal-adhikṛitaḥ*, 'a commander of the Sūdra army'. The *paddhati* of Kēśava also explains *Mahāśūdra* as 'a royal officer' (*Rājakiya mahāśūdraḥ*). J. A. O. S., Vol. XIV, pp. 46 and 317.

shown below, some Abhiras attained royal position, which seems to have raised the status of their caste. Kashiravāmin, a commentator of the *Amarakosa*, remarks that an Abhira belongs to the Vaiśya caste.¹ This view was probably based on the fact that the Abhiras generally followed the profession of cattle-breeding, which, from ancient times, has been regarded as the privilege of the Vaiśyas.

The *Mahābhārata* states that there were Abhira *ganas* dwelling in the north-west.² Like the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas mentioned by Alexander's historians, they also had probably a republican constitution. In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Abhiras are grouped with the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas and others who submitted and paid tribute to the great Gupta Emperor.³ These tribes are mentioned separately from the kings of Aryāvarta (*i. e.*, North India) whom Samudragupta forcibly uprooted. It is well-known that the Mālavas and the Yaudhēyas had republican organisations, as coins mentioning their *ganas* have been discovered.⁴ The inference, therefore, seems justifiable that like them the Abhiras too had a republican form of government. When the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas and Kushānas invaded the north-western parts of India, the Abhiras, like the Mālavas, Yaudhēyas, Sibis and others, migrated to the south and settled in Rajputana, Sindh and Maharashtra.⁵ They seem to have continued to hold their own in North India down to the Gupta age. We have, however, no further information about them as no inscriptions or coins of this tribe have been found in North India.

The Abhiras did not exclusively follow the profession of cowherds. Some took to other callings. Even now in the states of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh there are some Abhira Brāhmaṇas. In Khandesh, which is still their stronghold, they have adopted various professions such as those of goldsmiths and carpenters. On their migration to the south, some Abhiras seem to have occupied high political position under the Kshatrapa rulers of Western India. A stone inscription⁶ found at Gunda in Saurashtra mentions an Abhira general named Rudrabhūti, who served under the western Kshatrapa Rudrasimha. This inscription is dated Śaka 102 (180 A. C.). Īśvaradatta, who seems to have ousted the Western Kshatrapas, though for a very brief period, may have been an Abhira as supposed by some scholars.⁷ Other Abhiras may have held similar positions of power and vantage under the Śātavāhanas. The Purāṇas say that the Abhiras who succeeded the Andhras (*i. e.*, the Śātavāhanas) in the Deccan were Andhrabhṛityas, *i. e.*, servants of the Andhras.⁸ One of them, Īśvarasēna, seems to have usurped power after Puṣumāvi, the last king of the Śātavāhana dynasty.

From the Nasik cave inscription, which is the only early record of the Abhira dynasty, we learn that this Īśvarasēna was an Abhira and bore the title of *Rājan*.⁹ As his father Śivadatta bears no royal title, Īśvarasēna was plainly the founder of the Abhira dynasty. As shown before,¹⁰ he flourished about 250 A. C. and was probably the originator

¹ Cf. *Vaiśya-bhēda* = *Abhira-ga-śy-śpajit* in Kashiravāmin's commentary on *AK*, II, 6, 13.

² *Sab-Abhira-gaṇāśch-śine* in *Sabbāparvan*, ad. 32, v. 10.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

⁴ V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, pp. 173 and 182.

⁵ *MBH.* (Vanaparvan, ad. 188, vv. 35 ff.) states that the Abhiras will rise to power in the same age as the Sakas, Yavanas and Bāhlikas.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157; *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, Pl. XVII.

⁷ Above, pp. iv. ff.

⁸ *D. K. A.* p. 45.

⁹ No. 1, ll. 1-2.

¹⁰ Above, p. xxiv.

of the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era. Like his predecessors, the Śātavāhanas, he also used a metronymic and called himself Māḍharīputra. This clearly indicates that he took pride in tracing his descent on the mother's side from a Vedic sage. Though the Ābhīras themselves spoke an Apabhraṃśa or corrupt language, they, unlike the Śātavāhanas, seem to have patronised Sanskrit. It is worthy of note that the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna's reign is written in a language which is predominantly Sanskrit. It is, of course, not an official document, but it clearly shows that Sanskrit was slowly asserting itself under the rule of the Ābhīras.

Judging by the extent of his era, Īśvarasēna appears to have ruled over a large territory comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. He was followed by nine other kings, whose names have, unfortunately, not come down to us.¹ The Ābhīras seem to have ruled for 167 years² and were supplanted by their feudatories, the Traikūṭakas, in *circa* 415 A.C.

As stated above, Khandesh was the stronghold of the Ābhīras. Petty princes of the Ābhīra dynasty appear to have continued to rule in Khandesh till the 13th century A. C. A stone inscription at Āmbē in the Hyderabad State records that Khōlēśvara, a general of the Yādava king Śimhaṇa, exterminated Lakshmīdēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, who belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty.³ Bhambhāgiri is probably identical with Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizampur in the Pimpalner *tāluka* of the West Khandesh District. Near Bhāmēr is a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers and also some old caves locally known as 'Rājā's houses'.⁴ This fort was probably known as Bhambhāgiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Khōlēśvara as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakshmīdēva, the Ābhīra king of Bhambhāgiri, and a similar statement occurs about Śimhaṇa in the Uddari stone inscription.⁵ This plainly indicates that the whole family of Lakshmīdēva was exterminated, and his kingdom was annexed by the Yādava king Śimhaṇa.

Another king named Kāmapāla, who was vanquished by Kṛishṇa, the grandson and successor of Śimhaṇa, probably belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty; for, his defeat is said to have delighted the cowherds, who may have been oppressed by him.⁶ The Tāsgaon plates of Kṛishṇa's reign intimate that Kṛishṇa's feudatory Kēśava obtained a victory over a chief of the cowherds, who may have been identical with the aforementioned Kāmapāla.⁷ He also may have been ruling in some part of Khandesh. After the thirteenth century we do not hear of the Ābhīra kings.

Judging by their names, both Īśvarasēna and his father Sivadatta were followers of the Hindu religion and devotees of Śiva. But like their predecessors, the Śātavāhanas, the Ābhīras seem to have extended their patronage to the followers of other faiths also. That Buddhism was flourishing during their rule is clearly indicated by the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna's reign. Even foreigners like the Sakas embraced it and made munificent donations for the benefit of the Buddhist monks. Several guilds were

¹ Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* mentions the Ābhīra Kōṭṭarāja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother. The commentator Yaśōdhara says that he was ruling at Kōṭṭa in Gujarat. Kōṭṭarāja was probably his personal name. He may have been a successor of Īśvarasēna.

² See above, p. xxvi.

³ *J. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 434 ff.

⁵ *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), pp. 142 ff. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 202 n. 6.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 210.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 204, n. 4. An earlier king of the same dynasty was perhaps Kṛishṇa mentioned in the Balsāṇē stone inscription, dated Ś. 1106 (1184-85 A.C.). *B. I. S. M. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 71.

flourishing in their kingdom, in which people invested large amounts for making permanent endowments. This indicates that peace, order and a general sense of security prevailed in the country during their rule.

FEUDATORIES OF THE ABHIRAS

Mahārājas of Valkha—Until recently we had no knowledge of any feudatories of the Ābhīras. This was due to the circumstance that certain grants¹ which originally belonged to Khandesh and were dated in the Kalachuri era were relegated to North India and were supposed to be dated in the Gupta era as they were discovered at Indore. The close similarity which these grants bear in respect of characters, phraseology and mode of dating to a fragmentary grant found at Sirpur² in the West Khandesh District leaves no doubt that they also originally came from Khandesh.³ These grants give the following genealogy :—

Mahārāja Svāmidāsa (Year 67)

Mahārāja Bhulūṇḍa (Year 107)

Mahārāja Rudradāsa (Year 117)

As these grants do not mention any royal genealogy, the relation of these princes *inter se* is not known. All of them are described as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount', which clearly shows that they acknowledged the suzerainty of some other power. The dates of their grants must plainly be referred to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era founded by the Ābhīra Śvarasēna. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in these records correspond to 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 A. C. respectively. These princes were, therefore, probably feudatories of the Ābhīra Emperors.

These princes ruled from Valkha which is probably identical with Vāghli, now a small village, 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District.⁴ Most of the places mentioned in their grants can be identified in the vicinity of Vāghli.⁵

No copper-plates or stone inscriptions of any successors of Rudradāsa have been discovered, but in an inscription in Cave XVII at Ajantā⁶ we find similar names ending in *dāsa* which may have belonged to the same dynasty. This inscription gives the following genealogy :—

(Name lost)

Dhṛitarāshṭra

Harisāmba

Saurisāmba

Upēndragupta

Kācha I

¹ Nos. 2 and 3.

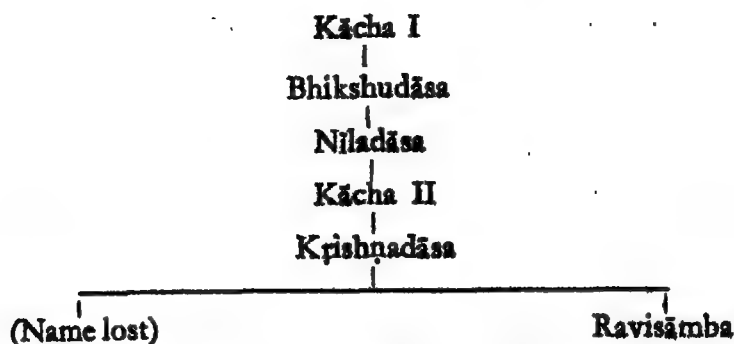
² No. 4.

³ The grants were taken to Indore by Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting copper-plates, Sanskrit manuscripts and other antiquities.

⁴ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has suggested that Valkha may be identical with Bāha in the Chalisgaon *Mukh* of East Khandesh, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently discovered. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 3.

⁵ See below, pp. 7 ff.

⁶ For a fuller account of this inscription, see my edition of it in *H. A. S.* No. 13.



The elder son of Kṛishṇadāsa, whose name is now illegible, was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba. He began to lead a pious life and caused several *stūpas* and *vihāras* to be constructed. He also got the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX at Ajaṇṭā excavated, while Harishēṇa, 'the moon among princes' (*kṣhitīndra-chandra*), was protecting the earth.

The foregoing account of the inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave XVII shows that the last of these princes was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa, who flourished from *circa* 475 A. C. to 500 A. C.¹ He was preceded by ten other princes. The first of these may, therefore, be placed in *circa* 275-300 A. C. He seems to have been placed in charge of a part of Khandesh by the contemporary Ābhīra Emperor.

Some of these princes mentioned in this Ajaṇṭā inscription were evidently contemporaries of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, whose dates range from 316 A. C. to 366 A. C., but the latter names do not occur anywhere, in the genealogy of the Ajaṇṭā inscription. There were, therefore, two separate branches of the same family ruling in different parts of Khandesh. One of them was ruling at Valkha as shown above.² The capital of the other is not known.

After the fall of the Ābhīras, these princes of Khandesh seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākāṭakas. A fragmentary verse in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā states that the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa raided or exacted tribute from Trikūṭa³ which comprised the territory round Nasik. Khandesh, which lay between Vidarbha and Trikūṭa, must have likewise submitted to the Vākāṭakas. This is also indicated by the manner in which the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa is mentioned in the inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII. Further, the *Daśakumāracharita* which, in its last *ucchbhāsa*, gives a narrative reflecting the last period of Vākāṭaka rule,⁴ *viz.*, the reign of Harishēṇa's son, mentions the ruler of Rishika (*i. e.*, modern Khandesh)⁵ as a feudatory of the king of

¹ H. A. S., No. 14, p. 9.

² D. C. Sircar has recently objected to the view mentioned above on the ground that the *Paramabhāṭāraka* overlords of feudatory *Mahārājas* are unknown before the age of the Imperial Guptas. He would place these *Mahārājas* of Valkha in the Anūpa country and refer the dates of their grants, *viz.*, the years 67, 107 and 117 to the Gupta era. H. C. I. P., Vol. II, p. 222, n. 3. It is difficult to accept this view. We have no other grants, made by feudatory princes of the Deccan in the pre-Gupta age, from which we could have drawn any conclusion about their titles and the manner in which they described their own feudatory status. The suggestion that these dates refer to the Gupta era is also not free from difficulties. The Guptas do not seem to have penetrated to the Anūpa country as early as G. 67 (386-87 A. C.). The earliest Gupta record found even in Eastern Malwa is dated G. 82. Anūpa, which lay farther west, could not have been included in the Gupta Empire fifteen years before. That these *Mahārājas* belonged to Khandesh is clearly indicated by the similarity of the names of two of them to those of some rulers of Khandesh, mentioned in the inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave XVII which belongs to the Vākāṭaka age.

³ H. A. S., No. 14 p. 11.

⁴ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 ff.

⁵ For this identification, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 167 ff.

Vidarbha. After the fall of the Vākṣakas, this feudatory family of Khandesh was overthrown by the Kalachuris who occupied Northern Maharashtra in *circa* 550 A. C.

Īśvararāta—Another feudatory who probably owed allegiance to the Abhiras was ruling in Central Gujarat. He is known from a fragmentary copper-plate grant discovered at Kalachhala near Chhota Udaipur in the Bombay State. Only the first plate of this grant, which originally must have consisted of two or three plates, has been found. It mentions one Īśvararāta, who meditated on the feet of a lord paramount (*Paramabhaṭṭāra-kapāḍ-ānadhyaṭa*). Īśvararāta, though he bears no royal title, was plainly a feudatory of some imperial power. He appears to have ruled over a fairly extensive territory; for, among the persons to whom he addressed his order are included such high officers of the State as *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*.¹ The extant portion of the grant contains no date, but its palaeography and wording, which closely resemble those of the aforementioned grants from Khandesh, indicate that Īśvararāta flourished in the 4th century A. C. Like the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, he was probably a feudatory of the Abhiras.

Īśvararāta's grant was made at Prachakāśā. This place may be identical with Prākāsha on the Tāpi in North Khandesh. The village Kūpikā granted by the charter cannot now be traced, but Vanikikā, the headquarters of the territorial division in which it was situated, may be represented by the modern village Vāṇikī, about 20 miles from Chhota Udaipur. Īśvararāta, therefore, appears to have held Central Gujarat and some portion of the Khandesh District.

No successor of Īśvararāta is known; but his family may have continued to hold Central Gujarat until it was ousted by Sarva Bhaṭṭāraka who appears to have risen to power in *circa* 400 A. C. As shown elsewhere,² the latter's coins, imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas, are found in abundance in Central Gujarat and Saurashtra.

The Kings of Māhishmati—The Abhiras appear to have soon extended their rule to Anūpa (the country around Māhishmati) and Akarāvanti (Malwa) also. It has been noticed that the potin coins of the Western Kshatrapas, which were intended for circulation in Malwa, suddenly come to an end in 240 A. C.³ The reason for this contraction of Kshatrapa power is supposed to be the rise of the Vākṣaka Vindhyaśakti. We have, however, no indication of the extension of the Vākṣaka power north of the Narmadā in this early period,⁴ while we have evidence of the spread of the Abhira kingdom in the use of the Abhira era in the countries of Anūpa and Akarāvanti in the fourth and fifth centuries A. C. The era must have been introduced there by the Abhiras or their feudatories.

One of these feudatories was *Mahādandanāyaka* Saka Śrīdharavarman, the son of Saka Nanda, whose stone inscription,⁵ recording the excavation of a well, was found at Kāṇākhērā near Sāñchi in the Bhopal State. Though a Saka by extraction, Śrīdharavarman did not probably belong to the house of Chashtana; for unlike the Western Kshatrapas, he dated his record in the era of the Abhiras, not in that of the Sakas. The title *Mahādandanāyaka* prefixed to his name in the Kāṇākhērā inscription indicates that he began his career as a military officer, probably of the contemporary Abhira king. Later, he may

¹ For *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*, see below, p. 36, notes 4 and 5 respectively.

² J. N. S. I., Vol. VI, pp. 14 ff. Dr. Altekar places Sarva Bhaṭṭāraka in the period 348-378 A. C. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.

³ C. A. D., Introd., p. cxxxiii; N. H. I. P., Vol. IV, p. 34.

⁴ I have shown elsewhere that the original home of the Vākṣakas lay in South India. A. B. O. R. I., Vol. xxxii, pp. 1 ff. Prithivishēpa, whose feudatory Vyāghra's inscriptions have been found at Nachna and Ganj in Vindhya Pradesh, was the second Vākṣaka prince of that name who flourished in c. 470-490 A. C.

⁵ No. 5, pp. 13 ff., below.

have risen to the status of a feudatory.¹ As the power of the Ābhīras declined, he appears to have declared his independence and begun to date his records in his regnal years, though he did not, for some years, discard his previous military title² or the Ābhīra era which had become well established in the country under his rule.

The Kānākhērā inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of Śrīdharavarman's reign. It contains another date at the end, the reading and interpretation of which are, unfortunately, not quite certain. As shown elsewhere,³ the correct reading of the date appears to be 102, which, being referred to the Ābhīra era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A. C. Śrīdharavarman seems, therefore, to have declared his independence in *circa* 339 A. C.

Another inscription⁴ of Śrīdharavarman has recently come to light at Eraṇ in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh. In this record Śrīdharavarman is seen to have discarded his previous military title and assumed instead the titles *Rājan* and *Mahākesarapā* which, as in the inscriptions and coins of the Western Kshatrapas, signified complete independence. He has also omitted therein all reference to the Ābhīra era, perhaps because it recalled his previous submission to another power. The Eraṇ inscription is dated in the 27th regnal year. It seems, therefore, to have been put up in 365 A. C. Śrīdharavarman may have flourished from 339 A. C. to 368 A. C.

Neither of these two inscriptions mentions any capital of Śrīdharavarman. That he held the Vidiśā-Erikiṇa territory is certain; for, his records have been found in that part of the country. It is, however, not unlikely that his rule extended farther west to the Anūpa country also, where the Ābhīra era continued in use for at least 50 years more; for, no other ruler of his power and prestige is known to have flourished in Central India in that period. If this supposition is correct, Māhishmatī may have been his capital.⁵

The Eraṇ record is incised on a pillar, called *yashṭi*, erected by Satyanāga, the *Arakshika* and *Sānāpati* of Śrīdharavarman, as a memorial to the Nāga soldiers who met with a hero's death in a battle fought at the *adbishṭbāna* of Erikiṇa (modern Eraṇ). In that record Satyanāga, who hailed from Maharashtra, expressed the hope that the *yashṭi*, raised by the Nāgas themselves, would inspire future generations of warlike people to perform similar heroic deeds; for, it was a place where friends and foes met together in a spirit of service and reverence. Unfortunately, no particulars of the battle in which these Nāga soldiers laid down their lives have been preserved in the inscription. Perhaps the enemy was the ruler of some neighbouring country like Mēkalā.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Sakas and the Muruṇḍas as border chiefs who submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor and solicited his charters confirming them in the enjoyment of their own territories.⁶ The Saka chief is usually taken to be one of the Western Kshatrapas; but the kingdom of the Kshatrapas lay far in the west. Besides, their rule in Malwa seems to have come to an end about the middle of the third century A. C. with the rise of the Ābhīras. The Saka king who submitted to Samudragupta must, therefore, be identified with Śrīdharavarman. He may have paid homage to the Gupta Emperor some time after 365 A. C.,

¹ It is not known whether his father held any office under the Ābhīras. No title is prefixed to his name, but as in the case of *Īśvararāta*, this negative evidence is not conclusive.

² Other instances of a similar type are the *Sānāpati* Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, who retained his military title even after performing two *Aśvamedhas* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57), and the *Mahāsānāpati* Śaka Māna who issued his coins mentioning the military title (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 90 ff.).

³ See below, pp. 14 ff.

⁴ No. 119, pp. 605 ff., below.

⁵ This is a tentative suggestion which may be corroborated or modified by future discoveries.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

when he heard reports of the latter's brilliant victories in North and South India. Later, Samudragupta, on some provocation, appears to have attacked the Saka king's territory and obtained a decisive victory over him in the battle of Erikiṇa. He then annexed the territory round Erikiṇa¹ which had strategic importance, and erected a monument there 'for augmenting his own fame.' He appears, however, to have allowed the Saka king to continue in possession of the rest of his kingdom as he did in the case of some republican tribes such as the Sanakāṇikas and the Kharaparikas.² It is well known that it was Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II, who first conquered Eastern and Western Malwa in the course of his 'conquest of the whole earth', some time in the last decade of the 4th century A. C. The earliest dated record of the Guptas found in Malwa is the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G. 82 (401-2 A. C.)

Saṁdharavarman, though he belonged to the Saka race, was a follower of the Hindu religion. Both he and his father Nanda bear Hindu names. He was a devout worshipper of Kārttikēya and, like an orthodox Hindu, believed that he could secure permanent residence in heaven by means of charitable works like the excavation of a well. In both the records of his reign he is described as *dharmauijaya* or a righteous conqueror, which implies that he did not wage any war for self-aggrandizement. His liberal policy attracted able men from distant countries like Maharashtra. He trusted them and appointed them to important military posts. His inscriptions are written in a good Sanskrit *kāya* style. They show that the revival of the classical language had already commenced before the age of the Guptas. Like the Western Kshatrapas and the Abhīras, the Sakas of Central India also appear to have given liberal patronage to Sanskrit poets at their court.

We do not know how long the Sakas continued to rule in Central India. They were probably overthrown when they suffered a defeat at the hands of Chandragupta II towards the close of the 4th century A. C. Thereafter, we have two copper-plate grants of *Mahārāja* Subandhu, both made at Māhishmati, one of which was found somewhere in the former Barwāni State and the other in one of the famous Bāgh caves.

These grants of Subandhu bear close resemblance in respect of characters, phraseology and royal sign-manual to the aforementioned grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh. All of them probably belong to the same period. The era in which they are dated must therefore be identical. The date of the Bāgh cave plate is lost, but that of the Barwāni plate which is well preserved is the year 167. If this is referred to the Abhīra era, it becomes equivalent to 416-17 A. C. Subandhu, therefore, flourished in the first quarter of the fifth century A. C.

Unlike the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, Subandhu does not refer to any suzerain even in a general manner, which shows that he was an independent ruler. In 416-17 A. C. the Gupta power had, no doubt, reached its peak. Chandragupta II was dead at the time and was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I; but there is no reason to suppose that the Gupta dominion

¹ Cf. *sa-bhaga-naga-Airikiṇa-predita* in the Bāgh inscription of Samudragupta. C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 20. The battle of Erikiṇa appears to have been fought towards the close of Samudragupta's reign. The inscription at Bāgh which mentions the monument which he erected there 'for augmenting his fame' is probably posthumous; for it uses the past tense in describing the Gupta Emperor. Besides, the description it gives of him indicates that he had already won all his major victories. He is said to have been of irresistible valour and to have overthrown the whole tribe of kings upon the earth. His enemies were terrified by his prowess even in their dreams. Again, it describes his queen as one who went about in the company of sons and grandsons. The description plainly shows that Samudragupta was considerably advanced in age when the monument was erected, and may have died before the inscription was put up.

² That the Sanakāṇikas and the Kharaparikas belonged to Central India is shown by some inscriptions. See C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 25 and I. C. P. B., p. 38.

had suffered any diminution at the beginning of the latter's reign. It may, therefore, be asked how Kumāragupta allowed Subandhu to enjoy independence just on the border of the Avanti province which was undoubtedly under Gupta rule at the time. The reason is not far to seek. The Anūpa country, where Subandhu was ruling, comprised the territory along both the banks of the Narmadā, now included in the Nemad Districts of Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat as well as the adjoining territory. Just about this time there was rising the powerful State of the Traikūṭakas across the Narmadā.¹ According to the Purāṇas, the Ābhīra rule lasted for 167 years. The Ābhīras were succeeded by the Traikūṭakas, who soon extended their sway to Northern Maharashtra, Konkan and Gujarat. The kingdom of Māhishmatī may, therefore, have been allowed to continue as a buffer state between the dominions of the Traikūṭakas and the Guptas.

Subandhu's descendants may have continued to rule from Māhishmatī for some years more; but when the Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna (circa 450-470 A. C.) extended his suzerainty to Malwa, he must have annexed the intervening kingdom of Anūpa. Thereafter, the country was governed by a scion of the Vākāṭaka family. The narrative in the eighth chapter of the *Datākumāracharita*, which appears to have a historical basis,² shows that the last Vākāṭaka Emperor (probably Harishēṇa) had placed one of his sons on the throne of Māhishmatī. Soon thereafter, the country was occupied by the Kalachuris in circa 525 A. C.

THE TRAIKUTAKAS

This royal dynasty derived its name from Trikūṭa or a three-peaked mountain or the district in which it was situated. This was evidently the home of the royal family. Several mountains named Trikūṭa situated in all the four directions of India are known from Sanskrit literature and lexicons. According to the *Vishṇu*³ and *Mārkaṇḍeya*⁴ Purāṇas, Trikūṭa was the name of the southern ridge of the mythical Mēru mountain. It was, therefore, situated in the north. Hēmachandra⁵ and Mahēśvara,⁶ who in their lexicons give Suvēla as its synonym, evidently place it in Ceylon. An ancient commentator of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*⁷ states that Trikūṭa was the name of a mountain in the Trikalinga or Andhra country. Finally, Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa in Aparānta⁸ or North Konkan, and his view receives confirmation from Kēśava's *Kalpadrūkōśa*⁹ which gives it as a name of the Sahyādri range. In recent times, R. B. Hiralal, who identified the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris, has expressed the view that Trikūṭa is identical with the Sātpurā mountain which was so called on account of its three prominent peaks, viz., the

¹ The earliest known Traikūṭaka king was Indradatta, who must have flourished about 415 A.C. as his son Dahrasēna's Pardi grant is dated in K. 207 (456-57 A. C.). Dahrasēna is known to have performed an *Atvamedha* sacrifice. See No. 8, l. 2.

² See my article entitled 'Historical Data in Daṇḍin's *Datākumāracharita*' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

³ *VSHP.*, aṁśa II, adhyāya 2, v. 28.

⁴ *MP.*, adhyāya 55, v. 6.

⁵ *Sarvāṅga śāstrī Trimukṣas=Trikuṭas=Trikuṭach=cha sap* in *Abhidhānasamīkṣā*, Bhūmikaṇḍa, v. 96.

⁶ *Viṣṇuprakāśa* (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series), p. 39. According to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Aranya-kāṇḍa, 2, 1) Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was situated on Trikūṭa.

⁷ Commenting on the *kārikā*, *Parvatīd-āgamam labdhā*, etc., of the *Vākyapadīya* (Kāṇḍa II, v. 489), Puṇyaciṇa says, *Parvatī Trikūṭa-āikadīpa-vartī-Trikalinga-āikadīpas*.

⁸ *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

⁹ *Sahyāchala=tv Mārddhādris=Trikuṭas=Trikuṭach=cha sap* in *Kalpadrūkōśa*, Vol. I (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 342, sl. 14. *Trikuṭa* which is given here as a synonym of *Trikuṭa* is mentioned by Pāṇini (V, 4, 147), but it cannot evidently be the Trikūṭa of North Konkan.

Amrakūṭa or *Amarakūṭaka* in the former Rewa State, *Silakūṭa* in the Balaghat District and *Madhukūṭa* in the Chhindwara District.¹ As shown below, the inscriptions and coins of the Traikūṭakas have been found only in South Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Traikūṭa, from which they derived their name, cannot, therefore, be located in the north, east, south or centre of India, but must be looked for in the west. Kālidāsa's description, which, as already stated, is supported by a lexicon, clearly indicates that it was situated in *Apasānta* or North Konkan. Bhagvanlal Indrajī suggested its identification with Junnar, in the Poona District, which is encircled by three ranges of hills.² The matter is now placed beyond doubt by the mention of the *Pūrva-Trikūṭa śikṛya* (East Trikūṭa District) in the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgavakti,³ which shows that there was a district named after the mountain which divided it into two parts. A tax levied on the inhabitants of the eastern sub-division was assigned for the worship of the god Bhōgdevata at Jayapura near Nasik. This clearly shows that Trikūṭa was probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west.⁴ This identification squares with the provenance of Traikūṭaka inscriptions and coins.

The earliest mention of the Traikūṭakas occurs in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūrasarman.⁵ This record includes Trākūṭa (*i. e.*, the Traikūṭakas) among the contemporaries of Mayūrasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, which shows that the Traikūṭakas were a power of some importance in the beginning of the fourth century A. C., to which period the Chandravalli inscription can be referred on palaeographic grounds. The country of Trikūṭa had previously been included in the Śātavāhana kingdom. The Traikūṭakas seem, therefore, to have risen into prominence on the decline of the Śātavāhana power in Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of the Traikūṭakas are closely imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas which were current in Maharashtra. On the obverse, there is the king's face to the right as on Kshatrapa coins, but without any date, while on the reverse, inside a circle of dots and a circularly written legend, appear the usual Kshatrapa symbols, the chaitya, the sun and the moon.⁶ This close resemblance suggests, as Rapson has remarked,⁷ that the coins were intended for circulation in the districts which had previously been under the rules of the Kshatrapas.

Though the Traikūṭakas rose into prominence about the middle of the third century A. C., we have no Traikūṭaka records during the first two centuries of their rule. On the other hand we find an Ābhīra record of about the middle of the third century A. C. in the Nasik District,⁸ which, as we have seen above, was the home province of the Traikūṭakas. The names of the two Ābhīras, Śivadatta and his son *Rājā* Śīvarasēna, resemble those of the later Traikūṭaka kings, which end in either *datta* or *śva*. Pandit Bhagvanlal, therefore, first propounded the theory that the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Ābhīras.⁹ The Chandravalli inscription, however, mentions the Traikūṭas separately from the Ābhīras, thus indicating that the two royal families, though contemporary, were not identical. The

¹ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 283-84.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part I, p. 57.

³ No. 31, l. 58.

⁴ In this connection it may be noted that the Pāṇḍu Lēṇa hill near Nasik is called *Triśāśmi* (three-rayed) in the cave inscriptions there, and that the range of hills to the south of the Nasik District is still called *Trimbak* hill.

⁵ *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), p. 30.

⁶ *C. A. D.*, pp. 198-99.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Introd.*, p. clx.

⁸ No. 1.

⁹ *P. V. O. C.*, p. 222.

similarity of their names suggests some sort of connection between them. The Traikūṭakas were probably at first the feudatories of the Abhīras whose era they adopted in their records. On the decline of the Abhīra power, they seem to have asserted their independence. None of the three Traikūṭaka kings, known from inscriptions and coins, seems to have assumed a higher title than *Mahārāja*. But two of them are known to have issued coins, while one of them, Dahrasēna, explicitly mentions in his copper-plate inscription that he had performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The later Traikūṭakas were, therefore, probably independent monarchs, though, as we shall see below, the last of them was ultimately defeated and forced to pay tribute by the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa.

The mention of Trikūṭa in the description of Raghu's *dignijaya* suggests that Kālidāsa, who flourished about 400 A. C. during the reign of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, knew of a Traikūṭaka kingdom on the western coast. The three copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty edited here belong to a later date. From them and from coins, we get the following genealogy of the Traikūṭakas:—

Mahārāja Indradatta

|
(son)

Mahārāja Dahrasēna (K. 207=456-57 A. C.)

|
(son)

Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna (K. 241=490-91 A. C.)

The first of these, Indradatta, is known only from the coins of his son Dahrasēna. He is therein given the title *Mahārāja*. As his son was ruling in the Kalachuri year 207 (=456-57 A. C.), he may be assigned to the period 415-440 A. C.

The second king Dahrasēna is known from his Pārḍī plates and silver coins¹ found at Daman in South Gujarat,² Kathad in the Satara District,³ Kazad in the Indapur *tālukā* of the Poona District⁴ and some other places.⁵ Like his father, he calls himself *Mahārāja* both in the copper-plate inscription and coin-legends. The former supplies the additional information that he performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. On his coins he called himself *paramavaishṇava*, 'a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu', and in his copper-plate inscription, *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. The Pārḍī plates were issued from the victorious royal camp at Āmrakā, and record the donation of a village in the Antarmāṇḍalī *viśaya*, which, on the analogy of the Antar-Narmadā *viśaya* mentioned in inscription No. 11, seems to have comprised the territory on both the banks of the Maṇḍalī or modern Miṇḍhōlā river. The places mentioned in the grant can be identified in the country between the Pūrṇā and the Miṇḍhōlā in South Gujarat. As shown elsewhere, the date of the plates, the year 207, refers to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 456-57 A. C. Dahrasēna may, therefore, have reigned from *circa* 440 A. C. to 465 A. C.

Vyāghrasēna, the son and successor of Dahrasēna, is known from his Surat plates and silver coins found at Kazad in the Indapur *tālukā* and other places. His coins⁶, which

¹ The coins have the legend *Maharaj-Andradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna* representing *Mahārāj-Indradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna*.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 18.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, 1862, p. 11.

⁴ *C. A. D.*, p. clx, n. 2.

⁵ 'The provenance of the coins, considerable numbers of which exist in various collections, has not been very fully recorded'. *Intro.*, *C. A. D.*, p. clx. Some Traikūṭaka coins have been recently brought to light at Kamrej near Surat. *A. B. I. A.* for 1933, p. 34.

⁶ These coins have the legend *Maharaja-Dahrasena-putra-parama-vaiṣṇava-śrī-Maharaja-Vyaghrasena* representing *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna*. *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, pp. 806-7.

resemble those of his father, are, however, rare and of one variety only. Like his father, he calls himself *Mahānija*, and describes himself as *paramavaiśya* as well as *Bhagmat-pāda-karmakara*. His Surat plates were issued from the victorious Aniruddhapura. As no affix like *śasakti* is added to it, the place may have been the royal capital. The plates record the grant of a village in the Iksharaki *śāhira*. Iksharaki may be identical with Achehāran, about 9 m. north of Surat. The date of the plates, the year 241, must be referred to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 490-91 A. C. Vyāghrasēna may, therefore, be assigned to the period from *circa* 463 A. C. to 492 A. C.

One more inscription, consisting of a single plate, was found inside a Buddhist *stūpa* at Kaṇhēri in North Konkan. It records the construction of a *chaitya* (*i.e.*, the *stūpa* in which the inscription together with some relics was found) dedicated by a pilgrim from Sindh to the venerable Śāradvatīputra, the foremost disciple of the Buddha. The inscription mentions only the increasingly victorious reign of the Traikūṭakas, but does not name any reigning king. It is dated in the year 245 (494-95 A. C.). As a period of as many as 36 years intervenes between the date of the Pāṇḍi plates of Dahrasēna and that of the Surat plates of his son Vyāghrasēna, it seems that the latter were probably issued towards the close of Vyāghrasēna's reign. The Traikūṭaka king during whose reign the Kaṇhēri plate was issued may, therefore, have been the successor of Vyāghrasēna. During his reign the Trikūṭa country was invaded by Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king who flourished in *circa* 475-500 A. C. In the inscription in the Ajantā cave XVI, Harishēṇa is credited with a victory over Trikūṭa,¹ but it is not known if he supplanted the ruling dynasty. He was possibly content with exacting a tribute from it as he must have done from the other countries mentioned in the same inscription, *viz.*, Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōśala, Lāṭa and Andhra.

After the Vākāṭakas, the Kalachuris became supreme in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty, have been found in the islands of Bombay and Sāshtī as well as the districts of Nasik and Satara.² Copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris recording grants of villages in South Gujarat and the Nasik District have also been discovered. In the Kalachuri inscriptions Saṅkaragana, the son of Kṛishṇarāja, is described as the lord of the countries between the eastern and western seas.³ Konkan also must, therefore, have been included in the Kalachuri Empire. But no grants of land made by the Kalachuris have yet been discovered in Konkan, which seems to have been ruled by a feudatory family. For about a century after the date of the Kaṇhēri plate, however, we have no definite information about the history of Konkan.⁴ From the Aihōle inscription⁵ of Pulakēśin II we learn that his father Kirtivarman was 'the night of destruction to the Mauryas', and that Pulakēśin himself stormed their capital Puri and probably annexed their kingdom. As the Traikūṭakas vanish from history in the beginning of the sixth century A. C. and the Mauryas come on the scene within about fifty years, it has been conjectured that the Traikūṭakas

¹ H. A. S., No. 14, p. 11. The passage mentions Trikūṭa and Lāṭa separately. Does this show that the Traikūṭaka kingdom was at that time divided into two parts?

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 13. The king Kṛishṇarāja is there wrongly said to be of the Rāshṭra-kūṭa lineage.

³ No. 12, l. 15.

⁴ A stone inscription from Vāda in the north of the Thana District mentions a Maurya king named Sukētuvarman ruling in Konkan. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 372-373.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5.

themselves came in course of time to be known as the Mauryas.¹ But if the Traikūṭakas were descended from the imperial family of Magadha, it looks strange that they make no mention of their proud lineage in their records. It would appear, therefore, that when the Kalachuris conquered Konkan, they supplanted the Traikūṭakas by the Mauryas, who continued as their feudatories until both the royal families were ousted by Pulakēśin II. The downfall of the Traikūṭakas may thus be dated in the first quarter of the sixth century A. C.

The Traikūṭaka kingdom at its largest extent seems to have extended from the Kim in the north to the Kṛishṇā in the south, and to have comprised South Gujarat, North Konkan, and the Nasik, Poona and Satara Districts of Maharashtra. It is interesting to note that the Traikūṭakas maintained a fleet for the protection of their maritime provinces. During their regime Trikūṭa seems to have become famous as an emporium of salt. Their capital has not yet been definitely located. As observed already, Aniruddhapura seems to have been the capital at least during the reign of Vyāghrasēna. Dr. Hultzsch, on the authority of a statement of the lexicographer Yādava, identifies Aniruddhapura with Sūrpāraka, modern Sōpārā, in the Thana District. But Yādava merely states that the Aparānta country included Sūrpāraka.² Aniruddhapura, mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates, is probably identical with the victorious Aniruddhapuri, a Brāhmaṇa resident of which received a grant of land in the Surat District from the Sēndraka prince Allaśakti. It would, therefore, appear that Aniruddhapura was situated somewhere in the Surat District, but its exact location cannot be fixed.

The Traikūṭakas were followers of Hinduism and devotees of the god Viṣṇu. Both their copper-plate grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the increase of religious merit of their parents and themselves. That Buddhism also flourished in their kingdom is shown by the Kaṇhēri plate which records the erection of a *chaitya* dedicated to Śāradvatīputra. The pilgrim who got it built came from the distant province of Sindh. This testifies to the peace and order which generally prevailed in the kingdom of the Traikūṭakas.

THE EARLY KALACHURIS OF MAHISHMATI

We have no definite information about the capital of the Kaṭachchuris or Early Kalachuris. All their known copper-plate grants were issued from their camps fixed at different places such as Ujjayinī and Vidiśā in Malwa and Ānandapura in Gujarat. It appears probable, however, that they ruled from Māhishmatī, modern Onkār Māndhātā,³ which from very early times has been famous as a holy city. Even in later times when it had ceased to be their capital, the memory of its past glory was fresh in the mind of the people; for Rājāśekhara in his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*⁴ and Murāri in his *Anargharāghava*⁵ mention it as the common or family capital of the Kalachuri kings. Besides, some later princes of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled in the south as feudatories of the Chālukyas, mention with pride their title *Māhishmatī-puravar-śvara* 'the lord of Māhishmatī, the best of towns.'⁶

¹ C. A. D., p. clx. n. 1.

² See below, p. 27.

³ For the identification, see Fleet's article 'Mahishamaṇḍala and Māhishmatī' in J. R. A. S. (1910), pp. 425 ff. Like Kālidāsa, Rājāśekhara also describes Māhishmatī as surrounded by the Narmadā. Some identify the city with Maheshvar in the former Indore State.

⁴ See मन्मथलला भवति मेकलकौलकन्या कीर्तयेन्नो वसति यत्र च विनयानुः । तामेव पाति कृतवीर्ययशोवतसां माहिष्मतीं कलचुरैः कुलराजधानीम् ॥ *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, III, 35.

⁵ Cf. इयं कलचुरिकुलनरेन्द्रसाधारणमहिषी माहिष्मती नाम चैविमण्डलमुष्टमाला नगरी । *Anargharāghava*, Act VII.

⁶ See e. g. the Kumbhāvi inscription (dated 1054 A. C.) of *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara Rēvarasa*. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 459.

The mention of the Ārjunāyanas in the list of frontier tribes who submitted to Samatragupta¹ has been taken by some² to refer to the Kalachuris who trace their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya. The Ārjunāyanas were indeed an ancient tribe. Their coins bearing the tribal name in Sanskrit are known in several varieties and on the evidence of palaeography are ascribed to 100 B. C. Prof. Rapson dates their rise as a political community as early as the fourth century B. C.³ They are included in the *rājyaśādi gāṇa* (mentioned in Pāṇini, IV, 2, 33), which shows that their country was called Ārjunāyanaka. Varāhamihira places them in the northern division, and the provenance of their coins indicates that their homeland lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.⁴ This shows, however, that they were distinct from the Kalachuris who dwelt in the valley of the Narmadā. Besides, according to the *Kāśīkā*⁵ on Pāṇini, II, 4, 66, the Ārjunāyanas were the descendants of Arjuna who belonged to the Bhārata clan, and were, therefore, different from the Kalachuris who claimed their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya.

Though the Early Kalachuris do not call themselves Haihayas in their grants, they soon came to be referred to by that name; for we learn from some inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas that Vinayāditya, the son of Vikramāditya I (680-697 A. C.), subjugated the Haihayas,⁶ and Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.) married two Haihaya princesses, Lōkamahādēvī and her younger sister Trailōkyamahādēvī.⁷ The Eastern Chālukya prince Vishṇuvardhana IV (764-799 A. C.) similarly espoused a princess of the Haihaya lineage whose son Nṛiparudra is mentioned as *Dātaka* in a grant of Vijayāditya II.⁸ These Haihayas were evidently identical with the Early Kalachuris.

It is not known whether the Early Kalachuris were descended from *Mabārāja* Subandhu who ruled from Māhishmati in an earlier age; for there is a long period of nearly 150 years which separates them and for which no records have yet been discovered. The Early Kalachuris rose into prominence on the downfall of the Traikūṭaka dynasty. After the year 245 of the Kaṇhēri plate⁹ incised during the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas, the next known date of the Kalachuri era is the year 292 furnished by the Sunao Kalagranta of Saṅgamasimha.¹⁰ He seems to have come to power after the Traikūṭakas; for the phraseology of the formal part of his grant bears close resemblance to that of the Traikūṭaka records, especially the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna.¹¹ Saṅgamasimha issued the plates from Bharukachchha. Sōṇavvā, the village granted by him, is only two miles north of the Kīm and 18 miles north of Surat. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Saṅgamasimha had under his sway some territory which was previously included in the Traikūṭaka kingdom. But Saṅgamasimha, though he calls himself *Mabārāja*, was in reality a *Mahāsāmanta* (i. e., a great feudatory) of some other power. The only powerful contemporary dynasty to which he may have owed allegiance was that of the Kalachuris. We have unfortunately no records of the Early Kalachuris who were the real founders of the Kalachuri Empire of the sixth century A. C. The earliest dated record of the Kalachuris is Saṅkara-

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 10.

³ C. H. I., Vol. I, p. 528.

⁴ A. C. A. I., p. lxxii ff.

⁵ Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* gives a different illustration (*viz.*, *Auddalākya*) to explain the rule.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 91 ff. and Vol. VII, p. 302.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 3.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 415.

⁹ No. 10.

¹⁰ No. 11.

¹¹ See below, p. 34.

gaṇa's Ābhōṇa grant of K. 347 (596-97 A. C.). As shown below, Saṅkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalēśa in *circa* 601 A. C. Saṅkaragaṇa can, therefore, be referred to *circa* 575-600 A. C., and his father Krishṇarāja, to *circa* 550-575 A. C. Saṅgamasimha, who made his grant in 541 A. C., was, therefore, probably a feudatory of Krishṇarāja's father whose name¹ unfortunately has not come down to us.

This Kalachuri prince must have found a favourable opportunity for the extension of his power in the political conditions of the second quarter of the sixth century A. C. The Vākātaka dynasty seems to have come to an end with Harishēpa's son. In Central India the meteoric rise of Yaśōdharman was followed by confusion and chaos. In the west the Maitrakas, who had founded a kingdom at Valabhī about half a century before, were not yet powerful enough to pursue an aggressive policy. In the south, though Pulakēśin I is said to have performed an *Aśvamēdha*, his power was probably confined to the northern Kanarese districts. Krishṇarāja's father seems to have extended his power in the east, west and south. In the west he supplanted the Traikūṭakas and divided their extensive kingdom among his feudatories. The Mauryas, as we have already seen, were placed in charge of Aparānta or North Konkan, while Gujarat or at least the central part of it was given in charge of Saṅgamasimha. We do not know whether Maharashtra including ancient Vidarbha was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom during his reign or during that of his son Krishṇarāja.

Krishṇarāja seems to have still further extended the kingdom inherited from his father. His silver coins,² which are imitated from those of the Traikūṭakas, were at first intended for circulation in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Like the latter coins, they have on the obverse the bust of the king facing right, and on the reverse inside a circle of dots, runs the legend *Paramamāhātmya-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānandhyāta-śrī-Krishṇarājajñ*. In the middle, in place of the chaitya, the sun and the moon which figure on the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins, the king, who was a devotee of Śiva, inserted the figure of the recumbent bull, Nandī, facing right. These coins, which in their weight³ and fabric, approximated to the Kshatrapa, Gupta and Traikūṭaka coins, were in circulation over a very wide country. They have been discovered in such distant parts as Rajputana⁴ and Malwa⁵ in the north, the districts of Satara⁶ and Nasik⁷ in the south, the islands of Bombay⁸ and Sāshṭī⁹ in the west, and the districts Betul¹⁰ and Amaravati¹¹ of Madhya Pradesh in the east. As these coins were in circulation for at least a hundred and fifty years after the time of Krishṇarāja,¹² be-

¹ In the place of the patronymic which occurs in the legend on Traikūṭaka coins, Krishṇarāja substituted *mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānandhyāta* 'he who meditates on the feet of his mother and father'. So his father's name does not appear even on his coins.

² The legend on these coins was first correctly read by Fleet. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 68.

³ The weight of these coins is about 30 grains.

⁴ C. C. M. I., p. 8. Cunningham ascribed these coins to Krishṇarāja Rāshtrakūṭa (375-400 A. C.), but the Rāshtrakūṭas were not then in power. See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 27.

⁵ Seven coins were brought to light during excavations at Besnagar. *A. R. A. S. I.* (1913-14), p. 214.

⁶ They were found near Karhad. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 13.

⁷ They were discovered at Baglan near Nasik, *loc. cit.* p. 13.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 13. A hoard of 200 coins was discovered in Bombay proper. See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX (Extra Number) (1900), pp. 7 and 9.

⁹ Two coins were discovered at Mulgaon near Marol in Sāshṭī, *loc. cit.* p. 9.

¹⁰ Some coins of this type were discovered in 1937 at Paṭṭan in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh.

¹¹ A hoard of 1600 coins was found at Dhāmōri in the Amaravati District.

¹² They are mentioned as *Krishṇarāja-rūpakas* in the Anjaneri inscription of Bhōgatākti, dated K. 461 (No. 31).

ing need by several later dynasties, it is not possible to say if the Kalachuri Empire in the time of Krishnarāja comprised all these distant territories. But that Gujarat, Konkan, and Maharashtra including Vidarbha were in any case comprised in it, seems beyond all doubt.

Krishnarāja's suzerainty over Vidarbha is also indicated by the recently discovered Nagardhan plates of the reign of Svāmīrāja.¹ They were issued by his brother Nannarāja from Nandivardhana, modern Nagardhan near Ramtek in the Nagpur District, which is well known in history as one of the early capitals of the Vākātaka dynasty. The royal family to which Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja belonged is not mentioned in the grant, but as similar names occur in some Rāshtrakūṭa grants found in Vidarbha,² these princes probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage. In the initial portion of this grant, Svāmīrāja is described as 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount.' The plates are dated in the year 322, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era and corresponds to 573-74 A. C. This is the only record of the Kalachuri era found in Vidarbha.³ The use of this era indicates that the unnamed suzerain of Svāmīdāsa was some Kalachuri king, probably Krishnarāja who flourished from *circa* 550 A. C. to 575 A. C.; for the era evidently spread to Vidarbha with the extension of the Kalachuri power.

The Nagardhan plates record two gifts—(i) one of 12 *śivasthanas* of land in the village Chīṣhapattikā, made by a Corporation of Mahāmātras (Elephant-drivers) and (ii) the other of the village Aṅkollikā made by the ruling king at Prayāga. It is noteworthy that the seal of the plates has the figure of a goad as the emblem of the Corporation, with the legend *gopa-dattih*, meaning 'a gift of the Corporation.'

The descendants of Svāmīrāja probably ruled in Vidarbha for a long time. On the downfall of the Kalachuris, they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas, and like them, dated their records in the Saka era.

Krishnarāja's son Saṅkaragaṇa is known from several records. His own Ābhōṇa plates⁴ were issued from his camp at Ujjayinī, and record the donation of land in a village situated in the northern part of the Hyderabad State. It is not known if Western Malwa was permanently annexed to the Kalachuri Empire; but that Saṅkaragaṇa first conquered it and held it for some time is indicated by the fact that the epithets, employed to describe him in the Ābhōṇa plates and repeated in subsequent Kalachuri charters, were borrowed from or suggested by Gupta records, with which the drafter must have been acquainted in Ujjayinī. It is noteworthy that no such epithets occur in the description of his father Krishnarāja.

The Ābhōṇa plates show that Saṅkaragaṇa ruled over a vast empire which extended from Malwa in the north to Maharashtra in the south. That it comprised Gujarat is shown by the Saṅkheḍā plate of the general Śāntilla, which mentions Nirihullaka as his governor in Central Gujarat.⁵ Saṅkaragaṇa is probably referred to as Gaṇa Saṅkara in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as shown by Dr. Jayaswal.⁶ His Ābhōṇa plates are dated in K. 347 (597 A. C.). His reign must have ended soon thereafter, as his son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalarāja in *circa* 601 A. C. Saṅkaragaṇa may, therefore, be assigned approximately to the period 575-600 A. C.

¹ No. 120.

² See, e.g., the Multai plates of Nannarāja, dated S. 631 (709-10 A. C.).

³ The earlier grants of the Vākātakas are dated in equal years, while the later ones of the Rāshtrakūṭas are dated in the Saka era.

⁴ No. 12.

⁵ No. 13.

⁶ *Imperial History of India*, p. 30.

Soon after his accession, Buddharāja found himself involved in a fight on the southern frontier of his kingdom. Several Chālukya inscriptions mention his defeat by the Early Chālukya king Maṅgalēśa or Maṅgalarāja. We learn, for instance, from Maṅgalēśa's Mahākūṭa inscription¹ (602 A.C.) that Maṅgalēśa, having set his heart on the conquest of the northern regions, defeated king Buddha and captured his whole treasure. The Nerur plates² add further details that this Buddharāja was the son of Saṅkaragaṇa and was possessed of the power of elephants, horses and footsoldiers. Finally, the Aihōlē stone inscription of Pulakēśin II describes in a figurative language that Maṅgalēśa, 'in that house which was the battlefield, took in marriage the damsel *viṣ*, the Fortune of the Kaṭachchuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, *viṣ*, the array of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers.'³ These references leave no doubt about the identity of Buddharāja. Maṅgalēśa obtained a decisive victory over him. Buddharāja was completely routed and fled away, leaving his whole treasure behind which was captured by Maṅgalēśa. The latter could not, however, follow up the victory; for, just then Svāmīrāja of the Chālikya family, a redoubtable warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and who was probably ruling in Rēvatīdvīpa⁴ (modern Rēḍi) in South Konkan as a feudatory of the Chālukyas, rose in rebellion, seemingly at the instigation of Buddharāja. Maṅgalēśa had, therefore, to abandon his original plan of making an expedition of conquest in the north, and rushed to Konkan to chastise the rebellious chieftain. In the fight which ensued, he killed Svāmīrāja and by way of thanksgiving made the grant of a village in South Konkan on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika after observing a fast on the preceding day. The Nerur plates, in which this grant is recorded, are not dated, but the Mahākūṭa inscription, in which also the victory over Buddharāja is mentioned, is dated in the fifth regnal year, the cyclic year being Siddhārtha. As Fleet has shown, the inscription was probably incised in 601-2 A. C. Its contents show that it was put up soon after the defeat of Buddharāja,⁵ which may, therefore, be dated approximately in 601 A. C.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17-18. R. G. Bhandarkar, who did not accept Fleet's reading of the date in l. 15 of the Mahākūṭa inscription, placed Maṅgalēśa's accession in 591 A. C. (*E. H. D.*, p. 69). In the Mahākūṭa inscription the reading *rājya-pālchama-śrīvarāṇi pravartamāni* in l. 15 is clear. So the inscription belongs to the fifth year of Maṅgalēśa's reign. If we accept Bhandarkar's view that he came to the throne in 591 A.C., his fifth year would fall in 595-596 A.C. But the Ābhōpa plates show that in 595-596 A.C. Saṅkaragaṇa, not Buddharāja, was reigning. Fleet's view about the accession of Maṅgalēśa presents no chronological difficulty.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 161 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 2.

⁴ The Nerur plates, which mention the defeat and death of Svāmīrāja at the hands of Maṅgalēśa, do not explicitly say that he was ruling over Rēvatīdvīpa, but they state that the event occurred after the defeat of Buddharāja. The Aihōlē inscription describes Maṅgalēśa's capture of the island of Rēvatī after the defeat of the Kalachuri king. Svāmīrāja was, therefore, probably the ruler of the island of Rēvatī, modern Rēḍi. Nerur is only 16 miles south of Rēḍi. The village Kuṇḍivṛṭṭaka granted by the plates is probably identical with the modern Kuḍi, about 3½ m. north-east of Nerur. After killing Svāmīrāja, Maṅgalēśa seems to have placed the island in charge of his relative Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, who was the ruler of the adjoining territory. See his Goa plates issued from the Revatīdvīpa in the twentieth year of his reign. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

⁵ Fleet translates *Kalatsūri-dhanat sa-grāha-dva-śrīgūṇa gata* in the Mahākūṭa inscription by 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been expended in the idol procession of the temple of our own god.' The sense, however, seems to be 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been deposited in the treasury (*śrīgūṇa*) of the temple of our own god.' Maṅgalēśa seems to have assigned the ten villages mentioned in the inscription to the god Maṇuṣṭēvaranātha, having acquired them with the wealth of the Kalachuri king as well as that donated by his father and eldest brother.

For some reason Maṅgalēśa could not execute his original plan of making conquest in the north and planting a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhāgirathi. He seems to have been fully occupied in his own country in ensuring the succession of his son after himself and in thwarting the legitimate ambition of his nephew Pulakēśin II. These internal dissensions of the Chālukyas gave the necessary respite to Buddharāja, who seems to have soon consolidated his position. Only two grants of this king have come to light so far. Both of them are dated after his defeat by Maṅgalēśa. The earlier of them, recorded in the Vāṇḍr plates¹, was made in K. 360 (610 A.C.) at the royal camp fixed at Vidiśā (modern Bannagar near Bhisla in Central India). The donated village was situated in the Nasik district. The later or Saravai grant² was made in K. 361 (610 A.C.) at the royal camp fixed at Ānandapura (probably modern Vāṇḍnagar in North Gujarat). The village granted was situated in the Broach District. These grants are separated by the short interval of about two months and a half³, during which Buddharāja had to march from Vidiśā to Ānandapura. Again, the villages granted are not situated in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarat but in the Nasik and Broach Districts. It seems plain, therefore, that the grants were made during the victorious campaigns of Buddharāja, and that Malwa and Northern Gujarat were not permanently annexed to the Kalachuri empire. This surmise receives confirmation from Yuan Chwang's mention of Śilāditya as a former king of Malwa.⁴ This king is evidently identical with Śilāditya I-Dharmāditya, whose known dates range from G. 286 to G. 292 (i. e., from 605 A. C. to 611 A. C.). It will be noticed that they are subsequent to the date K. 347 (597 A.C.) of the Ābhōṇa plates issued by Saṅkaragana from his camp at Ujjayini. Again, within six years of the date of Buddharāja's Saravai plates, we find Śilāditya's brother Kharagraha I making two grants⁵ (dated G. 297) from his camp at Ujjayini. Malwa conquered by Saṅkaragana does not, therefore, seem to have remained under the sway of the Kalachuris for a long time. Buddharāja probably lost it to the king of Valabhi in the beginning of his reign when he suffered a defeat at the hands of Maṅgalēśa.

It has been suggested⁶ that Buddharāja was the Mālava king who, according to Bāṇa's account, marched on Kanauj when he heard of the death of Prabhākaravardhana, the mighty king of Thaneshvar, and killing his son-in-law, the young Maukhari prince Grahavarman, threw the latter's wife Rājyasri into prison 'like a brigand's wife with a pair of fetters kissing her feet.' Buddharāja's army was subsequently routed by Rājyavardhana, who captured thousands of elephants and horses as well as a large treasure. There are several difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. The inscriptions of Harsha do not mention Buddharāja as an adversary of Rājyavardhana. On the other hand, they name Dēvagupta as the leader of the confederacy whom, together with all his allies, Rājyavardhana subdued and turned away like a wild horse. That in the time of Prabhākaravardhana, Malwa—probably the eastern part of it—was held by a king whose name ended in *gupta* seems certain; because Bāṇa mentions as Mālava princes the brothers Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta who were asked to attend on Rājyavardhana and Harsha.⁷ Bühler, therefore, conjectured⁸ that the

¹ No. 14.

² No. 15.

³ See p. 53, below.

⁴ O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 242.

⁵ P. T. A. I. O. C. (1935), pp. 659 ff; *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 7 ff.

⁶ J. R. O. R. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 406 ff.

⁷ *Harshacharita* (Nirnayasagar ed.), p. 158.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 70. Bühler suggested, however, that the word Mālava perhaps referred to the country of Mālava in the Panjab, which was much nearer to Thaneshvar than Malwa in Central India.

Mālava king who killed Grahavarman was Dēvagupta, and Hoernle thought that the latter was a brother of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, and had usurped the throne of Malwa.¹ It is not unlikely that Dēvagupta was responsible for the destruction of Grahavarman. He was probably ruling over Eastern Malwa with Vidiśā as his capital; for, according to Yuan Chwang's testimony, Western Malwa was then under the rule of Śilāditya I—Dharmāditya. Buddharāja cannot, therefore, be identified with the Mālava king mentioned by Bāṇa. Besides, in 603 A. C. when the aforementioned events took place, Maṅgalēśa was still supreme in the south. Only four years before, Buddharāja had sustained a crushing defeat at his hands and though for some reason Maṅgalēśa did not follow up the victory, the danger of his invasion could not have passed altogether. It is, therefore, doubtful if Buddharāja would have dared to carry his arms as far north as Kanauj, leaving the southern frontier of his own kingdom exposed to the attack of his powerful neighbour.

When Harsha swore to avenge the treacherous murder of his brother Rājyavardhana by Saśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, he must have proceeded to make political alliances to achieve his object. His two powerful foes were Saśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, and the king of Mālava. His alliance with Bhāskaravarman, the prince of Kāmarūpa (Assam), was obviously intended to hold the Gauḍa king in check on his eastern frontier. Unfortunately, Bāṇa's narrative comes to an abrupt close. It does not, therefore, tell us what measures Harsha adopted against the Mālava king, who, though defeated by Rājyavardhana, was not completely crushed. It is possible to conjecture that he sought the help of Buddharāja, who was the southern neighbour of the king of Malwa. Buddharāja's victorious campaigns in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarāt were evidently directed against Dēvagupta and Śilāditya I. The latter may have been one of Dēvagupta's allies who are referred to in a general way in the inscriptions of Harsha. These expeditions were undertaken in 610 A. C. when, owing to the civil war in the Chālukyan kingdom, there was no danger of Buddharāja's territory being invaded by the Chālukyas. As we shall see later on, Harsha himself made war on the king of Valabhī probably after he had subdued the kings of the North.

The Vaḍṇēr and Sarsavṇī grants of Buddharāja indicate that notwithstanding the crushing defeat he sustained at the beginning of his career, Buddharāja retained his hold over the whole country from Gujarat to Maharashtra. With the accession of Pulakēśin II, however, matters took a different turn. After consolidating his position in the Kanarese country and subjugating his immediate southern neighbours, the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas, Pulakēśin seems to have turned his attention to the north. He stormed Purī, the capital of the Mauryas, which he captured after a hard-fought battle. He also became the lord of the three Mahārāshṭras², comprising the Marathi-speaking districts in the States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad. The Aihōlē inscription does not name his adversary, but there can be little doubt that he was Buddharāja. The record says that Pulakēśin used all the three royal powers (*viz.*, energy, counsel and royal position) to gain his object. Diplomacy seems, therefore, to have played as great a part as actual fight in the defeat of Buddharāja, which may have taken place about 620 A. C.

History does not know the names of Buddharāja's successors. They probably continued to rule at Māhishmatī with more or less independence. It seems that one of them made a last effort to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, but the attempt was not crowned with success, and the Haihayas were reduced to a state of servitude similar to that of the Ālupas (*i. e.*, Ālupas), Gaṅgas and others who had already become the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas. As this event is referred to in Vinayāditya's grant³ of Śaka 609,

¹ J. R. A. S., (1903), p. 562.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 64.

the defeat of the Haihayas must have occurred before 687 A. C. Thereafter, we do not hear of the Haihayas till the 8th century A. C., except in connection with the marriages of the princesses of the family with the sons of the Eastern and Western Chālukya dynasties.¹ The Haihayas, therefore, seem to have remained loyal to their overlords, the Chālukyas, until the latter's overthrow by the Rāshtrakūṭas. The rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas led to a change in the political fortune of the Haihayas or Kalachuris, to which we shall turn in a subsequent section.

THE EARLY GURJARAS

Several inscriptions² of the Gurjaras, all of them on copper-plates, dated in the Kalachuri era have been discovered in Western India between the Kim and the Mahi. They range in dates from K. 380 to K. 486. This country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris till K. 361 at least; for, in that year Buddhārāja made the grant of a village in the Broach District.³ After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II extended the northern limit of his empire to the Kim, adding to it the provinces of Konkan, the three Maharashtras and southern Gujarat. Just about that time Harsha, the mighty ruler of Kanauj, was making extensive conquests in the north, and countries far and near were submitting to him. It must have seemed very likely that he would soon press to the south. Pulakēśin, therefore, wisely decided to create a buffer state in Central Gujarat under Dadda II of the Gurjara race, who had probably acquired already some portion of it during the hostilities of the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas in the south. Dadda II on his part was only too glad to acknowledge the suzerainty and get the support of his powerful southern neighbour. The Aihōḷe inscription⁴ tells us that the king of Lāṭa, who was none other than this Dadda, as well as the Mālava and the Gurjara, being impressed by Pulakēśin's valour, became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave. The grants of Dadda II are the earliest Gurjara records so far discovered in Gujarat. Kielhorn has shown that both in their eulogistic and formal parts they were drafted on the model of the earlier Kalachuri grants, and from this he rightly conjectured that 'the family of these chiefs (*i. e.*, the Gurjaras) rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddhārāja.'⁵

The Kairā grants of Dadda II mention two earlier princes of the dynasty, *viz.*, his grandfather Dadda I and father Jayabhāṭa I *alias* Vitarāga. The former, who is styled *Sāmanta*, was only a feudal lord. As regards the suzerain to whom he owed allegiance, Fleet conjectured that he and also his son Jayabhāṭa I must have been vassals of the Kaṭachchuri king Buddhārāja.⁶ As the known dates of Dadda II range from K. 380 to K. 392, he probably flourished from *circa* K. 370 to K. 395. His grandfather Dadda I must, therefore, be referred to the period from *circa* K. 320 to K. 345 or from 370 A. C. to 395 A. C. The contemporary Kalachuri emperors were Kṛṣṇarāja and his son Saṅkaragana,⁷ and not Buddhārāja. It is again doubtful if Dadda I was at all ruling in Gujarat. From a copper-plate found at Saṅkhēḍā⁸ we learn that Nitihullaka was ruling over the lower Narmadā valley, later on the heart of the Gurjara kingdom, as a feudatory

¹ See above, p. xlv.

² Nos. 16-24.

³ No. 15, l. 22.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 296.

⁶ *Bow. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 315.

⁷ See above, pp. xlv &

⁸ No. 13.

of the Kalachuri Saṅkaragaṇa. Subsequently the country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris as shown by Buddharāja's Sarsavṇī grant. The Gurjara, therefore, came into possession of it after the Kalachuris. The sign-manuals of the Gurjara princes are in northern characters, though their grants are written in the southern script. This clearly indicates their northern origin. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has shown that Dadda I was probably identical with the homonymous son of the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra from his Kshatriya wife Bhadrā, who is mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka¹ and who probably flourished about 575 A. C.² He was apparently ruling somewhere in the vicinity of Māṇḍavyapura (modern Māṇḍōr near Jodhpur), which he and his brothers are said to have conquered. The connection of the two families is also indicated by the similarities of some names noticed in them.³

No records of Dadda I have yet been discovered, but from the Kairā grants⁴ of his grandson we learn that he was a devotee of the Sun. We are again told that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, which seems to suggest that he raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain from his base in Rajputana. He may be referred to the period 570-595 A. C.

About his son and successor Jayabhāṭa I, we know very little. From the *biruda Vitarāga*, 'one whose passion has vanished', applied to him, he seems to have been a man of tranquil nature. He had two sons, Dadda II who succeeded him and Raṇagraha who was apparently placed by his brother in charge of the eastern part of his kingdom. Jayabhāṭa I may have flourished from *circa* 595 A. C. to 620 A. C.

Dadda II *alias* Prasāntarāga, 'one whose passion has subsided', is known from several inscriptions. He was the real founder of the Gurjara kingdom in the Lāṭa country. His Kairā plates (two sets) are dated in K. 380 (629-30 A.C.) and K. 385 (634-35 A.C.), and record the grant of Śirishapadraka (modern Sisōdrā, 11 miles from Anklēśvar in the Broach District) to certain Brāhmaṇas. Two other sets of plates,⁵ issued on the same day in K. 392 (641-2 A.C.), register the grant of two fields in the village Kshīrasara in the *vishaya* (district) of Saṅgamakhēṭaka (modern Saṅkhēḍā *prānt* of the Baroda District). He is also mentioned in a fragmentary Saṅkhēḍā grant⁶ of his brother Raṇagraha, dated K. 391. As stated above, he was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Pulakēśin II soon after he carved out a kingdom for himself in the lower Narmadā valley. On the seals of his plates he is styled *Sāmanta* or a feudal lord, while in his grants he is said to have won the *pañcamaśabda* (the right to use the five great sounds). Like his grandfather, he was a devotee of the Sun.

Dadda II heads the genealogy in all later records. His descendants took pride in describing him as one 'who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadēva.'⁷ It has been recognized that Dadda II, the ruler of a petty state, a mere *Sāmanta*, could not have, unaided, given protection

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 91.

² Majumdar places his father Harichandra in about 550 A. C.

³ *Viz.*, two Nāgabhaṭas in the Māṇḍōr line and four Jayabhāṭas in the Gujarat line. It must, however, be noted that the Māṇḍōr line traces itself back to Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Rāma, while the Gujarat line claims to have descended from Karṇa, a hero of the Bhārata war. But both these Paurnapic pedigrees were invented in later times—the former in the ninth and the latter in the seventh century A. C.

⁴ Nos. 16 and 17.

⁵ Nos. 19 and 20.

⁶ No. 18. Three other grants purporting to have been issued by Dadda II are dated in Ś. 400, Ś. 414 and Ś. 417, but they are spurious. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 117 ff.

⁷ Below, p. 85. The expression occurs in Nos. 21, 22, and 24.

to the ruler of Valabhi against the armies of the most powerful ruler of the time with the resources of a vast empire at his command. Besides, it is noteworthy that Dadda himself is silent about this glorious achievement ascribed to him,¹ for there is no mention of it even in his grants of K. 392 (641-42 A. C.), which were made towards the end of his reign and before which the event must certainly have happened. Scholars are, however, not agreed about the power that supported him. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dadda II was at the time a feudatory of the dynasty of Harichandra which bore hereditary enmity to the royal house of Thaneshvar.² It is, however, doubtful if the Pratihāras of Māṇḍavyapura were then so powerful as to resist the victorious march of the mighty Emperor of North India. From the Aihōlī inscription³ and the account of Yuan Chwang,⁴ on the other hand, we learn that gathering troops from the five Indias and the best generals from all countries, Harsha advanced in person relying on his formidable elephant force. He was opposed by Pulakēśin II, the great king of Maharashtra. The battle was probably fought on the bank of the Narmadā⁵ in the heart of the Gurjara kingdom. Harsha's huge elephants fell in the fight and turned the scales in favour of his enemy. In this war the Gurjara Dadda was probably fighting on behalf of his liege lord Pulakēśin II. Though he himself did not claim credit for the victory, his descendants who were less punctilious in this regard ascribed it solely to his arms.

One of the causes of this war may have been the protection that Dadda gave to the king of Valabhi when he was attacked by Harsha. Dr. Altekar⁶ points out that the war could not have been fought during the first two or three decades of the seventh century A.C. when Harsha and Pulakēśin, both of whom aspired for the most enviable position of *Chakravartin*, were increasing their power and consolidating their position by conquering small kingdoms in the north and the south respectively. Pulakēśin's victory is mentioned in the Aihōlī inscription of 634 A.C., while the earlier Lōhaṇḍī plates⁷ issued by him in 630 A. C. are altogether silent about it. The war seems, therefore, to have been fought between 630 A. C. and 634 A. C. The Valabhi ruler who sought Dadda's protection was Dhruvabhaṭa II *alias* Bālāditya, whose earliest grant is dated in G. 310 (629-30 A. C.). From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that Harsha later⁸ made peace with the Valabhi ruler and cemented the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to him. As stated above, Dadda II probably flourished from 620 A. C. to 645 A. C.

Dadda II was succeeded by his son Jayabhaṭa II, who is known only from the grants of his successors. He is praised therein in general terms, altogether devoid of historical information. Soon after his accession, his country seems to have been invaded by the Valabhi ruler Dharasēna IV, the son and successor of Dhruvasēna II, who from his grants is known to have assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭpāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*

¹ Pandit Bhagvanlal tentatively suggested that 'the protection given to the Valabhi king is perhaps referred to in the Khēṣi grants in the mention of 'strangers and suppliants and people in distress,' but further on he admitted that 'the phrase quoted is by no means decisive.' *Bew. Gur.*, Vol. I, part I, p. 116.

² *J. D. L.*, Vol. X, p. 12.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁴ *O. Y. C.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

⁵ In the Aihōlī inscription, after mentioning the defeat of Harsha, Ravikirti describes the army of Pulakēśin II as encamped on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā) at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.

⁶ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 302 ff.

⁷ *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-4.

⁸ I do not agree with Dr. Altekar's view that 'Harsha's conquest or winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakēśin'. There seems to have been only one war during which the ruler of Valabhi fled to the court of Dadda. He was pursued by Harsha, who was defeated by Pulakēśin and his feudatory Dadda II.

and *Chakravartin*, and appears to have been the most powerful ruler of the time. Dharasēna advanced to and occupied Broach, which was probably the Gurjara capital at the time.¹ From his victorious camp at Broach, Dharasēna issued two sets of plates² in the same year G. 330 (648 A. C.). The villages granted by him lay, however, in the Khēṭakāhāra *viśaya* (modern Kairā District) which was outside the Gurjara kingdom. It has, therefore, been suggested that Dharasēna IV was enjoying the hospitality of the Gurjara king.³ The argument does not, however, appear convincing; for though in ancient times kings sometimes made grants of land situated in the territory which they had recently conquered, they did not do so invariably—especially when the country was only raided and not permanently occupied.⁴ Again, the adjective 'victorious' prefixed to Dharasēna's camp in these grants indicates that he had gone to Bharukachchha in the course of a military campaign. Dharasēna seems to have soon retired to his country, perhaps after exacting a heavy tribute from Jayabhaṭa II.

Like his father, Jayabhaṭa II was probably a devotee of the Sun, though there is no express mention of it in Gurjara records. A temple of the Sun called Jayāditya situated at Kōṭipura near Kāpikā (modern Kāvī in the Jambusar *tālukā* of the Broach District) was probably built by him.⁵ It is known from a grant made several years later (in 827 A. C.) for its repairs by Gōvinda of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa branch.⁶ Jayabhaṭa II may be referred to the period 643—663 A. C.

Jayabhaṭa was followed by Dadda III, who was the first Gurjara prince to become a devotee of Śiva. Only one grant of his has been discovered so far, *viz.* that recorded on the Prince of Wales Museum plates, dated K. 427 (675 A. C.).⁷ He is also mentioned in the grants of his successors. He had the *biruda* *Bābusabāya* (one whose sole helper is his arm) and attained the *pañcamahāśabda*. He seems to have pursued a more vigorous policy than his predecessor; for, he is said to have obtained victories over the kings of the east and the west. The king of the west was probably the Valabhī ruler Silāditya III (*circa* 660-683 A. C.) who was his contemporary. It seems that soon after his accession Dadda made an incursion into the Valabhī kingdom in retaliation for the previous invasion by the Maitrakas. He seems to have attained some success as suggested by the aforementioned statement. This occurred some time before 675 A. C., the date of his Prince of Wales Museum plates.⁷

During the reign of Dadda III the Gurjara kingdom was invaded by a ruler named Vajraṭa or Vajjaḍa as stated in the Nasik plates of Dharaśraya-Jayasimha. Like the earlier invasion of Harsha, this attack also was repelled with the help of the Chālukya suzerain. The whole army of Vajjaḍa was annihilated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā by Jayasimha, a younger son of Pulakeśin II.⁸ This victory of the Chālukyas was regarded

¹ The Gurjara capital till the end of Dadda II's reign was Nāndīpura as all the four grants of his reign are issued from that city. The capital was shifted to Bharukachchha (Broach) sometime before K. 427 (675 A. C.), the date of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff and Vol. XV, pp. 339 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 316; *J. D. L.*, Vol. X, p. 18.

⁴ As instances we may point out that the Vaḍṇēr plates of Buddharāja, though issued from his victorious camp at Vidiśā in Eastern Malwa, record the grant of a village in the Nasik District, and the Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III, though issued from his victorious camp at Mēlpāṭi in North Arcot, record the grant of a village near Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State.

⁵ As shown above, Jayabhaṭa I did not probably rule in Gujarat and Jayabhaṭas III and IV were devotees of Śiva.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

⁷ No. 121.

⁸ See No. 28, ll. 9-10.

as memorable as it was decisive; for, like the earlier one over Harsha, it is mentioned in many records of the Rāshtrakūṭas as the most glorious achievement of their enemies, the Early Chālukyas.¹ The identification of Vajjada and the approximate date of this victory will be discussed later on.² Dadda III flourished from *circa* 665 A. C. to 690 A. C.

Dadda III's son and successor Jayabhata III is known from two records.³ His Navsiri plates were issued from his camp at Kāvavatāra (the modern Kārwan, about 15 m. south of Baroda). They record the grant of the village Samīpadraka near Kārwan on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in K. 456 (706 A. C.). The second set of plates, though discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik, registers the grant of a village near Nāndīpurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpipla State) on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Libra in K. 460 (710 A. C.). The plates were issued from Bharukachchha.

In both the grants we find the old racial name Gurjara of the family discarded, and the claim made instead that the royal family was descended from Karna, evidently the hero of the Bhārata war.⁴ Like his father, Jayabhata III was a Saiva and won the *pañchamahāśabda*. His descendants give him a higher title *Mahāsāmantādhipati* 'the lord of the great feudatories', but it is not noticed in his own records. Jayabhata III probably flourished from *circa* 690 A. C. to 715 A. C.

The next prince Ahirōla, the son of Jayabhata III, is known only from the grants of his son Jayabhata IV. He had the same titles as his father, and was, like him, a devotee of Śiva. If the description given of him is not altogether conventional, he seems to have been a learned, pious and self-controlled prince. His reign was altogether uneventful and probably very short. He may be referred to the period 715-720 A. C.

Ahirōla's son and successor was Jayabhata IV. He is known from two copper-plate records.⁵ The earlier one which is fragmentary was discovered at Kāvī. It registers the grant of some land in favour of the god Āśramadēva installed at Kēmajju, not far from Kāvī in the Broach District. The grant was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Cancer in K. 486 (736 A. C.). The second record, which was incised nearly three months and a half later in the same year, registers the grant of the village Mannātha in the same district to a Brāhmaṇa of the Hētāvuka sub-caste.

The description of Jayabhata IV in both these records is given generally in conventional terms. Like his father, he was a Saiva and *Mahāsāmantādhipati*. There is, however, one verse in a rather corrupt form which refers to an important historical event.⁶ We learn from it that Jayabhata, by the edge of his sword, forcibly vanquished in the city of the lord of Valabhi the Tājikas who oppressed all people. This verse which occurs in the Kāvī plate also had been known for a long time; but several letters of it were lost by the breaking off of its right and left upper edges. Bühler, who edited the Kāvī plate, had, therefore, no complete text of the verse before him. One of his readings was also incorrect. His translation, 'who (*i.e.*, Jayabhata) by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi,'⁷ was responsible for the conclusion, drawn by him and others who followed him, that this Jayabhata inflicted a defeat on the contemporary ruler of Valabhi.

¹ See e.g. the Anjanavati plates of Gōvinda III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 14.

² See below, pp. lx ff.

³ The Kāvī plate dated K. 486 was for a long time ascribed to Jayabhata III, whose reign was supposed to have begun shortly before K. 456. But the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24), recently discovered, show that it belongs to his grandson Jayabhata IV.

⁴ This is also noticed in the earlier Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

⁵ Nos. 23 and 24.

⁶ See below, pp. lxiv ff.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 115.

The correct reading of the verse which can now be restored with the help of the better preserved Prince of Wales Museum plates shows, on the other hand, that Jayabhata went to the rescue of the king of Valabhi, when his capital was attacked by the Tajikas or Arabs, and inflicted a defeat on the enemy.

Jayabhata IV may have come to the throne in *circa* 720 A. C. His Kavi and Prince of Wales Museum grants are both dated in 736 A. C. The first encounter with the Arabs, in which Jayabhata obtained a decisive victory, must, therefore, be placed between 720 A. C. and 735 A. C. The only period during this interval when the Arabs followed a vigorous policy was that of the governorship of Junaid. Al Biladuri¹ tells us that after defeating Jaishiya and storming Kīraj, Junaid sent his officers against Marmad, Mandal, Dahanaḥ and Barūs. He also sent forces against Ujain, Māliba and Baharīmad, and conquered Baḥlāmān and Jurz. During one of these raids, his forces must have attacked Valabhi.² Jayabhata IV, realizing the common danger, seems to have gone to the help of the king of Valabhi and defeated the Arabs. Now, Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh by Umar and confirmed by Khalif Hasham (724-743 A. C.). As he was succeeded about 726 A. C. by Tamīm,³ we may place the raid of Valabhi in *circa* 725 A. C. The contemporary king of Valabhi who was thus saved by Jayabhata IV was probably Silāditya V.⁴

But the Arabs were not completely vanquished. Before long they overran the kingdom of Jayabhata himself, and pressed forward as far as Navasārikā. At this point their further advance was checked by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin,⁵ who inflicted a crushing defeat on them some time before 740 A. C., the date of his Navsāri plates. The Gurjara kingdom was thereafter probably annexed by the Gujarat Chālukyas. After the overthrow of the latter by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Dantidurga, the country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family with its capital at Bharukachchha. The Hānsōṭ plates⁶ of Bhartrivādḍha, a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa, were issued from Bharukachchha in V. 813 (756 A. C.).

The Gurjara kingdom seems to have been bounded by the Kīm in the south and the Arabian sea in the west. Northward it followed the course of the Mahi up to the former Rewakantha Agency, from where the boundary line ran along the eastern limit of the Panch-Mahals District to Chhota-Udaipur in the east. Over this country the Gurjaras ruled almost continuously for six generations comprising about a hundred and twenty years. Their capital was at first Nāndipurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpipla State), as all the records of Dadda II are issued from it. After him it seems to have been shifted to the prosperous emporium Bharukachchha (Broach). Of the five later records—one of Dadda III, two of Jayabhata III and two of Jayabhata IV—one was issued from the royal camp at Kāyavatāra (modern Kārwan) south of Baroda, and two from Bharukachchha (without the addition of a word like *nāsakāt*), while the place of issue in the case of the other two is not known. It is again noteworthy that the expeditions of Dharasēna IV, Silāditya III and later on of the Arabs were directed against Broach itself. It was, therefore, probably the later capital of the Gurjaras.

¹ E. D. H. I., Vol. I, p. 126.

² Prof. Hodivala has ingeniously suggested that Māliba against which Junaid sent an army may be Baliba (Valabhi).

³ E. D. H. I., Vol. I, p. 442.

⁴ He was ruling in G. 403 (722-23 A. C.). See I. N. I. Nos. 1369-70.

⁵ See No. 30, ll. 25 ff.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 197 ff.

The Gujjaras were staunch adherents of Hinduism. Nearly all their grants were made to Brahmanas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The earlier rulers down to Jayashata II were worshippers of the Sun, while the later ones were, without exception, devotees of Siva.

THE SENDRAKAS OF GUJARAT

The Sēdrakas first appear on the political horizon of South India as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kadambas. The Gokak plates,¹ dated in *circa* 552-55 A.C., mention the Sēdraka prince Indrapanda as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dējja-Mahārāja. He was ruling over the territory round Jamkhandi, about 60 miles south by east of Kolhapur. Some other records mention the Sēdrakas in connection with the Kadambas. A copper-plate inscription² of the Kadamba king Harivarman records the royal grant of the village Maradē at the request of Bhānuśakti who is described therein as 'the ornament of the family of the Sēdrakas.' Another Kadamba inscription³ mentions the *Sēdraka-vishaya* or the home province of the Sēdrakas. After the fall of the Kadambas, the Sēdrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them became matrimonially connected. From the Chiplun plates of Pulakēśin II⁴ we learn that his maternal uncle Srivallabha Sēnānanda was 'an ornament of the Sēdrakas.' He was probably ruling over South Konkan as a feudatory of Pulakēśin II as the latter sanctioned his grant of the village Āmravāṭaka and some allotment at another village Avañchapālī in the Avarētika *vishaya*.⁵ These villages were evidently situated in the vicinity of Chiplun, the former being probably identical with Āmbōli, 15 m. north of Chiplun. Another Sēdraka chief seems to have been appointed to govern some part of the Banavāsi kingdom which had been conquered from the Kadambas; for, a later inscription of the time of Pulakēśin II's grandson Vinayāditya⁶ mentions the Mahārāja Pōgillī of the Sēdraka family ruling over the Nagarkhand District, which, as we know from other records, was comprised in the Banavāsi Twelve-thousand. Again, the Sēdraka feudatory Dēvaśakti is mentioned in a record of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I, found in Karnul District of the Madras State.⁷ The Sēdrakas claimed to be of the Bhujagēndra *avaya*⁸ or Phaṇindra *vaṃśa*.⁹ They, therefore, belonged to the Nāga race. Their modern representatives are the Sindēs, whose crest contains the Nāga emblem.

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II divided their extensive kingdom among his relatives and trusted chiefs. Southern Gujarat extending from the Kim in the north to the Damangāṅgā in the south was placed in charge of a Sēdraka chief. The

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 31; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 239.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, p. 194.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III p. 50. For three other Sēdraka inscriptions of the same period, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

⁵ Mr. Jackson suggested that Avarētika was identical with Aparānta. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 41.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 141.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 239. A stone inscription at Lakshmeshvar (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 101 ff.) near the south-east corner of the Dharwar District mentions king Durgasakti, son of Kundasakti who was son of Vilagtasakti of the Sēdraka family, as a contemporary of Satyāśaya, son of Raṇaparākrama (who is obviously intended to be Pulakēśin II, son of Kṛtivarman I), but the inscription is spurious. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 106.

⁹ *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 21 and 82-83.

Sēndrakas ruled over this territory for three generations. They seem to have made numerous grants; for, Pandit Bhagvanlal once informed Dr. Bühler that he had in his possession several sets of Sēndraka plates from Southern Gujarat.¹ It is very unfortunate that they are not forthcoming now.

Only four grants² of the family have been published so far. Of these, three were made by Allaśakti. The earliest of them was discovered at Kāsārē in West Khandesh. Before its publication it was thought that the rule of the Sēndrakas was confined to Southern Gujarat. The Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti³ which register his donation of some land in the village Pippalikhēṭa, modern Pimpalner,⁴ about 45 miles west of Dhulia, clearly show that the Sēndrakas held Khandesh also. The plates are dated in the year 404 of the Kalachuri era (653 A. C.). Another inscription of Allaśakti was found at Bagumrā⁵ in the Surat District. It is dated in the Kalachuri year 406 (656 A. C.), and registers the grant of the village Balisa, the modern Wanasa in the Bārḍoli *tālukā* of the Surat District.

From these grants we learn that Bhānuśakti, who is called Nikumbha in the Kāsārē plates, was the founder of the family. As his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in 653 and 656 A. C., Bhānuśakti has to be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. C. He seems, therefore, to have been invested by Pulakēśin II with the government of Southern Gujarat and Khandesh after the defeat of the Kalachuri Buddharaṅga. In his grants he is said to have attained victory in the clash of many battles with the onslaught of four-tusked elephants. His son was Ādityaśakti, and the latter's son, Allaśakti.⁶ In his grants Allaśakti claims to have won the *pañcamaśābda* and assumes the *biruda* *Prithivīvallabha* and *Nikumbha*.

The Sēndrakas, though they were raised to power by the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, make no mention of their liege lords in their grants. From this Dr. Fleet inferred that the Bagumrā grant 'belongs to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance'.⁷ When Fleet wrote, this inference appeared quite justified; because in other inscriptions of that period such as the Navsārī and Surat plates of Śrīāśraya Śilāditya, the reigning sovereign was invariably mentioned.⁸ Since then several other grants of the period have come to light, e.g., the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha, the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti and the Mundakhēḍē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, in which the reigning suzerain is not specifically mentioned, but which were made after the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267. Pandit Bhagvanlal is known to have bequeathed by his will all his coins and copper-plates to the British Museum (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 297), but no Sēndraka grant can now be traced there.

² Two of these, viz., the Nāgaḍ plates of Allaśakti and the Mundakhēḍē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti bear dates of the Śaka era, and are, therefore, not included in this Volume. The Nāgaḍ plates dated in Śaka 577 (656 A.C.) were issued from Allaśakti's camp near Kāyavatka (modern Kārwan in Gujarat) and record his grant of a village near Nāndīpuradvārī (modern Nandurbar in West Khandesh). (*N. I. A.*, Vol. I, pp. 747-48). For an account of the Mundakhēḍē plates, dated Śaka 602 (681 A.C.), see below, p. liz, n. 2.

³ No. 25.

⁴ Some lines originally engraved on the second plate were cancelled and others incised over them. The statement refers to the later record.

⁵ No. 26.

⁶ His name is given as Nikumbhallaśakti by Bühler, but that *Nikumbha* was only a *biruda* is evident from the seal of the Kāsārē plates which has the legend *Allaśakti*. The same name occurs in l. 17 of the Kāsārē plates. *Nikumbha* is prefixed as a *biruda* to the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. See his Mundakhēḍē plates, *A. R. B. I. S. M. for Śaka* 1834, pp. 169 ff.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 361.

⁸ Fleet pointed out that no paramount sovereign is mentioned in the Kairā plates of Vijayarāja (No. 34) which he referred to the same period. But the record is spurious.

re-establishment of Chālukya suzerainty even according to Fleet's view. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Sēndrakas, though there was undoubtedly much disturbance and disorder in the Chālukya dominion owing to Pallava invasions in the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign.

After the issue of the Bagumrā plates, however, the Sēndrakas seem to have been ousted from Southern Gujarat; for within fifteen years from the date of that grant we find a subordinate branch of the Western Chālukyas established in the lower Tāpī valley. The next date of the Kalachuri era that comes from Gujarat, *viz.*, K. 421, is furnished by the grant¹ which the prince-regent Śryāśraya-Silāditya made on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. As we shall see later, it records the gift of a village situated within twenty miles of Balisa or Wanasa which was granted by the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allasakti. It is plain, therefore, that Śryāśraya-Silāditya was ruling over the same territory which was previously held by the Sēndrakas. The Sēndrakas then removed their seat of government to Khandesh, where we find Allasakti's son Jayasakti granting the village Sēnāpā by his Mundakhēdā plates² dated Saka 602 (680 A. C.). The donated village is now represented by Saundapā near the western border of the Khandesh District. The use of the Saka era in dating the record also shows that the grant was made outside Gujarat where the Kalachuri era remained current for more than half a century afterwards.³

THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II seems to have annexed Maharashtra to the country under his direct rule.⁴ In the Aihōlē inscription⁵ he is called the lord of the three Mahārāshtras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages. Yuan Chwang, who travelled in South India during his reign, also mentions him as the king of Mo-ha-la-ch'a (Maharashtra).⁶ Pulakēśin seems to have placed the southern districts, *viz.*, Satara, Panadharpur and perhaps also Sholapur under his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana; for, the Satara plates⁷ of the latter prince record the grant of a village on the southern

¹ No. 27. The Manor plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa, which have been published recently, mention Saka 613 (691-92 A.C.) as the twenty-first year, evidently, of the reign of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 21. The dynastic change seems, therefore, to have occurred in 671 A.C. The Surat plates of Yamaśraya Śryāśraya-Silāditya, dated K. 421 (670-71), seem to have been issued soon after Gujarat came into the possession of Jayasimha.

² These plates have been edited twice in Marāṭhī, first in the Marāṭhī journal *Prabhāsa* (Vol. I) of Dhulī and then in *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Saka 1834), but unfortunately they are not forthcoming now. The plates were found in the possession of the Patel of Mundakhēdā, not far from Dhulī. They were issued by Jayasakti, son of Allasakti, of the Sēndraka family from Jayapuradvārī and record the grant of the village Sēnāpā in the *śikṣa* of Kundalikāmala to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Kallivana. I have elsewhere identified these places. Thus, Jayapuradvārī, which was so called probably because it was situated at the entrance to a defile, is modern Jaur, 6 m. north of Nandgaon, which lies at the entrance to the valley between the Sātmālā and Ajaṇṭā ranges. Kundalikāmala is Kundalgaon, 11 m. south-west of Jaur. Sēnāpā, the donated village, is the modern Saundapā near Kundalgaon. The grant, therefore, undoubtedly belongs to Khandesh. The Nasik District was then under Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. See No. 28.

³ The Navsāri plates, the last record of Gujarat dated in the Kalachuri era, were granted in K. 490 (740 A.C.).

⁴ The Nirpes grant of Nāgavardhana mentions Dharāśraya-Jayasimha as a younger brother of Pulakēśin apparently as the ruler of the Nasik District, but the grant is probably spurious; for, Dharāśraya-Jayasimha was Pulakēśin's son, not brother. See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 358, n. 1.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ *O. Y. C.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 303.

bank of the Bhīmā. The districts in Northern Maharashtra together with the country near the western coast seem to have been under Pulakēśin's direct rule.¹ His second capital was probably Nasik. This city, as Fleet has shown,² answers to the description of Pulakēśin's capital given by the Chinese traveller.

Vikramāditya I, who succeeded Pulakēśin II, appointed his younger brother Dharāśraya-Jayasimha to govern South Gujarat, parts of North Konkan and the Nasik District. The Navasāri plates of Jayasimha's son Śryāśraya-Silāditya, which were evidently issued soon after this appointment, state explicitly that the prosperity of Jayasimha was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya I.³ The Sēndrakas who were previously ruling over South Gujarat moved to Khandesh. This change seems to have occurred in 671 A. C.; for, the recently discovered Manor plates state that Śaka 613 (691-92) was the twenty-first regnal year of Jayasimha.⁴

Jayasimha seems to have himself ruled over only the Nasik District. The Nasik plates dated in K. 436 (685 A. C.) record his grant of a village in that district. He placed his two sons in charge of the other parts of his kingdom, investing them with power to make grants of land in their own name. His elder son *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya-Silāditya, who ruled over South Gujarat, is known to have made two grants of land recorded in the Navsāri and Surat plates.⁵ These are dated in the Kalachuri era which was then current in Gujarat. His second son Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa also made two land-grants recorded in the Manor and Balsar plates.⁶ These are dated in the Śaka era which was apparently current in parts of North Konkan where Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa was ruling. The Nasik plates state that with his bright-tipped arrows Jayasimha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā.⁷ As we have already seen, this country was under the rule of the Gurjara princes who called themselves *Sāmantas* and evidently owed allegiance to the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It seems that some king named Vajjaḍa invaded the country of the Gurjaras, evidently from the North. The Gurjara ruler sought the help of his suzerain, the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, who ordered Jayasimha to proceed to the north to the rescue of the Gurjara feudatory. He won a decisive victory which is placed on a par with Pulakēśin II's brilliant victory over Harsha and mentioned as one of the most glorious achievements of the Western Chālukyas in many records of their political successors, the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁸

Before the discovery of Jayasimha's Nasik plates, no reference to this victory over Vajjaḍa was known to occur in any record of the Western Chālukyas. Fleet, however, conjectured⁹ that this victory was identical with the one obtained by Vinayāditya over some paramount king of North India, which is mentioned in the records of his son and successor Vijayāditya.¹⁰ Thus from the Nerur plates of the latter, dated Śaka 622 and 627, we

¹ The Lōhaṇḍī plates, dated Śaka 552 (630-31 A.C.) record Pulakēśin II's grant of a village in the Baglan *tāluka* of the Nasik District. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 37 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 113.

³ No. 27, l. 9.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ Nos. 27 and 29.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVIII pp. 17 ff. and *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁷ See No. 28, lines 9-13.

⁸ Dantivarman, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa power, is thus described—काञ्चीककेरलनराधिपकोल-पाण्ड्यभीर्हर्षवज्रविभेदविमानवलम् । काण्टिकं वक्रवन्तवज्रैर्मन्वीरैः कियद्विरपि यः सहस्रं विनाय ॥ See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 14. Vajraṭa, mentioned here, is plainly identical with the Vajjaḍa of the Nasik plates.

⁹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 368.

¹⁰ The same view has been stated recently by Venkataramanayya, who identifies this paramount king with Vajrayudha of Kanauj. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XX, pp. 181 ff. I have examined it in detail in the same journal, Vol. XX, pp. 353 ff.

learn that Vinayāditya acquired the *pālidhvaja* banner and all other insignia of sovereignty by vanquishing the lord of the whole Uttarāpatha (North India).¹ The Nasik plates, however, clearly show that the two victories were not identical. For, Jayasimha's victory was decisive; he is said to have completely exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the territory between the Mahi and the Narmadā. On the other hand, Vinayāditya did not emerge completely triumphant in his encounter with the lord paramount of North India; for, though with the help of his valiant son Vijayāditya, he won the *pālidhvaja* banner, the signs of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the insignia of *ghaṭṭa*, elephants, etc., he was not altogether happy, as his son Vijayāditya was taken captive by the retreating hostile forces. Secondly, Jayasimha's success was attained sometime before K. 436 (685 A. C.), the date of the Nāsik plates, while Vinayāditya's battle with the emperor of the North was not fought till Śaka 616 (694 A. C.) at least, since it is not referred to in his Harihar plates² issued in that year. It is mentioned for the first time in the Nerur plates of his son Vijayāditya, dated Śaka 622. The war seems to have been fought towards the end of Vinayāditya's reign; for, he died soon thereafter while his son was in captivity. There was anarchy in the kingdom, which Vijayāditya suppressed when he effected his escape.³ We may, therefore, date it in *circa* 695 A. C. Jayasimha was probably living at the time; for, only two years before this date his son Yavarāja Śrīśāraya-Śilāditya made a grant in his name;⁴ but he was then probably too old to take the field. Vajjaḍa is, therefore, not identical with the lord paramount of North India defeated by Vinayāditya.

Who was then this king Vajjaḍa? The name is clearly a corrupt form of some Sanskrit name like Vajraṭa or Vajrabhaṭa. As stated above, the Rāshtrakūṭa records name the king as Vajraṭa, but they belong to a much later age. Besides, no name like Vajraṭa occurs in any genealogical list of the period.⁵ Even if we take the name to be Vajrabhaṭa, we get no better result. Similar names ending in *bhaṭa* no doubt occur in the dynastic lists of the Gurjara-Pratihāras⁶ and the Maitrakas of Valabhi,⁷ but there is no name in them corresponding to Vajjaḍa. The Vasantagadh inscription⁸ dated V. 682 indeed mentions one Vajrabhaṭa as a feudatory of Varmalāta; but he flourished too early for this invasion which, as we have seen, took place between K. 406 and K. 436 (656 A.C. and 685 A.C.); for his son Rajjila was on the throne in V. 682 (625 A.C.). The history of North India between the death of Harsha and the rise of Yaśovarman is shrouded in obscurity. So the problem of the identity of Vajraṭa is likely to remain unsolved until more records bearing upon it come to light. But the conjecture may be hazarded that he was Śilāditya III, the king of Valabhi (*circa* 660-685 A. C.).⁹ He was a very powerful ruler; for he assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahāvājādhirāja* and *Paramē-*

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125 and 130.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 125. See the description of Vijayāditya in the Nerur plates.

⁴ That Jayasimha lived for some years after 695 A.C. is rendered probable by the fact that the name of his son Śrīśāraya-Śilāditya is omitted in the grants of Maṅgalatīja and Pulakētin. This is generally taken to indicate that he predeceased his father.

⁵ Two princes of this name are mentioned in *I. N. I.*, Nos. 1657 and 1664, but they belong to much later periods.

⁶ For instance, Nāgabhaṭas I and II in the Imperial Pratihāra Dynasty.

⁷ For instance, Dhruvabhaṭa, the son-in-law of Harsha, mentioned by Yuan Chwang, and Dērabhaṭa mentioned in *I. N. I.*, Nos. 1552 and 1553.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 191.

⁹ Śilāditya III may have been provoked into launching this attack on the Gurjara kingdom by Dadda III's incursion into the Valabhi territory. See above, p. lii.

svara. From a copper-plate inscription¹ recently published by Mr. A. S. Gadre, it seems that Śilāditya III occupied the Gurjara country for some time during this very period; for the inscription records his grant of a field in the village Antikā situated in the *vishaya* of Bharukachchha (modern Broach) to a Brāhmaṇa who had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at Sraddhikā, modern Sādhi, about 3 miles south by west of Padma in the Baroda District. The grant is dated in G. 337 (676-77 A. C.), i. e., only about 9 years before Jayasimha's Nasik grant which records his victory over Vajraḍa. Now, Bharukachchha was not only included in the country of the Gurjaras, but was their capital in this period. When a foreign ruler makes a grant in this district, it clearly indicates that the Gurjaras had lost their hold over that territory. The dates of the Gurjara kings also suggest that they had suffered reverses in this period. Between K. 392 (642 A. C.), the last known date of Dadda II—Prasāntarāga and K. 456 (706 A. C.), the next known date of his great-grandson Jayabhata III, there is a gap of 64 years. Two Gurjara princes Jayabhata II and Dadda III ruled in this period, but only one record of this period has been discovered.² These were troublous times for the Gurjaras; for, their country was invaded twice by the Maitrakas of Valabhi, their powerful neighbours on the west. The first invader was Dharasēna IV. This king, who assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Chakravartin*, issued two grants from his victorious camp at Bharukachchha in G. 330 (649-50 A. C.).³ The villages granted lay, however, in the Khetaka *vishaya* outside the Gurjara kingdom. Dharasēna IV seems, therefore, to have only raided the Gurjara territory. He did not annex it to his kingdom. This invasion took place during the reign of Jayabhata II (circa 645—665 A. C.). Twenty-seven years later Śilāditya III tried to emulate the achievement of his ancestor. He invaded the Gurjara kingdom and occupied the territory round Broach for some time as is indicated by his aforementioned grant of G. 337 (676-77 A. C.).⁴ Dadda III—Bāhusahāya then sought the aid of the Chālukya Emperor, by whose command Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, who was ruling over the adjoining territory, proceeded to the north and drove the enemy out of the Gurjara kingdom. It is noteworthy that the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III, son and successor of Dadda III, record his grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa who also, like the donee of Śilāditya III's grant, had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at the same village Sraddhikā. This clearly shows that the Gurjaras had recovered possession of the Bharukachchha *vishaya* before K. 456.

It may, however, be objected that Śilāditya III is not known by the name Vajraḍa. This objection has not much force; for from the middle of the seventh century A. C. *Śilāditya* became the conventional name of all kings of Valabhi. Śilāditya III was followed by four other kings, all of whom were known by the same name *Śilāditya*. As in the case of the Daddas and the Jayabhata of the Gurjara dynasty, they must have had other personal names by which they were distinguished from one another. Some of the predecessors of Śilāditya III had personal names in addition to those ending in *āditya*. See, e. g., the names of Dhruvasēna II—Bālāditya and Kharagraha II—Dharmāditya. Some of these names again ended in *śa*. The inference seems, therefore, justifiable that Vajraḍa was another name of Śilāditya III. His defeat by Dharāśraya-Jayasimha may have occurred some time between 677 A. C. and 685 A. C.

¹ *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 18 ff.

² See No. 121, pp. 617 ff., below.

³ *Ind. Ans.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff.; and XV, pp. 329 ff.

⁴ This is the only grant of land in the Broach District made by Śilāditya III. He did not make four such grants as incorrectly stated by Gadre. *Important Inscriptions etc.*, p. 18.

Two inscriptions of the time of Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha have been found in Southern Gujarat. The earlier one, dated K. 441 (671 A. C.), records the grant of the village *Asapi-gūṇa*, which Bühler has identified with *Astgaon*, 7 miles south-east of Navasāri.¹ The second inscription,² dated K. 443 (693 A. C.), which was found at Surat, registers the grant of a field in the village of *Ūsumbbala*, modern *Umbhal*, 7 miles south of Kamrej. Both these grants were made by the prince-regent *Srīśāraya-Silāditya*—the former from Navasārikā and the latter from his victorious camp at *Kusumēśvara* (modern *Kōsmārī*, 3 m. north-west of *Umbhal*). That he was ruling on behalf of his father *Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha* is indicated not only by his title *Yamasija*, but also by the seal of the latter grant which bears the legend *Srī-Dharāśraya*. *Jayasinhha* seems to have lived for a few years after K. 443; for, his son *Srīśāraya-Silāditya* apparently predeceased him, since his name is omitted in the later records of the dynasty.

Jayasinhha's younger son *Maṅgalarasa* who succeeded him³ was ruling in North Konkan. He is known to have made two land grants. The Manor plates recently discovered in the Thana District, Bombay State, are dated in the Saka year 613 (691 A. C.). They mention the prince's name with the *birudas*, *Vinayāditya*, *Prithivīvalkhabha*, *Yuddhamalla* and *Jayāśraya*, and record his grant of some villages and hamlets for the worship of the Sun-god and the repairs of his temple at *Mānapura*, modern *Manor* in the *Palghar tālukā* of the Thana District. Another copper-plate grant of this prince was found at *Balsar* in the Surat District.⁴ It was made at *Maṅgalapuri* which was probably founded by *Maṅgalarasa* himself and was evidently his capital. This grant mentions the same *birudas* of *Maṅgalarasa*. It is dated in the Saka year 653 (731-32 A. C.). *Maṅgalapuri* has not been identified, but the dating of the record in the Saka era suggests that the grant must have been made outside Gujarat,⁵ probably in North Konkan where the Saka era was then current. The plates, though granted in Konkan, seem to have been taken over to Gujarat just as the *Anjaneri* plates of *Jayabhaṭa*, issued in Central Gujarat, were found in the *Nasik District* and the *Kāsāre* plates of *Allaśakti*, also issued in Gujarat, were discovered in West *Khandesh*. Besides, if the grant had been made in Gujarat, *Navasārikā*, which was the *Chālukya* capital in South Gujarat, would in all probability have been mentioned as the place of issue. *Maṅgalarasa* is also mentioned with only one *biruda* *Jayāśraya* in the *Navsāri* plates⁶ of his younger brother *Avanijanaśraya-Pulakēśin*. From the description given therein it appears that *Maṅgalarasa* regained by the might of his arm the territory which had previously been lost. The name of the enemy from whom he wrested it has, however, not been specified.

It has been generally held that *Avanijanaśraya-Pulakēśin* succeeded *Maṅgalarasa* in Southern Gujarat; for, in his *Navsāri* plates dated K. 490, he mentions himself as medi-

¹ No. 27.

² No. 28.

³ If the date of the *Kairā* plates of the *Chālukya Vijayaśīja* is referred to the Gupta era, *Vijayaśīja* will have to be placed between *Srīśāraya-Silāditya* and *Maṅgalarasa*, but the plates are probably spurious. See below, pp. 168-69.

⁴ This record is known only from the account given by Pandit Bhagvanlal in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5. The original plates have not been published. From Bhagvanlal's account it appears that the name of the donor is given therein as *Maṅgalarāja*.

⁵ It must, however, be admitted that the *Nāga* plates of *Allaśakti*, though issued from his camp at *Kāyāvāṭa* (modern *Karwān*) in Gujarat, are dated in the Saka era. This was probably because the grant was of a village in *Khandesh* where the Saka era was current. The *Mandakhēḍ* plates of *Allaśakti*'s son *Jayaśakti* are likewise dated in the Saka era.

⁶ No. 30.

tating on his feet. But a careful study of the record shows that while the expression denoting succession which occurs as many as three times in that record is *tat-pād-ānudhyāta* (meditating on his feet), that used to express Pulakēśin's relation to his brother is *tat-pād-panikaj-ārādhana-ānudhyāta*¹ (meditating on the propitiation of his lotus-like feet). The difference in the two expressions is certainly striking and seems to suggest that Pulakēśin was ruling in Gujarat contemporaneously with his brother who was governing parts of North Konkan.

The Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin record his grant of a village in the *dhāra* and *vishaya* of Kārmaṇṭya (modern Kamrej, 10 m. north-east of Surat). They are dated in K. 490 (740 A. C.). Their historical importance lies in the graphic account they furnish of Pulakēśin's victory over the Tājikas or Arabs. The Arabs, we are told, had already conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhella, Saurāshtra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings before they invaded the district of Navasārikā in the course of their campaign to conquer all the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. We find this description fully corroborated by the account of Muhammadan chroniclers. Of the princes named above, Saindhava is generally identified with the king of Sindh. From Futu-hu-l Buldān² of Al Bilāduri also we know that during the Khalifat of Walid I, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, crossed the Sindhu and defeated and killed Dāhir, the king of Sindh. Sulaimān, the successor of Walid I, called back Muhammad. Jaisingh, son of Dāhir, took advantage of this opportunity to regain his territory; but when Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh during the Khalifat of Hashām (724-743 A. C.), he again pursued a vigorous policy and defeated and killed Jaisingh.³ It appears, however, from the Ghumli plates recently discovered, that the Saindhava king defeated by the Arab army was probably Pushyadēva (circa 734-754 A. C.), the founder of the Saindhava feudatory family which ruled in North Saurāshtra.⁴ Kachchhella is the king of Cutch. One of the Arab raids during the governorship of Junaid was directed against Kiraj which Elliot identified with Cutch.⁵ Saurāshtra was under the Maitrakas of Valabhī. Though their territory was invaded by the Arabs, they repelled the attack with the help of the Gurjara prince Jayabhaṭa IV.⁶ Perhaps in a later raid the Arabs were more successful. The Chāvōṭaka king was plainly of the Chāpa dynasty which was ruling at Bhilmal. This can be inferred from the statement in the *Brahmagupta-siddhānta* that the astronomer Brahmagupta, the Bhillamalākachārya or the teacher residing at Bhilmal, wrote the *Siddhānta* in the Śaka year 550 (628 A. C.) under Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty.⁷ From Al Bilāduri's work also we learn that Junaid raided Bailamān which is probably identical with Bhilmal. The Maurya king was probably Dhavala who is known from the Kaṇaswa inscription of his friend Sivagaṇa,⁸ dated V. 795 (738-39 A. C.). He was probably ruling over the country corresponding to modern Mewad.⁹ Finally, the Gurjara king was probably

¹ This expression clearly shows that *pād-ānudhyāta* which occurs frequently in Sanskrit inscriptions means 'meditating on the feet of' and not 'blessed or favoured by the feet of' as suggested by some scholars. See my note on the expression in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XX, pp. 288 ff.

² E. D. H. I., Vol. I, pp. 121-22.

³ *Lec. cit.*, p. 123.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 189.

⁵ E. D. H. I., p. 391.

⁶ See above, p. lv.

⁷ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55 ff.

⁹ Dhavala is probably identical with Dhavalappadēva whose inscription dated G. 407 was found at Dabok in Mewad (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. X, p. 31, n. 1).

Jayabhata IV whose kingdom the Arabs must have overrun before they advanced as far as Navsāri.

The Navsāri plates record that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin inflicted a defeat on the invading Arab army. This raid is evidently later than that which was directed against Broach during the governorship of Junaid; for, as we have seen, the latter must have taken place *in circa* 723 A. C., as Junaid was succeeded by Tamīm about 726 A. C. The raid against Navsāri is not recorded by Muslim chroniclers probably because the Arabs this time sustained a crushing defeat.¹ The graphic and detailed description of the fight, which for its vigour is unsurpassed in inscriptional literature, suggests that it must have been composed soon after the fight. Again, the wording of the eulogistic part of the grant shows that it must have been drafted after the annexation of the Gurjara principality.² We may, therefore, date the Arab raid about 739 A. C.

The Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi, whose name has not been specifically mentioned, but who must have been Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.), was so much pleased with Pulakēśin's heroism that he conferred on him the four titles *Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra* (the Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha), *Chalukkekulānakāra* (the Ornament of the Chālukya family) *Prithivīvallabha* (the dear Lord of the Earth) and *Anivartakānivartayitṛi* (the Repeller of the unrepellable). Pulakēśin seems to have annexed the territory to the north of the Kīm after this Arab raid.

Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin is the last known ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas. Within eighteen years after the date of the Navsāri plates we find a Rāshtrakūṭa family established in the Surat District. The Antroli-Chharoli plates³ of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Karka II, dated Śaka 679 (757 A. C.), record the grant of the village Sthāvarapallikā (the modern Chharoli in the Surat District). The country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family⁴ which owed allegiance to the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Jābālipura (modern Jālōr).⁵

The country under the rule of the Gujarat Chālukyas originally extended along the western coast from the Kīm in the north to the Thana District in the South. Eastward it stretched up to the Ghāṭs. This kingdom was extended by Pulakēśin who annexed the Gurjara territory to it.⁶ Maṅgalapurī, not yet identified, was the capital of Maṅgalarasa,

¹ Al Bilāduri, however, has recorded that in the days of Tamīm, the successor of Junaid, the Musalmāns retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions. *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

² The eulogistic portion of the record on the Navsāri plates contains some expressions which are known to occur only in Gurjara grants; see below, p. 280.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

⁴ See the Hānsōṭ plates of the Chāhamāna Bhartṛivādḍha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

⁵ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 398.

⁶ Some scholars suppose that the Chālukya rule extended to Kairā in North Gujarat; for, it was from a marriage pandal at Kheṭaka (modern Kairā) that a Chālukya princess was abducted by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 243. The princess is supposed to be the daughter of either Maṅgalarasa or Pulakēśin. This view is open to several objections. If the Ellora plates of Dantidurga are dated in Śaka 663, they would show that the marriage must have taken place in any case not later than 720 A. C. Kairā was not then included in the dominion of the Gujarat Chālukyas. Besides, it is doubtful if *khetaka-maṇḍapa* in that passage refers to any place-name at all. It appears there as an adjective of *raṇē* and means '(in the battle) in which there was a pandal made by the shields (of the fighting men)'. Even if *Khetaka* is taken as a place-name, it cannot refer to Kairā: for (i) it was not included in the kingdom of the Gujarat Chālukyas; and (ii) it was far away from the principality of Indra II. It is doubtful if he was then powerful enough to penetrate so far to the north. Besides, there were other places of that name in the dominion of the Chālukya Emperor where the incident could have happened. See my article on Dantidurga in *J. M. S. G. U.*, Vol. I, p. 36, n. 22.

while Navasārikā, modern Navsāri in the Surat District, was the capital of Sryāśraya-Silāditya and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. The grant of K. 421 was made by Sryāśraya Silāditya while residing at Navasāri. This was also probably the place of issue in the case of Pulakēśirāja's Navsāri plates, though there is no specific mention to that effect.

The Gujarat Chālukyas were patrons of Hinduism. They were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara. All their known grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and such other rites.

THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

Two sets of Anjaneri plates¹ recently discovered have brought to light a new feudatory family which ruled over Northern Konkan and the Nasik District in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. This family claimed descent from Hariśchandra, doubtless the famous legendary king of the solar race. Svāmichandra, who heads the genealogical list in both the Anjaneri grants, rose to power during the reign of Vikramāditya I. The Anjaneri plates inform us that the Chālukya Emperor loved him as his own son, and it was doubtless by his favour that he became the ruler of 'the entire Konkan country consisting of fourteen thousand villages.' As one of the Anjaneri grants of his grandson Bhōgaśakti is dated in 710-11 A. C., Svāmichandra must have flourished about 660 A. C. Vikramāditya I seems to have appointed him first to rule over Konkan.² Svāmichandra's descendants continued to mention gratefully this favour of Vikramāditya I, though they made no reference to the contemporary Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi.³

Three generations of this family are known from the Anjaneri plates—Svāmichandra, his son Simhavarman and the latter's son Bhōgaśakti *alias* Prithivichandra (the Moon on the earth) who made the two grants. The name of the last prince recalls similar names of Sēndraka princes which also end in *śakti*. The question, therefore, arises if these princes belonged to the same clan as the Sēndrakas. It must, however, be noted that as Bhōgaśakti traced his descent from Hariśchandra, he could not have belonged to the Sēndraka family which claimed connection with the Nāga race. The lion seal of the Anjaneri plates and the use of small circles to embellish the tops and corners of the letters incised on them indicate some sort of connection with the Kadambas; for we find these peculiarities in the Bannahalli plates of the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of this family edited here, that which is dated K. 461 (710-11 A. C.) records the grant of eight villages and certain rights, dues and taxes

¹ Nos. 31 and 32.

² The Sanjān plates, edited by Mr. Jackson in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 40 ff., purport to record the grant of Buddhavarasārāja, a younger brother of Pulakēśin II, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Pausa. The plates are not dated, but as the genealogy of the Imperial family is carried down to Vikramāditya I, they purport to belong to his reign. The only year during the period from 645 A. C. to 680 A. C. in which there was a solar eclipse in the *amānta* Pausa was 660 A. C. Buddhavarasa may, therefore be regarded as a predecessor of Svāmichandra in Northern Konkan; but the plates are probably spurious; because (1) though Buddhavarasārāja claims to be a Chālukya, the emblem on his seal is the figure of a lion and not that of a boar; (2) the grant is very incorrectly written and contains two long expressions borrowed *verbatim* from ll. 10-11 of the Bagumrā grant of Allāśakti. The record seems to have been fabricated with the help of Chālukya and Sēndraka grants, and the seal was formed on the model of that of Bhōgaśakti's grants. Prof. Sten Konow also, who has re-edited the grant in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff., regards the plates as spurious.

³ In 671 A. C. Vikramāditya I appears to have transferred Thana and some other districts of North Konkan to Dharaśraya-Jayasimha. See above, p. lx.

in favour of the god Nārīyana who was named Bhōgēśvara evidently after the donor, and was installed in a temple at Jayapura, modern Jarwar Budrukh near Anjaneri in the Nasik District. In the eulogistic portion of the record Bhōgaśakti is said to have brought by his valour the whole territory of his dominion under his sway. As we have seen above, a similar statement is also made about the Chālukya prince Maṅgalarasa who flourished in the same period. This suggests that the two families had experienced a disaster from which they recovered by the valour of Bhōgaśakti and Maṅgalarasa respectively. This was probably at the time of Vinayāditya's death (696 A. C.) when owing to the captivity of his son Vijayāditya there was anarchy in the kingdom.¹ The devastation which the country suffered is reflected in the second set of the Anjaneri plates. From it we learn that Bhōgaśakti granted certain rights, privileges and exemptions to the merchants of Samagiripaṭṭana when he resettled the town and the neighbouring villages some time after their devastation.

The successor of Bhōgaśakti was probably overthrown by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga; for, from the Ellorā plates the latter appears to have occupied the Nasik District some time before 715 A. C.²

Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti, is said to have ruled over the whole Kōṅkaṇa country consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The country under his sway probably extended along the western coast from the southern limit of the Thana District in the north to the river Vāsishṭhī in the south. Some time after Jayasimha's death in *circa* 695, Bhōgaśakti seems to have extended his sway to the Nasik District above the Ghāṭs. The capital of this country was probably Purī as it is said to be the chief city of the Kōṅkaṇa of fourteen thousand villages. This city, as we have seen, was also the capital of the Mauryas. It has not yet been definitely located, but may be identical with Rājpurī in the former Janjira State.³

THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

Until recently there was a perfect blank in the history of the Kalachuris for more than two centuries after the overthrow of Buddharāja. Kōkalla I (*circa* 850-885 A. C.), mentioned at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription⁴ and the Banāras plates of Karṇa,⁵ was believed to be the founder of the Tripurī branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. The discovery of two lithic records, one at Saugor,⁶ the headquarters of the Saugor District, and the other at Kārītalāi⁷ in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, has carried back the genealogy of the Tripurī branch by a few generations. The Saugor inscription was put up during the reign of Saṅkaragaṇa who meditated on the feet of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 ff. As shown elsewhere, I read the date of this grant as K. 463 and take it as equivalent to 715 A.C. If the date is read as 663 and referred to the Śaka era, it would be equivalent to 741 A.C.

³ *P. I. H. C.*, (1940), pp. 86 ff.

⁴ No. 45.

⁵ No. 48.

⁶ No. 35. This inscription has been known for a long time. It was listed by Hiralal in the first edition (published in 1916) of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, but he gave no account of it then. In the second edition also of that work he gave no detailed description of its contents. He, however, called it the oldest Kalachuri record and referred it to the ninth century A. C. He doubtfully read in it the name *Vāgharāja* in place of *Vāmarāja*. The contents of the record were for the first time discussed by the present writer in his article entitled 'Vāmadēva, An Early Kalachuri King', published in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas, pp. 152 ff.

⁷ No. 42.

Vāmarājādēva. Both Saṅkaragaṇa and Vāmarājādēva are mentioned in this record with the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramāśvara*. This Vāmarājādēva is plainly identical with Vāmadēva who is invariably mentioned with the same imperial titles in the beginning of the formal portion of all official records of the Later Kalachuris of Tripuri and on whose feet they are described as meditating.¹ Vāmarāja² was held in such a veneration by all Kalachuri kings of Tripuri probably because he was the founder of the northern Kalachuri power.³

When did this Vāmarāja flourish? The aforementioned Saugor inscription is the earliest record which names him. It is not dated; but on the evidence of palaeography, it can be referred to the middle of the eighth century A.C. Though this inscription states that Saṅkaragaṇa, during whose reign it was put up, meditated on the feet of Vāmarāja, it would be rash to assert that the latter was his immediate predecessor; for, we find the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* repeated in connection with the names of as many as five other kings. But it would not perhaps be wrong to refer Vāmarāja to the end of the seventh century A.C.⁴

We have seen above how after the overthrow of Buddharāja, the Kalachuris had to remain in obscurity and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chālukya Emperors. But their stubborn spirit and the memory of their past achievements did not allow them to remain in a subordinate position for a long time. As the Chālukyas were then supreme in the south, the Kalachuris turned their attention to the north where they found a favourable field for the expansion of their power in the latter half of the seventh century A.C. After the death of Harsha, his extensive kingdom crumbled to pieces. In the consequent confusion and scramble for power, Vāmarāja seems to have found the opportunity he was seeking. He overran Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand and established himself at Kālañjara, the impregnable fort in the Bāndā District, 90 miles west-south-west of Allahabad.⁵ From very ancient times this fort has been sacred to Śiva. It is mentioned as one of the nine holy places in North India.⁶ In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., it was in the occupation of Udayana of the Sūmavarṇśi dynasty.⁷ The subsequent history of the fort is not clear until its occupation by the Kalachuris. It seems to have remained in their

¹ Kielhorn has shown that the expression *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramāśvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs in connection with five Kalachuri kings, viz., Karṇa, Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasiṁha, Jayasiṁha and Vijayasiṁha. For the different interpretations of this expression, see my article on Vāmadēva mentioned above, p. lxvii, n. 6.

² In subsequent records, his name has been contracted into *Vāmadēva*.

³ The expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs also in connection with the name of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyamalla or Trailōkyavarman in the Dhureti plates of his reign (No. 72) and also in a record of his feudatory Kumārapālādēva of Karkarēḍi. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 230 ff. But this is plainly due to the ignorance of the drafters of the records, who blindly copied the expression from earlier inscriptions. It may be noted in this connection that the ancestors of Kumārapālādēva were feudatories of the Kalachuris. Two of their records (Nos. 63 and 68) actually use this expression in connection with the name of the contemporary Kalachuri suzerains.

⁴ As shown below, he was probably identical with the unnamed brother of Lakshmaṇarāja mentioned in the beginning of the Kahla plates, who lived towards the close of the 7th century A. C.

⁵ The fort of Chitrakūṭa near Kāmṭā in Bundelkhand may also have been occupied by Vāmarāja. The Kanarese poet Pampa says that it was situated in the Chēḍi country. *J. R. A. S.* for 1882, p. 19. In some Rāshtrakūṭa records, its name is coupled with Kālañjara and the two are described as important outposts of the Rāshtrakūṭas. See, e. g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

⁶ See *Padmapurāṇa*, Svargakhaṇḍa, adhyāya 39, v. 34.

⁷ A stone inscription of this king recording the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu has been found at Kālañjara. *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and Plate IX. His descendants moved to Chhattisgarh where we find them ruling in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116. ff.

possession up to the end of the eighth century A.C. Afterwards it was occupied successively by the Pratihāras,¹ Rāshtrakūṭas,² Chandēllas³ and Muhammadans,⁴ but the Kalachuris' occupation of the fort was remembered for a long time. The Kalachuryas of South India mention with pride in their records the title *Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara*, 'the lord of Kālañjara, the best of cities'.⁵ This, like other similar titles, must be interpreted to mean that these princes were descended from a Kalachuri king who formerly ruled at Kālañjara.

The Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva⁶ state that an illustrious Kalachuri prince established himself at Kālañjara, from where he raided and conquered Ayōmukha (modern Partapgarh and Rai Bareilly Districts, U. P.). We are further informed that after having defeated his enemies, he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, who, in turn, conquered Svētapada. As shown below, this Lakshmaṇarāja is identical with Lakshmaṇarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā stone inscription. Like the former, the latter also had a uterine brother. Besides, he is said to have first occupied a fort (Kālañjara) and later on established himself at Saivaya⁷ which may be identical with Svētapada.⁸ As shown below, Lakshmaṇarāja I's great-grandson Lakshmaṇarāja II *alias* Rājaputra flourished about 775 A.C. Lakshmaṇarāja I can, therefore, be placed in *circa* 700 A.C. The elder brother who placed him in charge of the territory round Kālañjara is unfortunately not named in the Kahla plates. His name is, again, lost in the Kasiā stone inscription, but in view of what is said above, he may be identified with Vāmarāja. As his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja I was probably ruling in 700 A.C., Vāmarāja may have flourished from *circa* 675 A.C. to 700 A.C.

The Kasiā inscription names two ancestors of Lakshmaṇarāja I, *viz.*, his grandfather Saṅkaragaṇa and his father Nannarāja. Saṅkaragaṇa may have flourished from 625 A.C. to 650 A.C., and Nannarāja, from 650 A.C. to 675 A.C. It is not stated where they were ruling, but if Vāmarāja was the first prince who conquered and established himself at Kālañjara, his father and grandfather might have been reigning at Māhishmatī, the old Kalachuri capital. In that case, Saṅkaragaṇa may have been a son of Buddharāja (*circa* 600-625 A.C.) who was defeated by Pulakēśin II. In India a grandson is often named after his grandfather. So Saṅkaragaṇa of the Kasiā inscription may have been named after Buddharāja's father Saṅkaragaṇa. The connection of the Earlier and the Later Kalachuris may, therefore, be stated in the following genealogical table⁹:—

¹ The Barah plate of Bhōjadēva shows that in the beginning of the ninth century A.C., the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* was ruled over by Śarvavarman, who was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

² In the tenth century, the Pratihāras seem to have lost both Chitrakūṭa and Kālañjara which were occupied by the Rāshtrakūṭas probably during the northern campaign of Indra III. The two forts were in the occupation of the Rāshtrakūṭas till the time of Kṛishṇa III. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

³ According to the Khajuraho stone inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 127-28), the fort of Kālañjara was occupied by the Chandēllas during the reign of Yaśōvarman (*circa* 930-950 A.C.).

⁴ It was taken by Kutub-ud-din Ibak in April 1203 A.C., but was soon recovered by the Chandēllas.

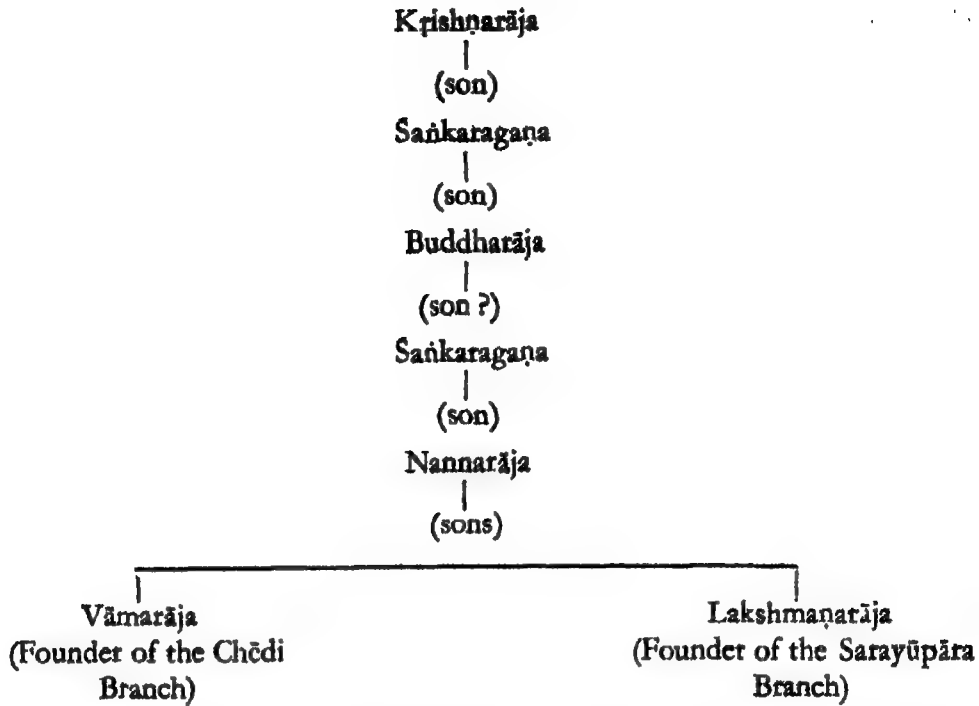
⁵ See, e. g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 24.

⁶ No. 74, l. 5.

⁷ No. 73, ll. 15 and 16.

⁸ Svētapada was wrongly identified by R. D. Banerji with the northern part of the Nasik District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 70). The correct reading in l. 25 of the Kalvan plates of Yaśōvarman is *Svītapāḷa* meaning *Svīṭāmbhara*. Svētapada may be identical with Svētapatha or Sētapatha mentioned in Sāñchi inscriptions, No. 89 and No. 475 respectively (*M. S.*, Vol. I, p. 299), but the country has not been identified. Saivaya seems to be the Sanskritised form of Prakrit *Saivasa* derived from Svētapada.

⁹ The identification of Vāmarāja with the elder brother of Lakshmaṇarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā and Kahla inscriptions, on which the table is based, is probable, though not quite certain.



Vāmarāja thus ruled over a large kingdom extending from the Gumtī in the north to the Narmadā in the south, and comprising the modern Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Saugor and Jabalpur Districts of Madhya Pradesh and the central portion of Uttar Pradesh. He assumed the Imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. As no records of his time have yet been discovered, we have no further knowledge of the political events in his reign.

Since the time of Vāmarāja, the Kalachuris came to be known as Chaidyas or lords of the Chēdi country. As Pargiter has shown,¹ Chēdi was originally the name of the country along the south bank of the Yamunā from the Chambal on the north-west to the Kārvī (which flows north-east of Chitrakūṭa) on the south-east. Its limits southward were the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand. In later times, Chēdi came to signify the modern province of Baghelkhand, which remained in the possession of the Kalachuris almost till their downfall. Vāmarāja seems to have transferred his capital from Māhishmatī to Tripurī, modern Tewar, 6 miles west of Jabalpur. This city dates back to very ancient times. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,² and is also known from very rare copper coins with the legend *Tipuri* (Sanskrit, *Tripurī*) in Brāhmī characters of the late third or early second century B.C.³ Varāhamihira places the city in the south-eastern division,⁴ and Hēmachandra calls it Chēdi-nagarī, the capital of the Chēdi country.⁵ The surrounding country called Traipura is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁶ and the *Matyapurāṇa*.⁷ The Tripurī-*vishaya* (the district of Tripurī) is described, in the Betul plates of Saṅkshōbha, as situated in the Dabhālā (*i.e.* Dāhala) country,⁸ which was under the rule

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 249 ff.

² *Sabhāparvan*, adhyāya 31, v. 60, mentions that a king of Tripurī was defeated by Sahadēva.

³ *A. C. A. I.*, Introd., p. cxi.

⁴ *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, adhyāya 14, v. 9.

⁵ Hēmachandra, *Abhidhānāchintāmaṇi*, IV, v. 41.

⁶ *Sabhāparvan*, adhyāya 31, v. 60.

⁷ *Matyapurāṇa* (Anand. Sk. series), adhyāya 114, v. 53.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 187.

of the Parivrajaka kings down to 528 A.C. at least. It is, however, not known who was holding that country when Vāmarāja invaded it and annexed it to his kingdom.

Two or three generations seem to have separated Vāmarāja from Saṅkaragaṇa I of Tripuri. We do not know even the names of the princes who ruled in this period. Perhaps Māyurāja, the author of the Sanskrit play *Udāttarāghava*, was one of them. He is described by Rājasekhara as a Karachuli (*i.e.*, Kalachuri) poet.¹ Another Sanskrit poet, Bhimaṭa, whom Rājasekhara mentions as the lord of Kālāñjara, perhaps belonged to the same royal family. Rājasekhara tells us that he composed five Sanskrit plays, of which *Śvapnadatānana* was judged to be the best.

Saṅkaragaṇa I is the next known Kalachuri prince. Only two records of his reign have so far been discovered. The one discovered at Saugor registers some religious or charitable work done by a woman for the spiritual merit of her father and mother. In this record Saṅkaragaṇa is mentioned with the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, which show that he must have been ruling over a fairly large territory. The second inscription is incised on the pillar of a temple at Chhōṭi Dēori, about a hundred miles to the east of Saugor. It records the donation of a granary in two villages in the neighbourhood, apparently to the god Śiva enshrined in the temple. This record also is not dated; but on palaeographic grounds it can be referred to the same age as the aforementioned Saugor stone inscription, *viz.*, about the middle of the eighth century A.C.

The names of the successors of this Saṅkaragaṇa are not known until we come to Lakshmanarāja I of the Kārītālī stone inscription dated K. 593 (841-42 A.C.). In the century that intervened between the reigns of these two kings, several important events took place in the political history of North India. In the second half of the eighth century A.C., the Pratihāras and the Pālas were contending for supremacy at Kanauj; but they were both vanquished by the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dhruva and Gōvinda III. The Sañjān plates² of Amoghavarsha I tell us that Gōvinda III, after defeating Nāgabhaṭa II and Chandra-gupta, both of whom were evidently rulers of Central India, marched to the foot of the Himālayas, where Dharmapāla and his protégé Chakrāyudha, the king of Kanauj, submitted to him. Then he returned to the bank of the Narmadā, and acquiring Mālava, Kōsala, Kālīṅga, Vēṅgī, Dāhala and Oḍṛaka countries, made his servants rule them. This suggests that Gōvinda III raided these countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes, or after deposing them, placed his own nominees in charge of their territories. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates³ of Karka, dated Śaka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Malwa from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. In some other records of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭas, we find references to battles fought by them with the Gurjara-Pratihāras in Ujjayinī. Malwa was, therefore, made a protectorate, and a subordinate branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas was established in Gujarat to check the advance of the Pratihāras. In the case of the Kalachuris also, he followed a similar policy. He did not, of course, supplant the ruling prince, but he made him acknowledge his suzerainty.⁴ The subordinate position of the Kalachuri king Lakshmanarāja I is indicated by the Kārītālī inscription⁵ of his reign, which, even in its present fragmentary condi-

¹ Jalhaṇa's *Sāktimuktāvalī* (Gaekwad's Or. Series), p. 46.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 258.

⁴ The Nīlguṇḍ inscription of Amoghavarsha I states that Gōvinda III fettered the prince of the fort Chitrakūṭa. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 103. This fort was probably in the occupation of the Kalachuris at that time.

⁵ No. 57.

tion, clearly shows that it eulogized the achievements, not of Lakshmanarāja, but of his suzerain's father Gōvinda III.¹ It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning Kalachuri king is relegated to the margin. Later on, the Rāshtrakūṭas, from time to time, entered into matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris of Tripurī² and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

The Kāritalāi inscription of the reign of Lakshmanarāja I is dated K. 593 (841-42 A.C.). We may, therefore, place the Kalachuri king from *circa* 825 A.C. to 850 A.C.

Lakshmanarāja I was probably succeeded by Kōkalla I, who may have been his son. No inscription of this king has yet been found; but we get some account of him in two later records, the Bilhāri stone inscription³ and the Banaras plates of Karṇa.⁴ Kōkalla made some matrimonial alliances which increased his power and prestige. He himself married a Chandella princess named Natṭādēvi.⁵ From the Cambay plates we learn that the king Akālavarsha (*i.e.*, the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II) married the daughter of Kōkalla, an ornament of the dynasty of Sahasrārjuna.⁶ She became his chief queen and bore him a son named Jagattuṅga. This latter prince also, as we shall see later, married two Kalachuri princesses.

The Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates describe the help that Kōkalla rendered to a number of his contemporaries. The former says that Kōkalladēva, after having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Kṛishṇarāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north.⁷ The statement evidently means that Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. The Banaras plates state that Kōkalla's hand gave freedom from fear to Bhōja, Vallabharāja, Sri-Harsha, the lord of Chitrakūṭa, and the king Saṅkaragaṇa.⁸ That this is no empty boast is shown by the records of the other dynasties also.

Kṛishṇarāja who is figuratively called Kōkalla's pillar of victory in the south is none other than the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Krishna II-Akālavarsha. He is identical with the Vallabharāja who received protection from Kōkalla; for, *Vallabha* or *Sri-vallabha* was a title assumed by many Rāshtrakūṭa kings.⁹ The Arabs called the Rāshtrakūṭas by the name of *Balharā*,¹⁰ which is admittedly a corrupt form of *Vallabharāja*. As already shown, Kṛishṇa II was the son-in-law of Kōkalla. He must have sought his father-in-law's help when he was engaged in a conflict with the contemporary Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (844-88 A.C.). We find references to these hostilities in many inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. Thus

¹ In line 9 it mentions the routing of Nāgabhaṭa (II), evidently by Gōvinda III.

² The aforementioned Kāritalāi inscription indicates that the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Amōghavarsha used to visit the place to pay his respects to a saintly person there. Though Amōghavarsha I was forty-two years old at the time of this Kāritalāi inscription, it is doubtful if his son Kṛishṇa II was already married to Kōkalla's daughter at the time; for, the son is known to have reigned till 914 A.C. The inscription does not state when Amōghavarsha had gone to Kāritalāi. Perhaps, one of the objects of his visit was to seek Kōkalla I's help when he was deposed by his kinsman in the early part of his reign.

³ No. 45.

⁴ No. 48.

⁵ No. 48, l. 10.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

⁷ No. 45, l. 8.

⁸ No. 48, ll. 8-9.

⁹ See the discussion of this matter by Fleet in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff. The Bagumrā plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa refer to a Vallabha-*mīpa* who can be none other than the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Kṛishṇa II.

¹⁰ *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 218.

the Ederu plates of Amma¹ tell us that Vijayāditya frightened Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila and burnt their city completely. The Pīṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapādēva² states that Vijayāditya III burnt Chakrakūṭa and terrified Saṅkila, residing in Kiraṇapura and joined by Kṛishṇa. The Malisapūṇḍi inscription of Ammaraja II³ gives the further detail that this Saṅkila was the lord of the excellent Dāhala (country). He was, therefore, a Kalachuri prince and is evidently identical with Saṅkuka⁴ (called also Saṅkaragaṇa in the Kardā plates), the son of Kōkalla, whose younger sister was married to Kṛishṇa II. Success seems at first to have attended the arms of Vijayāditya; for, he is said to have burnt Chakrakūṭa and also Kiraṇapura where Kṛishṇa II and Saṅkila were then encamped. The former of these two places has been identified with the central portion of the Bastar District⁵ and the latter with a place of that name in the Balaghat District of Madhya Pradesh.⁶ Pāṇḍaraṅga, the general of Vijayāditya, pressed as far as Achalapura in Berar, which he is said to have stormed and burnt.⁷ Later, on however, Kṛishṇa II won notable successes as implied in the Kalachuri records. The Eastern Chālukyas themselves admit in their records that on the death of Vijayāditya III, their country was overrun by the forces of a kinsman of the Raṭṭa king⁸ and that the diadem of Chālukya-Bhīma I, the successor of Vijayāditya III, was struck at by Vallabha.⁹ These wars must have been waged during the period 880-890 A.C. Saṅkila or Saṅkaragaṇa, though described in some Chālukya records as the lord of the Dāhala country, was probably the crown prince at the time and was sent by his father to help his son-in-law in his wars with the Eastern Chālukyas.¹⁰

Another son of Kōkalla I, named Arjuna, seems to have helped Kṛishṇa II's son Jagattuṅga with a large army probably during his wars with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras on the northern frontier of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom.¹¹

The identification of Bhōja, the second prince helped by Kōkalla I, is more difficult. Kielhorn was of opinion that this Bhōja was the first prince of that name in the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty,¹² who flourished from *circa* 835 to 885 A.C. Some scholars¹³ have, however, latterly advanced the view that the protégé of Kōkalla I was Bhōja II, the son and successor of Mahēndrapāla and grandson of Bhōja I. According to these scholars, there was a war of succession after the death of Mahēndrapāla. Kōkalla espoused the

¹ *J. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 39. Fleet and Hultzsch rendered *Saṅkila* by 'a fire-brand', but the latter afterwards corrected his mistake in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 226.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 51.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

⁶ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 95.

⁷ *A. R. J. I. E.* (1923), pp. 61 and 98. Achalapura was probably the capital of a feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family which at this time owed allegiance to the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa. See also below, p. lxxiii.

⁸ *J. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 40. The inscription has the word *dāyāda* (meaning 'an agnate') referring to this kinsman. He seems, therefore, to have been a Rāshtrakūṭa prince, perhaps of the Gujarat branch. It is noteworthy that the Masulipatam grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I mentions his defeat of a king of Lāṭa who was an ally of Kṛishṇavallabha. *A. R. J. I. E.* (1914), p. 84. If *dāyāda* was used in a wider sense, it might refer to Saṅkaragaṇa.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 231.

¹⁰ Perhaps Saṅkaragaṇa had ascended the Kalachuri throne before these wars came to a close.

¹¹ See v. 16 of Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 38. The verse occurs also in the Sangli plates of the same king. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

¹³ See, e. g., Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 101; Banerji, *Haibayas of Tripuri*, etc., p. 4; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 255-56.

cause of Bhōja II and succeeded in placing him on the throne of Kanauj. This prince, however, ruled only for a short time; for, we find Mahīpāla I succeeding him within two or three years of his accession.¹ It is, therefore, doubtful if Kōkalla's achievement in this case would at all be glorified by his successors as the erection of a column of victory in the north. Besides, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prove that there was a war of succession. Bhōja II is known only from one record, namely, the Asiatic Society of Bengal plate (dated V. 988) of Vināyakapāla, who is described therein as meditating on his feet. If Vināyakapāla is identical with Mahīpāla, as is generally held,² it looks strange that he should reverentially mention his predecessor Bhōja II, whom he is said to have dethroned. Besides, it is doubtful if Kōkalla I was living at the time of this supposed war of succession. As we have seen, he was fairly advanced in age in 880 A.C., as his son Saṅkaragaṇa was then sufficiently grown up to take the field against Vijayāditya III. It is, therefore, doubtful if he lived to meddle in the matter of succession to the Pratihāra throne thirty years later. As shown below,³ his grandson Yuvarājadēva I was a contemporary of Mahīpāla, and he was preceded by two other princes on the Chēdi throne. Kōkalla, therefore, seems to have died some time during the reign of the Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla. The Bhōja whom he rendered help must consequently be identified with Bhōja I.

When did Bhōja I require the help of the Kalachuri king? This must plainly have been in the early part of his reign when he had to contend against the mighty Dēvapāla of Bengal (*circa* 810-855 A.C.). We know that Rāmabhadra, the father of Bhōja, was a weak king. That he lost a large part of his kingdom is clear from the Barah plate of Bhōja I, which confirms a grant in the Kālāṅjara *maṇḍala* which had been interrupted during the reign of Rāmabhadra,⁴ evidently due to the inroads of Dēvapāla. According to the Monghyr plates, the elephants of this Pāla king reached the Vindhya and his cavalry

¹ The last known date of Mahēndrapāla is V. 964 (907-8 A.C.), mentioned in the Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription. He may, therefore, have closed his reign about 910 A.C. The earliest known date of Mahīpāla is S. 836 (914 A.C.), furnished by the Haḍḍālā plates. So Bhōja II could have reigned only for two or three years.

² This identification is open to doubt; for, Mahīpāla nowhere in his inscriptions mentions Bhōja as his predecessor. It is more likely that Mahēndrapāla had three sons Mahīpāla, Bhōja II and Vināyakapāla, who succeeded him one after another. As Mahāmahōpādhyāya G. S. Ojha has pointed out, the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap. Besides, it seems clear from Āryakshēmiśvara's *Chandakautika* that Mahīpāla bore the name of Kārttikēya; for, the poet refers to his patron as Mahīpāla in the prologue of his play and as Kārttikēya in the last verse of the fifth Act. Mahīpāla is, therefore, not likely to have been known also by the name of Vināyakapāla or Hērāmbapāla. On the other hand, Vināyakapāla seems to have been a younger brother of Mahīpāla, as Gaṇēśa was of Kārttikēya. The only possible objection to this view is that unless we identify Mahīpāla with Vināyakapāla (or Hērāmbapāla), the statement in the Siyaḍōṇī inscription that Dēvapāla meditated on the feet of Mahīpāla would conflict with that in the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga that Dēvapāla was the son of Hērāmbapāla. Ojha tries to solve this difficulty by taking the two Dēvapālas as distinct persons. He says that Dēvapāla who is called *Hayapati* (lord of horses) in the Khajuraho inscription could not have been a Pratihāra prince as *Hayapati* was never the accepted title of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. We have, however, to remember that according to the testimony of the Arab writer Sulaiman, the Pratihāras maintained a fine cavalry, and in contemporary records Bhōja is described as having an army of excellent and controllable horses (*sad-vafya-vāh-ānvitah*); *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 184. The Kuḍlur plates of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha state that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III crowned Mārasimha king before proceeding to the north to conquer Aśvapati who was proud of his horses (*A. R. A. S. M. for 1921*, p. 23). This passage also seems to use *Aśvapati* as a title of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Perhaps the word *sūnu*, used in the Khajuraho inscription to state the relation of Dēvapāla to Hērāmbapāla, is employed in the wider sense of a nephew, just as *tāta* (father) sometimes denotes 'an uncle'.

³ See below, p. lxxviii.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

roamed in the Kāmboja country.¹ The Bādal pillar inscription states that Dēvapāla humbled the arrogance of the lord of the Gurjaras.² Bhōja seems to have ultimately succeeded in retrieving his position towards the end of Dēvapāla's reign.³ Like Guṇāmbhōdhi of the Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri family,⁴ Kōkalla I apparently rendered help to the Gurjara Pratihāra king in these wars. The relations between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pratihāras seem to have been more or less amicable during the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I, since much of the latter's time and energy was spent in quelling internal rebellions and in fighting with his eastern neighbours, the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi, as well as with his kinsmen who were probably the Rāshtrakūṭas of Gujarat.⁵ Notwithstanding his matrimonial alliance with Amoghavarsha I, therefore, Kōkalla I could render help to Bhōja I in strengthening his position in the north. It is also not unlikely that the help he gave to the mighty king of Kanauj has been exaggerated in the aforementioned inscriptions of his descendants.

After the conclusion of his war with the Pāla king, Kōkalla seems to have entered into a matrimonial alliance with him. From the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, we learn that his father Vīgrahapāla, the son of Jayapāla, married a princess named Lajjā who had adorned the family of the Haihayas.⁶ The inscription does not name any ancestors of Lajjā; but in view of Kōkalla's policy of making matrimonial alliances, it is not unlikely that she was his daughter or some near relative.

Sri-Harsha and the lord of Chitrakūṭa, who also are said to have received protection from Kōkalla, are usually taken to be identical. Kielhorn identified this Harsha with the homonymous prince of the Chandēlla dynasty;⁷ but it is doubtful if his rule had at this time extended in the north as far as Chitrakūṭa. From the Khajuraho inscription dated V. 1011 (954 A.C.), we learn that it was Yaśōvarman, the son of Harsha, who first annexed the hill of Kālāñjara.⁸ Chitrakūṭa, which lies 25 miles north-east of Kālāñjara, seems then to have been, like the latter, held by the Gurjaras. It has, therefore, been suggested that the Harsha who received protection from Kōkalla was the Guhila prince of that name whose rule might have extended to Chitrakūṭa (modern Chitor in Mewar).⁹ According to the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya, this Harsha conquered the kings of the north and presented horses to Bhōja who can be none other than the great Pratihāra Emperor. The identification, therefore, appears quite plausible in view of the alliance of both this Harsha and Kōkalla with Bhōja I.

Finally, Saṅkaragaṇa was identified by Kielhorn with Kōkalla's own son. There is, however, no point in saying that Kōkalla gave protection from fear to his own son. Saṅkaragaṇa is more likely to be the homonymous prince of the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri dynasty which had settled in the Gōrakhpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The Kahlā plates of Sōḍhadēva state that this Saṅkaragaṇa was the father of Guṇāmbhōdhi. The same record tells us further that Guṇāmbhōdhi took away

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 305.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 163.

³ In the Gwalior *prasthiti* Bhōja is said to have remarried Lakshmi, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was evidently Dēvapāla. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 109 and 113, n. 4.

⁴ See the Kahlā plates of Sōḍhadēva (No. 74). This record states that Guṇāmbhōdhi deprived the Gauḍa king of his royal fortune.

⁵ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas* etc., p. 77.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 305.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 301.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 127-28.

⁹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, p. 486.

the fortune of the Gauḍa king, for which he received some territory from Bhōja. His father Saṅkaragaṇa may, therefore, have received some help from Kōkalla I during the early part of the latter's reign.

The Amōḍā plates¹ of Pṛithvidēva I, dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.), state that Kōkalla, an ancestor of Pṛithvidēva I, forcibly dispossessed the rulers of Kaṇṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Kōṅkaṇa and Sākambharī, the Turushkas and a descendant of Raghu, of treasures, horses and elephants, and erected a column of victory on the earth.¹ As shown below, this Kōkalla was probably the first king of that name who ruled at Tripurī; but it is doubtful how far the description of his conquests contained in this record, dated nearly two centuries after him, can be taken to be correct; for, we have no corroboration of it in other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur or even of Tripurī. Besides, we find that Kōkalla I formed alliances with the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras, who are probably referred to here as the lord of Kaṇṇāṭa and a descendant of Raghu respectively. His hostility with these kings is, therefore, not likely.

Kōkalla I was succeeded by his son, who is called Mugdhatuṅga in the Bilhāri inscription and Prasiddhadhavalā in the Banaras grant. Both these appear to be *birudas* rather than personal names. The former of them was evidently suggested by his association with the Rāshtrakūṭas, who were fond of names ending in *tuṅga*. The personal name of Kōkalla's son and successor was probably Saṅkaragaṇa. As we have already seen, the Maliapūṇḍi inscription calls Saṅkila (*i.e.*, Saṅkaragaṇa) the lord of the excellent Dāhala country.² The Kaṛḍā plates state that Saṅkaragaṇa was the lord of Chēdi.³ There is no doubt, therefore, that Saṅkaragaṇa ascended the Kalachuri throne; but no prince of this name is mentioned as Kōkalla I's successor either in the Bilhāri inscription or in the Banaras grant—the two records which are our main authorities for the early history of the Tripurī branch. Saṅkaragaṇa must, therefore, be identified with Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā. A third *biruda* of his, *viṣ.*, *Raṇavigrāha* is mentioned in some Rāshtrakūṭa records⁴, and is also known from a *subhāshita* of Rājasekhara cited in the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhana.⁵

The Bilhāri inscription states that Mugdhatuṅga conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away (the country of) Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.⁶ This statement is corroborated by a Prakrit *gāthā* about Prasiddhadhavalā, cited in the Banaras grant. It states that Prasiddhadhavalā took possession of Pāli, thinking that there would be born in his family (many) men eminent on account of their greatness in this world.⁷ This apparently means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. Several inscriptions⁸ of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty state that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī, and that he made his younger brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* in the neighbourhood. If this Kōkalla is identified with

¹ No. 76, ll. 6-8.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 51.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁴ The Cambay and Sangli plates of Gōvinda IV state that Lakshmi, the wife of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Jagattuṅga, was the daughter of Raṇavigrāha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250), while the Kaṛḍā plates say that she was the daughter of Saṅkaragaṇa, the lord of Chēdi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 264). Raṇavigrāha was, therefore, a *biruda* of Saṅkaragaṇa.

⁵ Cf. *Nadīmāṃ Mōkala-sutā nṛpāṇām Raṇavigrāhaḥ | Karīmāṃ śu Surānandaḥ Chēdi-maṇḍala-maṇḍanam || Sūktimuktāvali* (Gackwad's Oriental Series), p. 47.

⁶ No. 43, l. 10.

⁷ No. 48, l. 13.

⁸ See, e.g., No. 76, ll. 8-9; No. 77, ll. 5-6 *etc.*

Kōsala I, it becomes clear that Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā conquered Pāli from the lord of Kōsala and placed one of his brothers in charge of it. This Kōsala is probably Dakṣiṇa or Southern Kōsala, comprising modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country on the east. There is still a village named Pāli in the Bilāspur District, about 12 miles north of Raṭanpur, which was no doubt situated in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. There is even now an exquisitely carved temple at Pāli, which testifies to its past importance. The surrounding territory was evidently called the country of Pāli, which was wrested by Mugdhatuṅga from the lord of Kōsala. The latter, as shown below,¹ must have been a prince of the Bāṇa dynasty, probably Vikramāditya I, called also Jayamēru, the son of Malladēva, who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva and has left an inscription incised over the door of its *garbhagriha*. As he flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A.C.,² his date squares with that of Saṅkaragaṇa II *alias* Mugdhatuṅga who probably reigned from 890 A.C. to 910 A.C.

Saṅkaragaṇa II had a son named Bālaharsha, who succeeded him, and two daughters, Lakṣmī and Gōvindāmbā, both of whom married the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Jagattuṅga, the son of Saṅkaragaṇa's brother-in-law Kṛishṇa II. Jagattuṅga had, from Lakṣmī, a son named Indra III, who succeeded Kṛishṇa II,³ and from Gōvindāmbā, another named Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, who also later on sat on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne.⁴ Some Rāshtrakūṭa records⁵ further mention Saṅkaragaṇa's brother Arjuna, who must have been ruling over a *maṇḍala* of the Chēdi kingdom. The latter's son Ammanadēva had a daughter named Vijāmbā, who married Indra III and bore him two sons, Amōghavarsha II and Gōvinda IV, both of whom succeeded their father, one after the other.

Saṅkaragaṇa II was followed by his son Bālaharsha. He is mentioned only in the Banaras plates, which give him a merely conventional praise. The Bilhāri inscription omits his name probably because he was a collateral. Bālaharsha sounds like a *viruda*, but we have now no means of knowing the personal name of this prince.

Bālaharsha had probably a very short reign (*circa* 910-915 A.C.). He seems to have died sonless; for, he was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva I. No inscriptions of this prince also have yet been discovered; but from the records of other dynasties and especially from a play of his court-poet Rājasēkhara, we have more information about him than about any other early member of the Tripurī house.

The Bilhāri inscription states that Yuvarājadēva I fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, sported with the ladies of Kaṇṇāṭa, applied the ornamental mark to the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa, enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, and was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kālīṅga.⁶ This implies that Yuvarājadēva raided Bengal, Karnatak, Gujarat, Kashmir and Orissa, and married beautiful and accomplished ladies from these provinces. Curious as it might seem, the foregoing description in the Bilhāri inscription is corroborated by a passage in the Sanskrit play *Viddhasālabbhātīkā* of Rājasēkhara, which was staged at Tripurī. Yuvarājadēva I himself is the hero of this play. From the fourth Act of it, we learn that the king had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avanti, Jālandhara

¹ Below, p. 418.

² The known dates of his son Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A.C.) to Śaka 831 (909-10 A.C.). Vikramāditya I may, therefore, be referred to the period 870-895 A.C.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

⁶ No. 45, ll. 10-11.

and Kērala.¹ In another Act of the same play, he is called *Ujjayini-bhujāṅga*, which suggests his victorious raid on Malwa.² Even in an inscription of his enemies, Yuvarājadēva I is described as one who had planted his foot on the heads of famous kings.³ There is not, therefore, much exaggeration in what the Bilhāri inscription says of him—"Up to the Kailāsa mountain, where Pārvaṭi is constantly engaged in sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (of the south) and then up to the western ocean, the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies."⁴ Yuvarājadēva assumed imperial titles. He is called *Paramīśvara* in the Bilhāri inscription and *Chakravartin* in the aforementioned play of Rājaśekhara. Another title *Trikalingādhipati*⁵ which indicates his supremacy in the north-east Deccan is known from the same play of Rājaśekhara.

Yuvarājadēva married Nōhalā, who became his chief queen. She belonged to the Chaulukya lineage and was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman. We have no information about the country where these princes were ruling. Perhaps Avanivarman was related to the king Avantivarman mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. As the latter is said to have donated certain places such as Raṇipadra (modern Ranōd in Madhya Bharat) to the Saiva ascetic whom he invited to his country, it is plain that he was ruling in Central India. If Avanivarman, the father of Nōhalā, was related to Avantivarman, he also might have been ruling somewhere in the same part of the country.⁶

The Karḍā plates⁷ of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Karka II state that Yuvarājadēva gave his daughter Kandakadēvī in marriage to Baddiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III, the Rāshtrakūṭa king of Mānyakhēṭa. Baddiga was an old man when he ascended the throne after his nephew Gōvinda IV. As he was reigning from *circa* 935 A.C. to 939 A.C., his father-in-law Yuvarājadēva I might have flourished in the period 915-945 A.C.

Yuvarājadēva was a patron of men of letters. Rājaśekhara, a well-known Sanskrit poet, flourished in his court. In his early days Rājaśekhara was attracted by the more prosperous court of Kanauj, where he wrote his two Sanskrit plays *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and *Bālabhārata* (or *Prachandupāṇḍava*) and the Prakrit drama *Karpūramāñjarī* during the reigns of the Gurjara Pratihāra Emperors Mahēndrapāla I and his son Mahipāla. But as the glory of the latter prince declined owing to the invasion of his kingdom by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III and later on due to the raids of Yuvarājadēva I, Rājaśekhara seems to have returned to Tripurī, the home of his ancestors Akālaśakada and others, in the train of the victorious Kalachuri king. There he composed his third Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the rhetorical work *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*.⁸ As already stated, the former was staged at

¹ *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* ed. by Arte, p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12. The same title of *Ujjayini-bhujāṅga* was borne by two captains of the Gaṅga prince Mārasimha, viz., Śudrakayya and Gōggiyamma who also apparently had raided Malwa during the expedition of their master Mārasimha. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 9.

³ Cf. *Vikhyāta-kṣhitipāla-mauli-rachanā-vinyasta-pādāmbujāṅga*.....*Chidvirājam*, in verse 28 of the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśōvarman. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

⁴ No. 40, ll. 11-12.

⁵ Mr. Arte's edition of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* has *Trilingādhipati* on p. 39, but it is evidently a mistake for *Trikalingādhipati*. As shown below, the same title was borne by several later Kalachuri kings.

⁶ It is not, however, known if Avantivarman belonged to the Chaulukya dynasty. The Ūnā plates dated Vikrama Samvat 956 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 6 ff.) were issued by a Chālukya prince named Avanivarman II. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I; but he cannot be identified with Nōhalā's father, because his father and grandfather were Balavarman and Avanivarman I respectively.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263 ff.

⁸ K. B. Patbak *Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

the Kalachuri court and contains a poetic account of certain political events of Yuvarājādēva I's reign, to which we may now turn. Its plot may be summarised as follows :—

"The king Vidyādharamalla *alias* Karpūrararsha of Tripuri receives at his court Virapāla *alias* Chandamahāsēna, the lord of Kuntala, who has been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives and falls in love with his daughter Kuvalayamālā. His minister Bhāgurāyaṇa, however, comes to know from astrologers that the king who would marry Mṛigāṅkāvali, the daughter of the king Chandrarvarman of Lāṭa, would be the sovereign of the whole world. He, therefore, contrives to bring about the marriage of his lord Karpūrararsha with Mṛigāṅkāvali. Chandrarvarman, her father, has no son, and so, since her childhood he has brought her up as a boy under the name Mṛigāṅkavarman. None but Bhāgurāyaṇa knows of this secret. He manages to have the pretended crown prince of Lāṭa brought to Tripuri to stay at the Kalachuri court. Karpūrararsha's chief queen Madanasundarī, who, though related to Chandrarvarman, is shown to be ignorant of the personation, used to dress occasionally the pretended boy in a female garb. When the king sees her once in a dream, he falls in love with her. The queen, in order to play a practical joke on the king, induces him to marry a sister of the pretended boy. This sister is none other than Mṛigāṅkāvali herself, though the queen, who is ignorant of her real sex, takes her to be Mṛigāṅkavarman in a female garb. The king agrees and the marriage is performed. In the meanwhile, news comes from Chandrarvarman that a son has been born to him. He, therefore, requests his niece, the queen of Karpūrararsha, to bestow his daughter Mṛigāṅkāvali, whom he has brought up as a son, on a worthy consort. The queen realizes her mistake when it is too late. To make the best of the situation, however, she bestows both Mṛigāṅkāvali and Kuvalayamālā, the Kuntala princess, on the king. Just then comes a messenger bearing the following letter from the king's General Śrī-Vatsa :—

"Through the power of Your Majesty who is an ornament of the Karachulis, through the clear intellect of the great minister Bhāgurāyaṇa as well as through the execution of Your Majesty's orders by insignificant soldiers like myself, all the mighty kings of the east, the west and the north have already been subdued. Only those of the south did not submit. Virapāla, the lord of Kuntala, who had been deprived of his kingdom by his kinsmen, sought Your Majesty's protection. As Your Majesty ordered, we placed him at our head and encamped on the bank of the Payōshnī."

The General then describes how his forces fought with a confederacy of several kings, *viz.*, those of Karmāṭa, Simhala, Pāṇḍya, Murala, Āndhra, Kuntala, Kōṅkaṇa and others, defeated them and placed Virapāla on the throne. Finally, Bhāgurāyaṇa declares that the Karachuli king reigns supreme over the whole country 'from the milky ocean in the north to the sea filled with the water of the Tāmraparṇī in the south, from the western ocean, which receives the Narmadā, to the eastern sea, the shore of which is sanctified by the fall of the Gaṅgā.'

The *Viddhaśālabhañjika* is a drama of harem-intrigue. The plot summarised above resembles in some respects those of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, and the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī* of Harsha. Still it is likely to have a historical basis. The play was staged at Tripuri before the court of Yuvarājādēva, who is none other than the first Kalachuri king of that name. He is also identical with the hero of the play, Vidyādharamalla, whose alternative name Karpūrararsha recalls Kēyūrararsha, the *biruda* of Yuvarājādēva I. Besides, Vidyādharamalla is called *Karachuli-tilaka*, an ornament of the Karachulis (*i.e.*, Kalachuris) and is represented as ruling at Nripuri which is plainly a mistake for Tripuri. He is again called *Trilingādhipati*. This title corresponds to *Trikalīṅgādhipati* assumed by

several later Kalachuri kings. Like the *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana¹ and the *Karṇasundarī* of Bilhaṇa, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* also seems to have been based on historical events in the career of the contemporary king. From the analysis of the play given above, it will be noticed that it mentions the following events :—

(1) Yuvarājadēva married the daughter of Chandravarman, the king of Lāṭa, and this matrimonial alliance apparently strengthened his position.

(2) He espoused the cause of Virapāla, the king of Kuntala, who had been dethroned by his kinsmen, and sent an army which fought with a confederacy of kings on the bank of the Payōshnī, defeated it and placed Virapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

It is not possible to say definitely if the first of these was a historical event. It is not stated to which royal family Chandravarman of Lāṭa belonged. In the *Bālarāmāyana*, Rājasēkhara represents a Chaulukya king as ruling over Lāṭa and attending the *svayamvara* of Sītā (Act III, verse 37). From the description of the several kings who attended the *svayamvara*, which is full of anachronisms, it is plain that Rājasēkhara is referring to the state of affairs in his own times. So Chandravarman of Lāṭa may have been intended to be represented as a prince of the Chaulukya dynasty. From some inscriptions² and literary references³ we know that a Chaulukya chief named Bārappa was ruling over Lāṭa in the third quarter of the 10th century A.C. He was the son of Nimbārka. Earlier members of this line are not known. Perhaps Chandravarman was intended to represent the predecessor of Nimbārka. He would, in that case, be a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I. This must, of course, remain a conjecture until positive evidence of the earlier rule of this family in Lāṭa becomes available.

The second event described in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* seems to have a foundation in fact. Virapāla whose cause was espoused by Yuvarājadēva I is called the king of Kuntala. Kuntala was the name of the country between the Bhīmā and the Vēdavati, comprising the Southern Maratha Country as well as some Kanarese districts of the Bombay, Madras and Mysore States. In many records the Rāshtrakūṭas are referred to as the kings of Kuntala. Virapāla was, therefore, apparently a claimant for the Rāshtrakūṭa throne. His claim seems to have been superseded, and so he sought Yuvarājadēva's help to gain his kingdom.

Was there such a war of succession about this time in the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas? The Karhad⁴ and Deoli⁵ plates of Kṛishṇa III tell us that Gōvinda IV, whose known dates range from 930 A.C. to 933 A.C., was the source of the sportive pleasures of love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and when his health was undermined, he ultimately met with death. From some other records, however, we learn that Amōghavarsha III, the uncle of Gōvinda IV, fomented a rebellion among the feudatories of Gōvinda IV which resulted in the king's death. The Prince of Wales Museum plates⁶ of the Silāhāra prince Chhadvaideva say that Amōghavarsha completely uprooted Gōvinda IV, who was acting unjustly. There was thus a civil war in the Rāshtra-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96 ff.

² See the Surat plates of Kīrtirāja, dated Śaka 940 (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 38); also the Surat plates of Trilōchanapāla, dated Śaka 972 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.). As Bārappa was the grandfather of Kīrtirāja, he may be placed about 960 A.C.

³ Bārappa is called the king of Lāṭa in Hēmanchandra's *Dvyāstrayakāvya*, and the general of Tailapa, the sovereign of Tilingaṇa, in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Rāsamālā*. In the *Sukṛitasankīrtana* (Canto II, v. 3), however, he is said to have been the general of the lord of Kānyakubja.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 194.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 283.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.

kūṭa kingdom at the close of Gōvinda's reign. The aforementioned Deoli and Karhad plates further tell us that after the death of Gōvinda IV, the feudatory princes entreated Baddiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III to ascend the throne. This clearly indicates that there was some trouble about succession to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne at that time. Virapāla of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* was apparently a claimant for the throne, and when he failed to get it, he sought Yuvarājadēva's help. The latter had by that time made extensive conquests in the north, east and west, but as the play states, he could not, for some time, gain a footing in the south. This was evidently due to the increasing power of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Yuvarājadēva apparently thought that the civil war at the close of Gōvinda IV's reign afforded him an excellent opportunity to place his own protégé on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne. He sent a large army under his able general, who defeated the Kuntala king and his allies in the battle of the Payōshnī, and placed Virapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

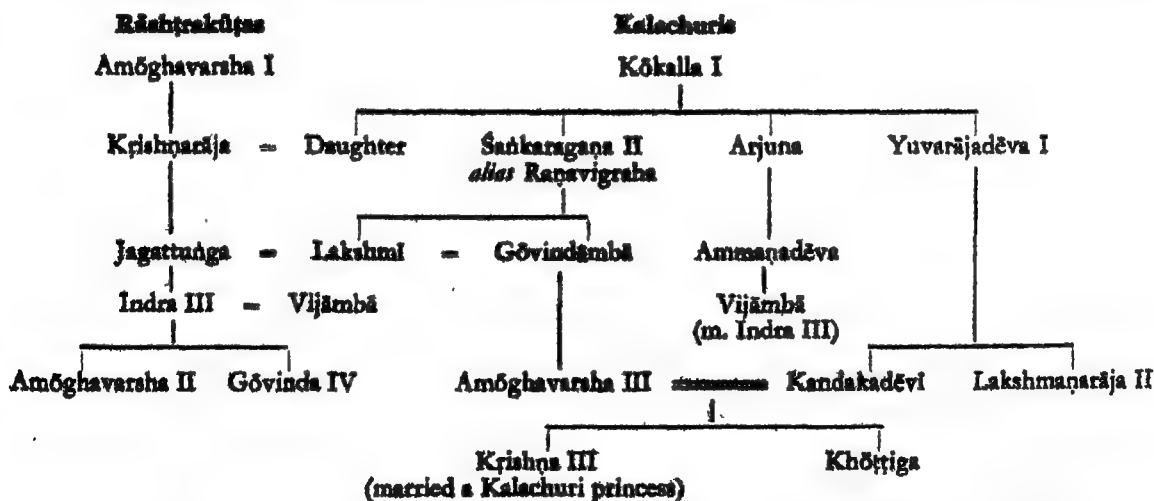
This Virapāla is probably Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.¹ The latter, we know, was Yuvarājadēva's own son-in-law. The Kudlur² and Sudi plates³ further tell us that he was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Rēvakanimmaḍī with the Gaṅga prince Pērmāḍī Būtuga II. Baddiga's son Kṛishṇa III also had married a Kalachuri princess. It is not, therefore, surprising that Yuvarājadēva espoused the cause of Baddiga.⁴ Rājasekhara has changed the names of the historical persons who figure as characters in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Kēyūraravarsha, for instance, appears as Karpūraravarsha, and his minister Bhākamisra, as Bhāgurāyaṇa. So Baddiga may have been represented as Virapāla *alias* Chaṇḍamahāsēna.⁵

¹ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 109 ff.

² A. R. A. S. M. (1921), pp. 21-22.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 179.

⁴ Gōvinda IV also was a relative of Yuvarājadēva, but he was more distantly related to him than Amōghavarsha III; for, he was a grandson of his niece. The following table shows the matrimonial alliances of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris :—



⁵ I previously proposed to identify Virapāla with some other claimant for the Rāshtrakūṭa throne (e.g., Bappuva) on the following grounds—(i) The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* represents that Yuvarājadēva afterwards married Virapāla's daughter. This would evidently be impossible if Virapāla represented Baddiga. (ii) The Karhad plates dated S. 880 (958 A.C.), state in verse 25 that Kṛishṇa III, while he was *Yuvarāja*, defeated Sabasārjuna who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. R. G. Bhandarkar first suggested that this Sabasārjuna was a Kalachuri king as the Kalachuris traced their descent from the mythical hero Kīrtavīrya-Sahasārjuna. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284. This king could be none other than Yuvarājadēva I, who was the father-in-law of Amōghavarsha III, the father of Kṛishṇa III. As Amōghavarsha ruled only for about four years, this defeat of the Kalachuri king must have occurred within a year of the former's

The recently published Muruḍ plates of the Silāhāra prince Aparājita state that Amōghavarsha III exterminated his wicked enemies in a fierce battle fought at the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Karkara.¹ The latter is probably identical with Karkarāja, the lord of Achalapura, mentioned in the Sudi and Kudlur plates as an antagonist of Būṭuga, the son-in-law of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.² Achalapura, which is identified with Ellichpur³ in the Amaravati District of Madhya Pradesh, was, therefore, the scene of the battle. This town lies only about 10 miles west of the Pūṁā (ancient Payōshnī). Rājaśekhara's statement that the battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshnī is thus corroborated by independent inscriptional evidence.

This Karkara and his younger brother Bappuva were probably relatives and staunch supporters of Gōvinda IV. The Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor had made Bappuva the ruler of North Karmāṭaka, and placed Karkara in charge of Vidarbha. From the Mahākūṭa temple inscription⁴ we learn that Bappuvarasa (who is plainly identical with the aforementioned Bappuva) granted three rice-fields to Nandikēśvara in 933 A.C. In this inscription he is called *Mahāsāmanta* and is said to have attained the *pañcamaśābda*. He is further described as a very Bhairava on a minor scale to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Gōpāla. This Gōpāla is probably identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda IV. Bappuva seems to have taken a leading part in the civil war which raged in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom towards the end of Gōvinda IV's reign. He at first won some successes for his lord, but was afterwards defeated by the Chālukya chief Arikēsarin II, who, as stated in Pampa's *Vikramārjūnavijaya*,⁵ fought for Baddiga. Arikēsarin and other allies of Baddiga then seem to have marched on the imperial capital Mānyakhēṭa where they killed Gōvinda IV.⁶

In the meantime, Yuvarājadēva's army under his able general invaded the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom from the north. Baddiga⁷ and probably his valiant son Kṛishṇa III also

(Continued from last page.)

accession; for, it is placed first among the achievements of Kṛishṇa III as crown prince. For these and some other reasons, it appeared plausible that Yuvarājadēva, on political grounds, backed up some other claimant than Baddiga, and fought with the latter. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 369 ff. Prof. Nīlanta Sastri has, however, recently pointed out that the aforementioned verse in the Karhad plates does not record any defeat of the Kalachuri king, but only glorifies Kṛishṇa III by stating that he excelled even Sahasrārjuna, the progenitor of the royal family in which his mother and wife were born. The passage from an unpublished manuscript cited below, p. lxxxiii, note 4, which has recently come to my notice, leaves no room for doubt that Prof. Sastri's interpretation is correct; for, it states that Amōghavarsha continued to stay at the Chēdi capital even after his enemies were exterminated, while Kṛishṇa was governing the kingdom by his command. The difficulty presented by Rājaśekhara's statement that Yuvarājadēva married Virapāla's daughter still remains. Perhaps, that incident, as suggested by Dr. Altekar, is a mere poetic invention intended to complicate the love affairs in the drama. See his *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 110.

¹ Cf. श्रीमत्कर्कराष्ट्रकूटककेसवसंभवतो

दीप्तिप्रोदवप्रतापशमनं निरिषंशवारजलैः ।

येनाकारि समुदुतेनवनुवा भूवासमिर्विबुता

भाति श्रीमदमोघवर्षसुधनोऽसद्वृत्तिविध्वंसनात् ॥ *I. I. B. S.*, Vol. I, p. 47.

² *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XV, pp. 612 ff.

³ The ancient place-name has now been restored.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 104; Vol. XVIII, p. 316.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 329.

⁶ See Pampa's *Vikramārjūnavijaya*, āśvāsa 1X; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 328-29. The description in the Deoli and Karhad plates that Gōvinda IV died early because his health was undermined by his dissolute life is a myth invented by his enemies. The Prince of Wales Museum plates recently edited by me (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.) state that Amōghavarsha III completely uprooted Gōjjiga (*i.e.*, Gōvinda IV) who had acted unjustly.

⁷ Rājaśekhara states in his play that the General Vatsa placed Virapāla at the head, when he marched to the Payōshnī.

accompanied the forces. They marched on Achalapura, the capital of Karkara.¹ If the description in the *Viddhasālabbhañjika* is correct, a large number of Gōvinda's feudatories and allies had assembled at Achalapura to oppose the invading forces.² A sanguinary battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshqī (modern Pūmā), which flows only about 10 miles east of the town. Karkara and other allies of Gōvinda were defeated. The Kalachuri army then marched on to Mānyakhēṭa, which Arikēsarin had already stormed and taken. He had also killed the Emperor Gōvinda IV. The feudatories that had gathered at Mānyakhēṭa then offered the crown to Baddiga and 'entreated him to accept it to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rāṭṭas, and he too, being prompted by the god Śiva, ascended the glorious throne of heroes'.³ The last known date of Gōvinda IV is 933 A.C. and the earliest date of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III is 937 A.C. The battle of the Payōshqī may, therefore, have been fought in 935 A.C. The *Viddhasālabbhañjika* seems to have been staged at Tripurī in jubilation at this great victory over a formidable confederacy of southern kings. Yuvarājādēva I was now at the height of his power; for, he had attained the enviable position of *Chakravartin*.

The cordial relations of the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūṭas continued as before. Although some of the feudatories of Gōvinda IV had been defeated and the imperial capital had been occupied, peace and order were not established for some time in the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion. Baddiga, who was a man of quiet and saintly nature, preferred to return to the Kalachuri capital,⁴ while his son Kṛishṇa III, who was appointed *Yuvarāja*, subdued the rebellious feudatories. He killed Bappuva and his ally Dantiga,⁵ and governed the Rāshtrakūṭa empire in the name of his father, who continued to stay at Tripurī.

Soon after this, Yuvarājādēva I suffered a defeat, at the hands of Yaśōvarman, the Chandēlla king, who was ruling over the neighbouring kingdom of Jejābhukti. The Khajuraho inscription⁶ says that Yaśōvarman vanquished in battle a Chēḍi king who had countless forces, who had planted his lotus-like foot on rows of diadems of famous kings and who was being protected by a multitude of angry and invincible bowmen riding elephants in rut that were marching along like huge mountains of collyrium. R. B. Hirāl thought that this battle took place at the time of the accession of Yuvarājādēva I.⁷ The latter was, however, a senior contemporary of Yaśōvarman. Besides, he is described in the aforementioned record as having already defeated a number of famous kings. The

¹ I have shown above (p. xlvii) that the Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha were originally feudatories of the Early Kalachuris and later transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. They were at first ruling from Nandivardhana near Nagpur. Later, Achalapura seems to have become their capital.

² It is not unlikely that the names of some of them were inserted for the sake of alliteration.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284; Vol. V, p. 194.

⁴ The following verses which occur at the end of an unpublished commentary on a Śaiva work state that Vandya (i.e., Baddiga) was staying at the Chēḍi capital (Tripurī) after exterminating his enemies and that his son Kṛishṇa (III) was governing the kingdom by his order in the Śaka year 858 (936 A.C.) गतवति सककाले मङ्गलैष्यत्सङ्घे शरदि विजयपक्षे चादिक्के बुक्कवारे । उडुनि सुरपतीये योग आबुष्मतीयं तिविरपि च गतानां पञ्चमी वन बुद्धा ॥ वेदिकुलराजधान्यां गतवति श्रीवन्धवे निहत्वारिन् । तच्छासनेन वसुधां परिरजति कृष्णराजेऽपि ॥ The *tiṭh* mentioned here, viz., Friday, Āsvina śu. di. 5, Śaka 858, regularly corresponds to the 23rd September 936 A.C., which leaves no room for doubt about the genuineness of the MS. and the correctness of the statements made therein. I owe this interesting reference to the courtesy of Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum.

⁵ This Dantiga is probably identical with Dantivarman who was defeated by Būṭuga. The description in the Sudi and Kudlur plates suggests that he was a ruler of Banavāsi in North Kanara. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 180; *A. R. A. S. M.*, (1921), p. 22.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

⁷ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 287.

battle must, therefore, be dated towards the close of his reign.

Yuvarājādēva was a fervent devotee of Siva. He invited a Saiva ascetic named Prabhāvaśiva from Madhumatī which still survives as a small village under the name Mahuā, about a mile to the south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat. He built for him a monastery at the expense of an enormous amount of money at Gurgi in the former Rewa State and donated several villages for the maintenance of the Saiva ascetics residing there.¹ He also erected a temple of Siva nearby. At Bhērā-Ghāt near his own capital Tripurī, he built a round hypæthral structure dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginīs.² From the characters of the short inscriptions on their pedestals, it appears that most of the images of the Yōginīs installed in the cells of this temple belong to the time of Yuvarājādēva I. This temple, therefore, is of the same age as the hypæthral granite structure at Khajuraho, which also was similarly dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginīs. From its round shape, the temple was known as the Gōlakī Maṭha (Circular Temple). It became in its turn an important seat of Saiva Āchāryas and spread its branches in Cudappah, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts of the Madras State. In an inscription³ discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District, it is stated that Yuvarājādēva gave, as *bhikṣā*, three lakhs of villages to his *guru* Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Gōlakī Maṭha. This means that he assigned one third of the revenue of the Dāhala country which contained nine lakhs of villages.⁴ His queen Nōhalā was also equally devoted to the same Saiva sect. She called another Saiva ascetic named Īśvaraśiva and donated two villages to him as a reward for learning (*vidyā-dhana*). She erected a lofty temple of Siva under the name of Nōhalēśvara⁵ and endowed it with the grant of seven villages situated in the neighbourhood.

Yuvarājādēva had a very learned, pious and capable Brāhmaṇa minister, named Bhāka-miśra. He is probably the prototype of Bhāgurāyaṇa who figures as the counsellor of the hero in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Another minister of his, who probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, the son of Bhānu. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu, and caused colossal images of the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Balarāma and Paraśurāma incarnations of Viṣṇu to be carved out of rocks at Bāndhōgarh where he has left his own inscriptions.

Yuvarājādēva I was one of the most powerful rulers of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He raided distant countries and made even famous kings feel the weight of his arm. It is difficult to say if his raids resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory; for, no inscriptions of his reign have been discovered outside the Chēdi country. But his titles *Chakravartin* and *Trikalingādhīpati* indicate that he occupied for a time the leading position among the powers of North and South India. This was evidently when the power of the Pratihāras declined in the north owing to the raids of Indra III and that of the Rāshtrakūṭas was on the wane in the south owing to dissensions in the royal family during the reign of Gōvinda IV. Yuvarājādēva was a pious man, a great builder, and a patron of religion and literature.

¹ No. 46, ll. 43 ff.

² Though the temple is called Chausaṭh Jōgini Temple, there are in all 81 cells, one of which contains an image of Gaṇapati, and the rest, those of Yōginīs. Five of these are of an earlier, perhaps Kushāṇa, age. H. T. M., p. 78.

³ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

⁴ This statement needs to be verified from other records. The records of the Saiva Āchāryas themselves found in the Chēdi country make no mention of this munificent gift.

⁵ It is not known where this temple was situated. It is perhaps identical with the temple at Nōkatā on the main road between Jabalpur and Damoh. According to Cousens, it belongs at the latest to the 10th century A.C. See *A. R. A. S. I. for 1903-4*, p. 58.

Yuvarājadēva I was succeeded by Lakshmanarāja II, who was his son by his favourite wife Nōhalā. In the early part of his reign, Lakshmanarāja seems to have taken part in the northern campaign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. A Kanarese inscription¹ recently discovered at Jurā, 12 miles from the Malhar railway station, shows that Kṛishṇa III led an expedition in the north after he ascended the throne, and set up a monument in the Chēdi country. It is not dated; but as it mentions Kṛishṇa's extermination of the Chōla king, it must have been put up after 947 A.C.² It has been suggested that the erection of this monument implies defeat of the Chēdi king; but since there is no mention or even suggestion of it in the Jurā inscription, it seems that Kṛishṇa III set up the monument as he marched through the Chēdi kingdom. His relations with Lakshmanarāja II seem to have been as cordial as those of his father with Yuvarājadēva I.

Like his father, Lakshmanarāja also raided distant countries. The Kāṛitalāi inscription³ of his reign, which must have contained an account of his conquests, has unfortunately lost its initial historical portion; but in the records of his successors, he is described as one 'who was clever in routing the king of Bengal, who defeated Pāṇḍya, who was an adept in despoiling the king of Lāṭa, who vanquished the Gurjara king and whose foot-stool was honoured by the heroes of Kāśmīra.' There is no corroboration of Lakshmanarāja's raid in Bengal and Kashmir; but the Bilhāri inscription⁴ states that he defeated the lord of Kōsala (*i.e.*, South Kosala or Chhattisgarh) and pressed on as far as Orissa. He vanquished the ruler of this latter country also, and obtained from him an effigy of the (Nāga) Kāliyā, wrought with jewels and gold. As regards his victory in Lāṭa or Gujarat, we have the statement in the same inscription that Lakshmanarāja, in the course of his expedition in the west, worshipped the god Sōmēśvara, evidently identical with Sōmanātha near Verāval in Saurashtra and dedicated to the deity the aforementioned effigy of Kāliyā. His invasion of the Pāṇḍya country also seems to be corroborated by a mutilated line⁵ in the contemporary Kāṛitalāi inscription which mentions his forces encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī. It seems rather strange that there should be no reference to Lakshmanarāja's victory over the Chōlas, who, and not the Pāṇḍyas, were supreme in the south in the latter half of the tenth century A.C., and who must have been attacked and defeated by Lakshmanarāja before he could press as far south as Tāmraparṇī in the Pāṇḍya country. We have, therefore, to suppose that the Chōlas had not recovered from the attack of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇa III and that the Pāṇḍya king was raising his head and trying to re-establish his power with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas,⁶ when his country was raided by Lakshmanarāja. Perhaps the object of the panegyrist was not to enumerate all kings defeated by Lakshmanarāja, and the Pāṇḍya king finds a mention because he was ruling in the extreme south.

The Gurjara king defeated by Lakshmanarāja must have been one of the weak successors of Mahipāla, as pointed out by R. D. Banerji.⁷ The same scholar found corroboration of this victory in the statement of the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmanarāja defeated the lord of Kōsala. He further identified this prince with his namesake mentioned at the head of the genealogy in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva, and conjectured that he must

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff.

² Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao ascribes it to 963-64 A.C.

³ No. 42.

⁴ No. 43, ll. 23-24.

⁵ No. 42, line 1.

⁶ Compare *Kṛishṇa dakṣiṇa-dig-jeṭṭhāte-dhīyā Chaul-āṇḍya-śamālanam tad-bhūmim nija-bhṛitya-varga-paritāt-Chōlānam-Pāṇḍya-ādīkām* in the Kāṛitalāi plates of Kṛishṇa III; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 283.

⁷ *H. T. M.*, p. 13.

have placed one of his sons in charge of the country conquered from the Gurjaras. But these suppositions do not appear to be correct. As stated before, Lakshmanarāja's victory over the king of Kōsala is mentioned in connection with the despoilment of the lord of Odra (Orissa). This Kōsala appears, therefore, to be Dakshina Kōsala or Chhattiagach and the adjoining country. Besides, Lakshmanarāja who founded the dynasty ruling in the Gōrakhpur District of the United Provinces must have flourished long before Lakshmanarāja II of the Tripurī house.¹

Lakshmanarāja sought to strengthen his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Chālukyas, who were the rivals of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the Deccan. He gave his daughter Bonthādēvi in marriage to Vikramāditya IV, whose son Tailapa II (*circa* 956-997 A.C.) later on overthrew the last Rāshtrakūṭa king Karka II in 973 A.C.

Like his father and mother, Lakshmanarāja was a devout Saiva. The Bilhāri inscription states that he showed his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, and invited to his country the Saiva pontiff Hridayaśiva, the spiritual successor of Chūdāśiva. The latter ascetic seems to be identical with Sikhāśiva, whose disciple Prabhāvaśiva had already been invited by Yuvarājadēva I. Hridayaśiva received from Lakshmanarāja the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha at Bilhāri. He then placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the aforementioned temple of Nōhalēśvara. Another Saiva ascetic of the time was Prasāntaśiva,² the spiritual successor of Prabhāvaśiva. He became the head of the monastery at Gurgi in the former Rewa state. He built there a temple of Siva near another built by Yuvarājadēva I, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hara-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the Sōṇa for the practice of Yōga, and another at Vārāṇasī (Banaras) for the performance of austerities.

The only record of Lakshmanarāja's reign discovered so far is the Kārītālī stone inscription. It is not dated, but in view of the date of Yuvarājadēva I fixed above, we may place Lakshmanarāja II in the period 945-970 A.C.

Lakshmanarāja had a very learned, accomplished and pious minister named Sōmēśvara, the son of Bhākamīśra who had served his father in the same capacity. He is highly glorified in the aforementioned Kārītālī inscription. He is said to have mastered the Vēdas, logic, *tantra* and *kāvya*, and to have been proficient in music and other fine arts. He built at Kārītālī a temple of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu under the name Sōmēśvara and established eight Brāhmaṇas there, for whose maintenance he donated the village Dīrghaśākhika, modern Dighi, 6 miles south-east of Kārītālī. The king Lakshmanarāja, his queen Rāhaḍā and the prince Saṅkaragaṇa, who is described as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, endowed the temple with gifts of several villages. Another minister of the king, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated 1048-49 A.C., but his name is lost in the lower mutilated portion of it.

Lakshmanarāja II was succeeded by Saṅkaragaṇa III, who was his son probably from the queen Rāhaḍā. He is mentioned in both the Bilhāri inscription and the Banaras plates; but later inscriptions omit him, probably because he was a collateral. A stone inscription at Bargaon, 27 miles from Murwārā, records certain gifts in honour of the god Saṅkaranārāyaṇa. The deity was probably installed by Saṅkaragaṇa III and named after himself.³ It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishṇava* or a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in the Kārītālī inscription.

¹ See below, p. cxii.

² He is mentioned in No. 44, ll. 8-9 and No. 46, ll. 11 ff.

³ Compare the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the deity installed in a temple erected by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, as stated in the Bodhan stone inscription dated 1056 A.C. *H. A. S.*, No. 7.

Śaṅkaragaṇa seems to have been involved in a conflict with the Chandēllas, whose kingdom was contiguous with his on the west. Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśōvarman and brother of Dhaṅga, was ruling over the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.¹ From a stone inscription discovered by Dr. F. E. Hall many years ago at Bhilsa, we learn that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, who was the chief minister of Kṛishṇa, conquered the lord of Chēdi and a Śabara chief named Simha and placed the kings of Rāṣa *maṇḍala* and Rōdapādi on their thrones.² Another stone inscription discovered by Mr. M. B. Garde at Maser, 25 miles north of Bhilsā in the Gwalior State, mentions that Narasimha of the Sulki (*i.e.*, Chālukya) family initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood by the command of Kṛishṇarāja.³ As the Chandēlla prince Kṛishṇa was a younger brother of Dhaṅga, for whom we have dates ranging from 952 to 1002 A.C., he can be referred to the period 960-985 A.C. The Kalachuri king, defeated and perhaps slain by his ministers, was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. It is significant that both the Bilhāri inscription and the Banaras plates have nothing but conventional praise for him. As his brother Yuvarājādēva II, who succeeded him, was a contemporary of Vākpati-Muñja (*circa* 974-994 A.C.), Śaṅkaragaṇa III seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years from *circa* 970 A.C. to 980 A.C.

Śaṅkaragaṇa III probably left no issue; for, he was succeeded by his brother Yuvarājādēva II. About the political events of his reign we have very little information; for, though he is named in many later inscriptions, they bestow only conventional praise on him. The Karaṇbēl inscription⁴ alone states that he raided the countries in all quarters, and with great devotion, presented the wealth he obtained from their rulers to the god Sōmēśvara. As no other inscription mentions this achievement of Yuvarājādēva II, and as a similar one is described in connection with his father Lakshmaṇarāja II,⁵ one is inclined to look with suspicion on this description.

The prestige of the Kalachuris seems to have sunk very low during the reign of Yuvarājādēva II. From the Udaipur *prastuti*⁶ we learn that the Paramāra king Vākpati Muñja defeated Yuvarāja, slew his generals, and held his sword on high at Tripuri. Vākpati could not have occupied the Kalachuri capital for a long time; for, he soon found himself involved in a prolonged struggle with the Chālukyas on the southern border of his kingdom. He seems, therefore, to have made peace with the Kalachuri king and returned to his kingdom.

From a verse⁷ which occurs in some inscriptions of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, it has long been believed that Tailapa II, the founder of the Later Chālukya dynasty, defeated a king of Chēdi.⁸ Rai Bahadur Hiralal went so far as to identify the Chēdi ruler with Yuvarājādēva II.⁹ As Yuvarājādēva's sister Bōṇthādēvī was the mother of Tailapa,¹⁰

¹ Four inscriptions found at Dudahi name Kṛishṇapa, the son of Yaśōvarman who is plainly the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

³ *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1930-31), p. 10.

⁴ Appendix, No. 3, v. 13.

⁵ No. 45, ll. 23-24.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁷ *Hāṇa-prāṇahara-pratāpa-daband yātrā-trasen-Mātravas-Chaidya-chchbādy-akhila-kshamā-jaya-naya-vyut-paṇa-dhīr=Utpalab | yān-āṅgrya-rap-āgra-darśita-va(ba)la-prāchurya-lauṛy-bādayab kārāgāra-nivēṣitaḥ kavi-vrīṣhā yān varāṇasya gōtrapatī ||* This verse occurs in several inscriptions. See e.g. the Kauthe grant of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23; the Yēwur grant of Vikramāditya VI, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 276; the Mīmā grant of Jayasimha, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11 etc.

⁸ *E. H. D.*, p. 131; *H. T. M.* p. 14; *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 770.

⁹ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 291.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 276.

there is, of course, no chronological difficulty in this identification; but in view of Tailapa's close relationship with the Kalachuri king, his invasion of the Chēdi country appears improbable. As a matter of fact, the aforementioned verse describes the exploits, not of Tailapa II, but of a king named Utpala, whom he subjugated and threw into prison.¹ Dr. Fleet identified this Utpala who defeated a Chēdi king with Pāñchāla, a western Gaṅga prince, whom, according to some other inscriptions, Tailapa killed in battle.² From the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*,³ however, we learn that Utpala was a name of the Paramāra king Vākpati-Muñja. So this defeat of the Chēdi king by Utpala is not different from that mentioned in the Udaipur *prastāvi*, to which we have already referred.

As Yuvarājādēva II's grandson Gāṅgēyādēva closed his reign in 1041 A.C., we have to accommodate two reigns, viz., those of Yuvarājādēva II and Kōkalla II in the period 980-1015 A.C. Of these, Yuvarājādēva II had probably a shorter reign of about 10 years (*circa* 980-990 A.C.); for, his son Kōkalla II was very young when he came to the throne. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state that Kōkalla was placed on the throne by the chief ministers of Yuvarājādēva. This seems to suggest that he was a minor, when he began to rule. He may, therefore, have flourished from *circa* 990 to 1015 A.C.

The only record of Kōkalla II's reign is the Gurgi stone inscription,⁴ which is besides very much mutilated just where a *prastāvi* of the Chēdi kings begins. Verse 34 of this inscription, which refers to the exploits of Kōkalla II, is somewhat better preserved. It intimates that the Gurjara king and the rulers of Gauḍa and Kuntala, being panic-stricken, evidently when they heard of Kōkalla's advance,⁵ deserted their kingdoms. The Gurjara king, who is said to have sought shelter in the Himālayas, must have been a ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, probably Rājyapāla. The Gauḍa king was probably Mahipāla I (*circa* 992-1040 A.C.). The king of Kuntala, who was forced to leave his kingdom,⁶ was perhaps Vikramāditya V of the Later Chālukya Dynasty. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa describe that the progress of Kōkalla's four-membered army was checked only by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans. The vagueness of this description, however, makes it difficult to say if Kōkalla actually made successful incursions into the territories of the aforementioned kings.

That the Kalachuris had lost their place among the leading political powers of North India, during the reigns of Yuvarāja II and Kōkalla II, is also clear from the absence of any reference to them in the list of the prominent Hindu states which opposed Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.C. When in about 989 A.C. Jayapāla resolved to make a supreme effort to save India from the aggressions of Sabuktigin, he summoned to his aid the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjar and Kanauj.⁷ Again in 1008 A.C. when Jayapāla's son, Anandapāla, thought of invoking the aid of his Hindu compatriots to stem the tide of Mahmud's invasion, he sent emissaries to the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālañjar, Delhi and Ajmer. In neither

¹ See my article 'Did Tailapa defeat a Chēdi king?' *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IX, pp. 132 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 18, no. 12.

³ Canto XI, v. 92.

⁴ No. 46.

⁵ Banerji thought that verse 34 of this inscription described the conquests of Gāṅgēyādēva; but this is incorrect; for, as has been pointed out by N. P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, XXII, 129), the preceding verse (33) names Kōkalla (II). This leaves no room for doubt that the achievements glorified in verse 34 belong to him and not to Gāṅgēyādēva.

⁶ There is no reference to the ruler of Banavāsi, as wrongly supposed by Banerji.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Firishla*, Translation by Briggs, p. 18.

we find any mention of the Kalachuris,¹ which shows that in this period to count as a great political power in North India.

was succeeded by his son Gāṅgēya in *circa* 1015 A.C. He was an aggressive, and by his conquests raised his family to a high level of glory and prospecting of his reign, however, he occupied a comparatively subordinate position as indicated by the modest titles *Mahārha-mahā-mabattaka* and *Mahārāja*, as mentioned in the Makundpur stone inscription, dated 1019 A.C. A mention² at Mahōbā states that Bhōja and Kalachuri-chandra (the Moon of waited upon the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara, the master of warfare, who destruction of the king of Kānyakubja, and who was lying on a couch. Chandra is probably Gāṅgēya.³ The reference here is evidently to the plea for his abject submission to Mahmud, in which the Chandēlla prince played a leading part. He was aided by some princes, one of whom, we know, was the apaghāta ruler Arjuna.⁴ The Paramāra Bhōja and the Kalachuri Gāṅgēya fought under the leadership of Vidyādhara in this expedition against

the Gāṅgēya carried on the war with the Chālukyas, which had been continuing. He seems to have achieved success for a time. In some records, Gāṅgēya is described as fond of defeating the king of Kuntala in a duel. The Khaithā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarna state that wishing to fight with Gāṅgēya, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear. The king of course, be taken to mean the contemporary ruler of the Later Chālukya, Jayasīma, who ruled from about 1015 A.C. to 1042 A.C. From the

he mentions this confederacy; but his statement may be incorrect in regard to Delhi and Sultan Mahmud, p. 89, n. 3.

pl. I, p. 222. Prof. S. H. Hodivala has recently made the ingenious suggestion that mentioned by the Muhammadan historians as 'a Satanic leader who had assumed superiority', defeated, put to flight every one he had fought with, and possessed a great army, and strong forts which were secure from attack and capture, and who defended himself against Mahmud of Ghazni in 1018 A.C. is really Kōkalla Chid or Kōkalla II of pl. 146. This is, chronologically, not impossible; because the earliest known date is 1019 A.C. But Prof. Hodivala's other suggestion that he is identical with the king who helped the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara in defeating the pusillanimous Rājya-to be correct for two reasons: (i) the Muhammadan historians say that Kulchand after his defeat at Mahāvan, and (ii) in 1019 A.C. when Rājya-pāla was defeated, Gāṅgēya, on the throne. See the Makundpur stone inscription, dated K. 772 (1019 A.C.).

and, following him, Dr. H. C. Ray identify him with Kōkalla II; but this is incorrect.

kund inscription. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 233.

ment of a *Rāmāyana* Ms., discovered by Prof. Bendall in the Nepal Durbar Library, mentions *Puṇyavālōka* Gāṅgēyadēva, born in the lunar family, as ruling over Tirabhukti in Bendall referred the date to the Vikrama era and took it as equivalent to 1019-20 A.C. Gāṅgēyadēva with the homonymous Kalachuri king, as the date falls in his reign. On the whole, it was believed for a long time that Gāṅgēya extended his sway to Tirhut early in the 11th century. But *Puṇyavālōka*, however, made this identification doubtful; for, Kalachuri kings are not given such epithets ending in *vālōka*. I have recently drawn attention to another epithet wrongly misread by Bendall as *Gaṇadabhoja* applied to Gāṅgēya in the same colophon. It is the king of Tirhut was different from the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva who was *parama-out* worshipper of Śiva. For the identification of this Gāṅgēyadēva of Tirabhukti, *B. O. R. J.*, Silver Jubilee Vol., pp. 291 ff.

and No. 51, L. 9.

Kulenur inscription¹ it seems that Gāṅgēyadēva had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhōja and the Chōla Rājendra to attack Jayasimha from three sides. Victory does not, however, appear to have always attended the arms of the allies; for, the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasimha's cousin Chattadēva *alias* Kundarāja. From another inscription we learn that the battle was fought on the bank of the Gautama-Gaṅgā or Gūdāvari.² Bhōja and his allies appear to have sustained a disastrous defeat; for, the Balagamve inscription states that Jayasimha searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava king.³

The alliance between the Kalachuris and the Paramāras seems to have been of short duration; for, we find that Bhōja soon attacked and defeated Gāṅgēya. In one of the Nāndī verses of the inscribed Sanskrit play *Pārijātamañjarī*, Bhōja is said to have had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgēya.⁴ The Udaipur *prastāvi*⁵ and the Kalwan plates⁶ also refer to Bhōja's victory over a Chēdi king who can be none other than Gāṅgēyadēva.

Verse 19 of the Rewa stone inscription of Kaṇa⁷ describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēya's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa, which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse. This latter verse says that Gāṅgēyadēva, strong as he was in the action of breaking open the frontal globes of the best of elephants, made his own arm the pillar of victory on the shore of the (eastern) ocean after vanquishing the king of Utkala. In this war Gāṅgēya was helped by the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri family established at Tummāṇa. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvidēva I⁸ record that Kamalarāja, an early prince of the Tummāṇa branch, vanquished the king of Utkala and gave his wealth to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva. The king of Utkala was, it seems, a member of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Subhākara II, as shown below. During this campaign Gāṅgēya seems to have also defeated Mahāśivagupta—Yayāti, the ruler of South Kōsala. In one of his grants Yayāti is said to have obtained a victory over the Chaidyas, *i.e.*, the people of the Chēdi country, and carried fire and sword into their home province of Dāhala.⁹ The war seems to have continued for some time, and victory sometimes leaned to one side and sometimes to the other. If Gāṅgēyadēva was ultimately victorious, he might have assumed the title of *Trikalīṅgādhipati* after his success. We know that his son Kaṇa mentions this title in his first known grant¹⁰ issued just a year after Gāṅgēya's death.

The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni had shattered the power and prestige of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Trilōchanapāla is the last known Pratihāra king who was exercising some loose authority over the Gangetic Doab till 1027 A.C.; for, his Jhusi grant¹¹ of that year records the donation of a village to the Brāhmaṇas of Pratishthāna. The power of the Chandēllas, the only other ruling family of Central India capable of thwarting the ambition of Gāṅgēya, was waning after the death of Gaṇḍa. Some time after 1027 A.C. Gāṅgēya seems to have embarked on a bold policy of conquest and annexation. Throwing

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 330.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 359.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 101.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 71.

⁷ No. 51.

⁸ No. 76, l. 13.

⁹ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. I (1905), p. 4.

¹⁰ No. 48, l. 34.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

off the yoke of Chandēlla suzerainty, he overran the Doab and even carried his arms as far as the Kāngrā valley; for, he is said to have thrown into the cage of a prison the king of the Kira country.¹ Gāṅgēya's conquest of the Doab is corroborated by the find of his coins in Uttar Pradesh. He then fixed his residence in the holy city of Prayāga, which, with some interruption,² he held to the last.

Gāṅgēya next extended his sway to Banaras. Several powerful rulers seem to have vied with one another for the occupation of this ancient city, which was regarded as holy by the Buddhists as well as the Brāhmaṇas. Towards the close of the 10th century, it was in the occupation of the Chandēllas; for, a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1055 (998 A.C.) records the grant of a village which the powerful king Dhaṅga made at Kāśikā or Banaras.³ Thereafter, the city seems to have passed into the possession of the Pālas. The Sārnāth stone inscription⁴ dated V. 1083 (1026 A.C.) records that by the order of the Pāla Mahipāla I of Bengal, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla established hundreds of precious monuments of glory in Kāśī. Some time after this date, the city seems to have again changed hands. The *Tārīkh-i-Baibagī* describes a swift raid of Ahmad Niyāl Tigin, the Governor of the Panjab, which he carried out in the summer of H. 424 (1033 A.C.).⁵ This raid was directed against the city of Banaras which belonged to the territory of Gaṅg. This Gaṅg is none other than Gāṅgēya, for, the date falls in his reign. The Muhammadan army plundered the city from morning to mid-day; but it could remain there no longer 'because of the peril.' This seems, therefore, to have been a surprise raid, and the invaders knew full well what risk they would run if they stayed there longer. They, therefore, left the city in haste and got back in safety.

After these conquests Gāṅgēya seems to have assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*. These titles appear in the Piawan rock inscription of his reign dated K. 789 (1037-38 A.C.). His fame spread far and wide. Albērūnī, writing in 1030 A.C., mentions in his work that Gāṅgēya was the ruler of the Dāhala country, the capital of which was Tiaurī (Tripurī).⁶

Gāṅgēya's conquests brought him into conflict with the Chandēllas. An inscription from Mahōbā⁷ states that when Gāṅgēya thought of the impending fierce fight (with the Chandēlla Vijayapāla), even he who had slighted and conquered the whole world felt that the lotus of his heart had the knot of martial pride closed. This seems to imply that the redoubtable Gāṅgēya submitted to the Chandēlla king. Judging by subsequent events, however, victory seems ultimately to have rested with the Kalachuri king.

In the east Gāṅgēya carried his arms as far as Aṅga and Magadha. The copperplate grants of his son Karṇa record that he looked radiant with the mass of wealth of the king of Aṅga⁸ (modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts). The expedition against Magadha seems to have occurred towards the close of Gāṅgēya's reign. It was led by his son Karṇa. From the Tibetan accounts we learn that the army of Karṇa advanced as far as Gayā. The Pāla king Nayapāla was then ruling over Magadha. Karṇa's troops sacked some of the

¹ No. 50, l. 18; No. 51, l. 9.

² The Karī inscription (V. 1093) of Yaśahpāla, whose lineage is not known, records the grant of a village in the Kauśāmba *maṇḍala*. *J. R. A. S.* (1927), p. 694. Yaśahpāla had the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. He seems to have dispossessed Gāṅgēya of Allahabad for some time.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 139 ff.

⁵ *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁶ Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (1914), Vol. I, p. 202.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

⁸ This may have been Mahipāla I (982-1038 A.C.). *H. B.*, Vol. I, p. 141.

sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five men, out of whom four were ordained monks and one an *upāsaka*. Ultimately, through the efforts of the renowned Buddhist monk Atiśa Dīpaṃkara, who risked his life several times in crossing the rivers that lay between the contending parties, a treaty was signed, by which friendship was established between the two kingdoms.¹ This expedition seems to have taken place some time before 1040 A.C., which is the approximate date of Atiśa's departure for Tibet. As Gāṅgēya was ruling till the beginning of 1041 A.C., the invasion of Magadha cannot be placed in the reign of Kaṃpa himself. It seems to have occurred towards the end of Gāṅgēya's reign. In that case Kaṃpa may have been obliged to patch up a peace with the king of Magadha as his presence was required elsewhere by the approaching end of Gāṅgēya.

Gāṅgēya was fond of residing at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga,² which became his second capital. He died at the same place. His hundred wives are said to have immolated themselves on his pyre. The date of his death can be accurately determined from that of his first annual *śrāddha* which was performed by his son Kaṃpa at Prayāga. According to Kaṃpa's Banaras grant, which was made on the occasion, the *śrāddha* was performed on the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 793. Gāṅgēya must, therefore, have died on Phālguna va. di. 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

Gāṅgēya was one of the most illustrious members of the Kalachuri dynasty. When he ascended the throne, Kalachuri power was weak and effete. By his valour and diplomacy, he revived the imperial glory of his family. He extended his kingdom so far in the north as to include a major part of the modern Uttar Pradesh. As the Pratihāras were too weak to defend the holy places of the north against the attacks of the Muslim iconoclasts, he took them under his own protection, and to guard them effectively, he made Prayāga his second capital.³ From the grants of his grandson Yaśaḥkaṃpa, we learn that he assumed the coveted title of *Vikramāditya*.⁴ Even in the records of his enemies he was called a world-conqueror (*jita-viśva*).⁵ At his death, he left a fairly large empire, which was further extended by his son Kaṃpa.

Gāṅgēya was an ardent Saiva. According to the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Nara-siṃha,⁶ he erected a matchless temple of the Mēru type, which was probably dedicated to Śiva. His Piawan rock inscription also seems to have recorded the installation of a Śiva-*linga*.⁷

Gāṅgēya introduced the Lakṣmī type of coinage, which became very popular in North India. The obverse of these coins is wholly occupied by the king's name in bold Nāgarī characters in three lines, and the reverse, by the figure of Lakṣmī sitting cross-legged. Gāṅgēya's coins exist in all the three metals, gold, silver and copper, and in four denominations which Smith calls dramma, half-damma, quarter-damma and one-eighth dramma.⁸

¹ J. B. T. S., Vol. I, pp. 9 ff.

² See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 12.

³ Kalachuri inscriptions make no mention of Gāṅgēya's encounter with Mahmud of Ghazni, whose contemporary he was. Prof. Hodivala makes the ingenious suggestion that Kābakan, who ruled the country bordering on the territory of Nanda (*i.e.*, the Chandēlla Gaṇḍa) and who sent some wonderful presents to Mahmud after the latter's generous treatment of the Chandēlla ruler, was Gāṅgēya. He is said to have been a master of 1000 elephants. *S. I. M. H.*, pp. 73 ff.

⁴ See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 11.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

⁶ No. 60, v. 9.

⁷ Appendix, No. 1.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 147.

The Lakshmi type introduced by Gāṅgēya was subsequently copied by the Chandēllas, the Gāhaḍavālas and the Tomars, and was introduced even in distant Kashmir.¹

As stated above, Gāṅgēyadeva was succeeded by his son Karṇa in 1041 A.C. From several inscriptions of his reign as well as from references in literary records, Sanskrit and Prakrit, we can form a general idea of the main political events of his reign.

The Rewa stone inscription² dated in K. 800 (1048-49 A.C.) shows that in the first seven years of his reign, Karṇa attained remarkable victories in the east, south and west. He seems to have first proceeded to the east. Verse 26 of the aforementioned inscription states that the ship of the king of the eastern country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of Karṇa's forces, its joints being rent by dashing against the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants. This verse clearly implies that Karṇa obtained a decisive victory over the king of the eastern country, who lost his life in the encounter. Who was this king of the eastern country? He could scarcely have been the contemporary Pāla king; for, the kingdom of the Pālas, as shown by their own inscriptions and those of their contemporaries, was restricted to parts of Bihar and North-West Bengal. From the Bhārā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha,³ on the other hand, we learn that when Karṇa gave a full play to heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kālīṅga. Karṇa's victory seems, therefore, to have been obtained over the king of Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. The tenour of the description suggests that the ruling family was supplanted and the kingdom was either annexed by Karṇa or placed in charge of his own nominee. As a matter of fact, we find the Vermans supplanting the Chandras in Eastern Bengal in the eleventh century A.C. Gōvindachandra, the last king of the Chandra dynasty known from inscriptions found in Bengal,⁴ is also mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription⁵ of Rājendra Chōla I as the ruler of Vaṅgāla-dēśa. He was defeated in circa 1021 A.C. by Rājendra I, the illustrious Chōla Emperor (1014—1044 A.C.). When Karṇa invaded Eastern Bengal, either this prince or his successor was on the throne. After the overthrow of the Chandra king, Karṇa placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory and gave his daughter Virasī in marriage to his son Jātavarman to cement the political alliance. The latter distinguished himself in one of the later campaigns of Karṇa in the country of Aṅga.⁶ The Rewa inscription shows that the dynastic revolution must have been effected in any case before 1048-49 A.C.

Karṇa next turned his attention to the south. Verse 23 of the aforementioned Rewa inscription describes Karṇa's southern campaigns in a figurative style. It states that 'over-running the district of Kāñchi, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern direction in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded (by kissing).'⁷ It is difficult to say how far this figurative description correctly represents historical facts. Besides, the Pallavas, over whom a decisive victory is claimed for Karṇa in this verse, had long ceased to be supreme in the south, their kingdom having been annexed by the Chōlas in 890 A.C.⁸ A branch of the Pallavas, no doubt, continued to rule in the Nōlamba-

¹ J. N. S. I., Vol. III, p. 26.

² No. 31.

³ No. 60, l. 10.

⁴ H. B., Vol. I, p. 196. See the Paikpārā inscription of his reign. *Ind. Cal.*, Vol. VII, pp. 405 ff.

⁵ S. J. I., Vol. I, p. 99.

⁶ I. B., Vol. III, p. 20.

⁷ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 136.

vāḍi 32000 down to the eleventh century A.C.;¹ but they had no control over the territory round Kāñchi and a victory over them would not have brought much glory to Karṇa's arms. Besides, Karṇa's victory over the Pallavas is not referred to in the fairly long list of his conquests in the records of his descendants. So far as the reference to the Pallavas is concerned, the description in the verse appears to be more fanciful than real.

The reference to the invasion of the district of Kāñchi is perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Chōlas; for, though the capital of the Chōlas had been removed to Gaṅgā-purī or Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram since its foundation by Rājendra Chōla I, Sanskrit poets continued to mention Kāñchi as the Chōla capital.² Karṇa's victory over a Chōla king is intimated in a verse in the Karaṇbēl inscription of Jayasimha.³ R. D. Banerji conjecturally identified the Chōla king defeated by Karṇa with Vīrarājendra Rājakesarivarman, who was reigning between 1062 and 1067 A.C. The reference to the invasion of Kāñchi in verse 25 of the Rewa inscription, if historically true, would show that the victory had already been attained in 1048-49 A.C. Karṇa's adversary must, therefore, be identified with Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājendra Chōla I, who ruled from 1044 to 1054 A.C.

While Karṇa was in the south, he seems to have encountered the king of Kuntala. As already observed, Kuntala was then under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. The battle does not seem to have ended in a decisive victory for either side; for, both the belligerents claimed success for themselves. As stated above, the Rewa inscription speaks of the fortune of the Kuntala king being seized by Karṇa. Bilhaṇa, on the other hand, records in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* that Āhavamalla (*i.e.*, Sōmēśvara I) utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, after which glory never embraced the country of Dāhala.⁴

Karṇa seems to have come into conflict with the king of the Gurjara country also. Verse 27 of the Rewa inscription says that when Karṇa approached the Gurjara country, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from their foreheads. This description indicates that Karṇa had raided Gujarat before 1048 A.C. This is also corroborated by an Apabhraṁśa verse in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅala* which states that Karṇa had exterminated the forces of a Gurjara king. This may have been followed by negotiations for peace as subsequent events show.

Though Karṇa had thus raided different parts of India in the first seven years of his reign, he was not yet able to annex any territory to his kingdom. His success during the next two or three years was much greater. His contemporary on the throne of Malwa was the illustrious Bhōja, who was as much distinguished for valour as for learning. He had also raided different countries and defeated the rulers of Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kōṅkaṇa and others. The defeat he had inflicted on Gaṅgēyadēva must have been rankling in Karṇa's mind. The latter, therefore, formed an alliance with Bhīma of Gujarat.⁵ The allied forces invaded Malwa from the east and the west. Just about this time Bhōja died, and as he did not leave any son, the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the

¹ *H. I. S. I.*, pp. 371-2.

² See, *e. g.*, *VDCH.*, Canto I, v. 115; Canto III, v. 76; Canto IV, v. 28 etc. Bilhaṇa mentions Gaṅgā-kunḍapura also as a Chōla capital., *Ibid.*, Canto VI, vv. 21-24.

³ Appendix, No. 3, l. 10.

⁴ *VDCH.*, Canto I, vv. 102-3.

⁵ Mērutuṅga in his *PCH.* (p. 51) states that Karṇa, promising Bhīma a half of the Mālava kingdom, invited him to attack Bhōja in the rear. Though Mērutuṅga's account contains much fanciful matter, this statement may be true. Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikāumudī* (II, 18) states that Bhīma spared the life of Bhōja though the latter had fallen into his hands.

risings of the scions of the Paramīra family. It fell an easy prey to the invaders, who soon captured Dhārā, the capital of Mālwa,¹ and dethroned Jayasīrha, the successor of Bhōja.² According to Mērutāṅga's account, Kārṇa violated the previous agreement and annexed the whole of Mālwa.³ This enraged Bhīma, who invaded the Chēdi country. Hēma-chandra in his *Dvāitrayakāvya* states that Bhīma, penetrated to the capital of the Chēdi country; but Kārṇa made peace with him by presenting him horses, elephants and the golden *maṇḍapikā* of Bhōja which he had carried away.⁴

Kārṇa next turned his attention to the Chandēlla kingdom. The Chandēlla dynasty had produced several powerful princes, some of whom such as Yaśōvarman, Vidyādhara and Vijayapāla had exacted submission from the Kalachuris. But at this time the throne was occupied by a weak ruler named Dēvavarman, son of Vijayapāla. The only inscription of his reign is a copper-plate record⁵ discovered at Nanyaurā in the Hamirpur District of Uttar Pradesh. It registers the grant of a village which Dēvavarman made in V. 1107 (1051 A.C.) on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death. Soon after this, he seems to have succumbed to an attack by Kārṇa. Bilhaṇa, in his *Vikramāṅka-dēvacharita* (Canto XVIII, v. 93), speaks of Kārṇa as 'Death to the lord of Kālāñjara' who was evidently Dēvavarman.⁶ After this victory, Kārṇa incorporated the country of Jajjhanti into his own dominion.

About this time Kārṇa also invaded North-Western Bengal. This was his second invasion of the Pāla kingdom. On this occasion he pressed as far as Paikore in the Birbhum District of Bengal. His route must have lain through South Bihar. The Pāla king, who must have been Vīgrahapāla III, seems to have soon capitulated to the invader. Kārṇa's invasion of the Pāla dominion is attested to by the discovery of an inscribed decorative pillar which the Chēdi king dedicated to a goddess during his stay at Paikore.⁷ The Karaṇbēl stone inscription⁸ intimates that the king of Gauḍa submitted to Kārṇa. Hēma-chandra⁹ records that the king of Gauḍa entreated Kārṇa to save his life and throne in return for a large treasure which he presented to him. The *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara-nandin (Canto I, v. 9), however, claims a victory for the Pāla king Vīgrahapāla. Whatever may have been the actual result of the war, the two families were afterwards united by a matrimonial alliance. Kārṇa gave his daughter Yauvanaśrī in marriage to Vīgrahapāla and thus turned the Pāla adversary into a faithful ally.¹⁰

¹ PCH. p. 51. The Vajrnagar *prastāvi* also states that with his cavalry Bhīma captured Dhārā, the capital of the Mālava Chakravartin. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 297.

² In the VDCH. (Canto III, v. 67) Bilhaṇa states that the king of Mālava, evidently Jayasīrha, sought the help of Sūmēvara when he lost his kingdom.

³ PCH., p. 51.

⁴ DK., Canto IX, v. 57. Mērutāṅga also quotes a traditional verse which states that Bhīma received from Kārṇa, *inter alia*, a golden *maṇḍapikā*. See PCH., p. 52. The words *rājā Rāva na laṅghyati*, which occur in v. 54 of Canto IX in DK., have been taken by Mr. A. Ghosh to mean that the king (Kārṇa or Bhīma) promised not to cross the Narmadā. *Ind. Cal.*, Vol. VII, p. 17. This is incorrect. The words occur in the speech of Kārṇa addressed to Dāmōdara, the ambassador of Bhīma. Kārṇa says that he would have gone forth to meet and receive Bhīma, but the astrologers had advised him not to cross the Rēvā.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 204 ff.

⁶ V. Smith thought that it was Kirtivarman, the brother of Dēvavarman, who was driven by Kārṇa from the throne. But the description in the VDCH. and the PCHU. clearly indicates that Kārṇa not only drove the lord of Kālāñjara from the throne but also exterminated him. He could, therefore, be none other than Dēvavarman; for, Kirtivarman lived to regain his throne as described below.

⁷ No. 49, l. 3. Cf. the Apabhraṃśa verse cited below, p. xcvi, n. 1.

⁸ Appendix, No. 3, l. 11.

⁹ DK., Canto IX, v. 38.

¹⁰ RCH., Canto I, v. 9. This *śloka* states that Vīgrahapāla vanquished Kārṇa, but saved him by making with him a treaty of peace which an old commentator of the work calls *kapāla sandhi*. In this *sandhi* a large sum of money is required to be paid the conqueror. See RCH., Introd., p. 2.

In 1052 A.C. Karna was thus at the height of his power. He had under his sway practically the whole of Central India including the erstwhile kingdoms of the Pratihāras, the Paramāras and the Chandēllas. In the east the Pāla and Varman kings were matrimonially allied with him. In the north his authority was recognized as far as the Kāngrā valley,¹ the ruler of which had submitted to him. In the west, the only foe worthy of his steel was Bhīma of Gujarat; but as stated already, Karna had made peace with him. In the south, he had inflicted a defeat on the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, though his campaigns do not seem to have resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory. His authority was in any case unquestioned in North India,² and if Bilhana's account can be believed, the mere sound of his horses' hoofs routed the forces of his enemies.³

To proclaim his attainment of the position of *Chakravartin* or Universal Emperor, Karna seems to have crowned himself again in the Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.). His regnal year, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription⁴ of his general Vappulla, is counted from this second coronation.

On account of his ambition and successful military campaigns, Karna is called Hindu Napoleon. And like the great French Emperor, he suffered serious reverses in the latter part of his career. He could not retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Jayasimha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned and driven out of Malwa, sought the Chālukya king Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla's aid against the powerful confederacy of Bhīma and Karna. The Chālukyas and Paramāras were inveterate foes, and their hostilities continued for several generations. Āhavamalla had himself previously stormed Dhārā, from which the king Bhōja had to flee.⁵ But on this occasion Āhavamalla thought it politic to reverse his policy towards the Paramāra house; for, he realized that if Karna was allowed to retain possession of the Paramāra territory, he would become a menace to the northern frontier of the Chālukya kingdom. He, therefore, resolved to support the cause of Jayasimha, and directed his valiant son Vikramāditya to lend his aid to Jayasimha to regain his throne.⁶ It would appear that in his northern campaigns, Vikramāditya was not always successful; for, an Apabhraṁśa verse mentions Karna's victory over the mighty Vikrama, evidently

¹ See Appendix, No. 3, l. 11.

² In his *DK.* (Canto IX, vv. 33 ff), Hēmachandra makes Bhīma's ambassador Dāmōdara refer to several other victories of Karna, viz., those over the rulers of Daśārṇa and Kaliṅga and the kings Bhadrabhaṭa, Yanti, Nanti, Ganti, Hanti, Vanti and Manti. Hēmachandra seems to have distorted the names of kings to illustrate grammatical rules. It is also not unlikely that these are altogether fictitious names.

³ *VDCH.*, Canto XVIII, v. 93. As Mr. A. Ghosh has already pointed out, *mekhāra* in this verse does not mean any race, but denotes a particular breed of superior horses, probably the Tokharian horses. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 19.

⁴ No. 33. The date of this inscription is *Saṁvat* 812, Thursday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the ninth regnal year. This date regularly corresponds to Thursday, January 4th, 1061 A.C. As this date fell in the ninth regnal year, Karna must have been crowned a second time in 1052 A.C. Some scholars have attempted to reconcile this date with the first coronation which occurred in 1041 A.C. (See below, pp. 239 ff.) D.R. Bhandarkar thought that *navama* in the Rewa inscription of Vappulla was a mistake for *navadate* and that the inscription was put up in the nineteenth regnal year. But the month of Māgha in the nineteenth regnal year should fall in K. 811, not in K. 812; for Māgha of the first regnal year fell in K. 793, as the Kalachuri year began in Kārttika. A. Ghosh has suggested that the regnal year is correctly mentioned, but the figures of the *saṁvat* were wrongly written as 812 instead of 802. This explanation also is not of any help; for, the month of Māgha in the ninth regnal should fall in K. 801, not in K. 802. We must, therefore, suppose that the second coronation of Karna did take place some time in 1052 A.C.

⁵ *VDCH.*, Canto I, vv. 91-94.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Canto III, v. 67.

Vikramāditya VI, the son of Somēśvara I-Ahavamalla.¹ However, Vikramāditya eventually succeeded in placing Jayasinha on the throne of Malwa. He carried his victorious arms even as far as Gauda and Kāmarūpa,² for which he must have overrun the Chēdi country. These encounters must have occurred before 1055 A.C.; for, we find Jayasinha secure on the throne in the month Āshāḍha of that year.³

The Chandēlla kingdom also soon slipped out of Karna's hands. Kirtivarman, the brother of Dēvavarman, soon succeeded in regaining his ancestral territory. Verse 26 of a Chandēlla inscription discovered at Mahōbā⁴ records the victory of Kirtivarman over Lakshmīkarna in the following words—"Just as Pūrushōttama (Vishṇu), having produced the nectar by churning, with the mountain (Mandara), the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakshmi together with the elephants (of the eight regions),—he (*viz.*, Kirtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakshmīkarna, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants." Lakshmīkarna is, no doubt, identical with the Kalachuri Karna. In the Ajayagadh rock inscription⁵ of the Chandēlla Viravarman (dated V. 1317), Kirtivarman is described as the pitcher-born (Agastya) in swallowing the ocean in the form of Karna, and as the lord of Creatures (Brahmā) in creating anew (his) kingdom. The *Prabōdhachandrodāya*, which also refers to this event in its prologue, calls this Karna *Chēdīpati* (Lord of the Chēdi country). From this work we learn that Kirtivarman's victory was mainly due to the bravery of his Brāhmaṇa general, Gōpāla. The play was performed before Kirtivarman to commemorate this brilliant victory of the Chandēllas. In the prologue of the play, Gōpāla is eulogised as the Great Boar who raised the earth which was submerged in the great ocean of world-destruction in the form of a multitude of powerful kings.⁶ In another passage he is said to have obtained the goddess of victory after exterminating the army of Karna, even as Vishṇu obtained Lakshmi by churning the ocean of milk.⁷ In a third passage, Gōpāla's anger is said to have been roused to re-establish on the earth the sovereignty of the kings of the lunar race, which (sovereignty) had been uprooted by the lord of Chēdi who was Rudra and Kālāgni (the Fire of world-destruction) to the families of all kings.⁸ In a subsequent passage of the same prologue, Gōpāla is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious Kirtivarman after vanquishing the powerful Karna, even as discrimination leads to right knowledge after dispelling strong delusion.⁹ The multiplicity of references to this victory suggests the stupendous nature of the task accomplished by Gōpāla. Another chief who also claimed credit for saving Kirtivarman from Karna was mentioned in a fragmentary inscription¹⁰ found at Jhānsi; but, unfortunately, his name is lost.

The date of the restoration of Chandēlla power cannot be definitely fixed; for, the only known date of Kirtivarman's reign is that furnished by a rock inscription at the Deogarh Fort, *viz.*, V. 1154 (1098 A.C.).¹¹ This inscription states that Vatsarāja, the chief

¹ Cf. श्री गणेश गोलाह्वय राय उद्भूत जीह्व जयु नम परात । पुरुषिक्रम विपक्रम विजित युज्जता कण्ठ परमक्रम कोह न युज्जत ॥ *Prākṛita Paingula*, I, 126.

² *VDCH.*, Canto III, v. 74.

³ See the date of his Māndhātā grant; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 327.

⁶ *PCHU.*, p. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 276.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff.

minister of Kirtivarman, wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and built the fort which he named Kirtigiri, evidently in honour of his lord Kirtivarman. The unnamed enemy is probably Karṇa himself. Karṇa's defeat must, however, have occurred long before the date of this inscription. Vincent Smith approximately dates the accession of Kirtivarman in 1060 A.C.¹ If this date is correct, Karṇa must have been in occupation of the Chandēlla kingdom for seven or eight years.

Towards the close of his reign, Karṇa made another attempt to wipe out the neighbouring state of Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Āhavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. The latter was afraid of his ambitious younger brother, Vikramāditya VI, and, therefore, must have readily allied himself with the powerful Kalachuri Emperor and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained a greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription very graphically describes in verse 32 the terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country at the time. It says that when Bhōja had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which the sovereign was submerged, his brother Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth which was troubled by kings such as the lord of Karmāta and Karṇa, who swept over it like great oceans, this (prince) did indeed act like the holy Boar.² The expression *rājyē cha kulyā-kulē* in this verse is significant. Besides the meaning given above, it signifies another, viz., that the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the rising of the scions of the (Paramāra) family. Even though Jayasimha had ascended the throne with the help of the Chālukya king Āhavamalla, it seems that there were some members of the Paramāra family (*kulyas*) who did not acquiesce in it. It is not known how Jayasimha was related to Bhōja. In his records he, no doubt, describes himself as meditating on the feet of Bhōja, but this does not necessarily indicate that he was his son. Perhaps he was his brother as conjectured by Dr. Altekar.³ In that case there may have been other members of the Paramāra family who thought that they had an equal or even a better claim to the throne. So long as Jayasimha had the support of the powerful Chālukya Emperor, Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla, they could not do anything; but on the death of the Emperor, they must have risen in revolt. Perhaps these risings were fomented by the ambitious Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa, who had so far been foiled in his attempt to annex Malwa permanently. When he found that the Malwa kingdom was torn by a civil war, he made his alliance with Sōmēśvara II, the son of Āhavamalla, and invaded Malwa. The wording of the aforementioned verse of the Nagpur Museum inscription shows that the invaders were more than two. This is corroborated by a stone inscription of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva, recently discovered at Dōṅargaon in the Ycotmal District of Berar, which states that Malwa was invaded by a confederacy of three kings.⁴ Two of these were, of course, the Kalachuri

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVII, p. 149.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 185. Kielhorn read the second hemistich of this verse (32) as *वेनोद्भूत्य महाज्जोषममिलत्कर्णदिकर्णप्रभृन्मुर्खीपालकदंष्ट्रां भुवमिवा श्रीमद्वराहाविलम् ॥* C. V. Vaidya ingeniously conjectured that the correct reading should be *कर्णप्रभृन्मुर्खीपाल-*, and I find from the original stone deposited in the Nagpur Museum that this is the actual reading. This reading suits the metre and yields a better sense. It shows that Malwa was invaded at that time by a confederacy of more than two kings. This is corroborated by the Dōṅargaon inscription of Jagaddēva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183), as stated above.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 131 ff.

⁴ See the verse *ततो रिपुवयस्कन्दैर्मर्जा बालवनेलिनीम् । उद्वरन्मुखादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवर्द्ध ॥* *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

Karṇa¹ and the Karṇāṭa king (Sōmēśvara II)² as stated in the Nagpur Museum inscription. The third member of the confederacy was probably the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya. From several records in the Kanarese country, we know that this Udayāditya and his feudatory, the valiant Hōysaḷa prince Egeyaṅga joined Sōmēśvara II in his attack on Malwa. Egeyaṅga, in particular, is said to have trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's fort, and burnt and devastated Dhārī.³

Jayasinhha succumbed to this attack, and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom had been completely wiped out. The terrible disaster which befell the Mālava country at this time is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum inscription, which likens it to the catastrophe of the destruction of the world when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. The Udaipur *prafastī* compares it to the dense darkness which envelopes the world when the sun sets.⁴ Both the similes indicate the gloom of despondency which had then overpowered the adherents of the Paramāra family. This invasion of Malwa occurred early in the reign of Sōmēśvara II (1069-1073 A.C.), in *circa* 1070 A.C.

It is not known how the invaders divided the spoils. Karṇa may have annexed Malwa and given the country to the south of the Narmadā to Sōmēśvara II.⁵ The Kalachuri Emperor could not, however, retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Udayāditya, one of the brothers of Bhōja,⁶ rescued the country from the grip of Karṇa. The Nagpur Museum inscription compares him with the primeval Boar who uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*. The Udaipur *prafastī* describes him as another Sun, as it were, who, destroying the dense darkness, namely, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword, gladdened the hearts of the people by his splendour. In the latter half of the *prafastī* recently discovered at Udaipur, Udayāditya is credited with the total destruction (*sambhāra*) of the king of Dhāhala (*Dāhalādhīra*), who is plainly the Kalachuri Karṇa.⁷ The restoration of the Paramāra rule in Malwa may be dated in *circa* 1073 A.C.⁸ The Jabalpur

¹ Latterly the view has been advanced that he was the Chaulukya king Karṇa of Gujarat, the successor of Bhīma. Some late Sanskrit works, no doubt, state that the Chaulukya Karṇa defeated a king of Malwa, but they do not state that the latter was Jayasinhha. On the other hand, the Kalachuri Karṇa's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is mentioned in an Apebhraṁśa verse cited in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgala*. This view is again corroborated by the latter part of the recently discovered Udaipur *prafastī* which states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Dhāhala. D. C. Ganguli's statement that Udayāditya, by defeating Gurjara Karṇa, obtained Mālava (*H. P. D.*, p. 132 and *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 266) is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in the *Prithvirāj-raja*.

² The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (1073 A.C.) mentions Sōmēśvara II as a blazing fire to the ocean which is the race of the Mālavayas. The reference is clearly to his extermination of the Paramāra Jayasinhha.

³ *H. P. D.*, pp. 128-29.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 236.

⁵ Sityaka seems to have extended his kingdom to the south of the Narmadā. In the time of Muṇja the Gōdāvarī was the southern boundary of the Paramāra dominion, and though Tailapa may have annexed some territory to the north of this river, it was soon recovered by Sidhurāja as stated in the *NSCH.*, Canto I, v. 74. A copper-plate inscription of Bhōja's feudatory Yaśovarman has been found at Kalvan in the Nasik District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff.), indicating that the country continued to be held by the Paramāras. After this time no records of the Paramāras except those of Jagaddēva have been found in Mahārāshtra. Jagaddēva is now known to have been a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 177 ff.

⁶ It was believed for a long time that Udayāditya was a distant relative of Bhōja; but the Dōṅgaon inscription, which calls him the *dhātā* of Bhōja, has put the matter beyond doubt.

⁷ *A. R. A. D. G. J.* (1925-26), p. 15.

⁸ The earliest known date of Udayāditya is V. 1137 (1080-81 A. C.) furnished by the Udaipur inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 83). An earlier date (V. 1126) of the king also occurs at the same place; but it is given by a very late record of the 16th century A. C., which Dr. P. B. Hall calls 'a horribly incorrect scrawl' (*J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 35).

and Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa state that Karṇa himself crowned his son Yaśaḥkarṇa.¹ We do not know why he abdicated the throne in favour of his son. It may be because of discomfiture at the failure of his schemes to bring the whole of India under one royal umbrella; or, he may have been forced to do so by the powerful rulers of Malwa, Jajjhauti and Gujarat, all of whom were now up in arms against him. His reign seems to have come to an end in 1073 A.C.; for, the earlier of the two known grants of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa was made in 1076 A.C.² As it mentions Yaśaḥkarṇa's expedition against an Andhra king, the Kalachuri emperor must have come to the throne at least two or three years earlier. We may, therefore, place his accession and the abdication of his father in circa 1073 A.C.

Karṇa was the greatest king of the Kalachuri dynasty. In the early part of his career, he seems to have carried everything before him and to have become the undisputed *Chakravartin* of North India.³ In the Goharwa plates, which he issued in the seventh regnal year (1047 A.C.), he is seen to have assumed, besides the usual imperial titles, *Paramabhṛṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, two high-sounding ones, viz., *Trikaliṅgādhipati* (Lord of the Three Kaliṅgas) and *Nijabhuj-ōpārjit-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati(itya)*, (he who by his arms has acquired overlordship over the three *rājās*, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men). Of these two titles, *Trikaliṅgādhipati* seems to have been first assumed by his ancestor Yuvarājadēva I.⁴ It may have been revived by Gāṅgēyadēva after his conquest of Utkala;⁵ for, some contemporary kings of the Sōma-varṇśī dynasty ruling over Kōsala and Utkala proudly mention this title in their records.⁶ The other title 'Overlord of the three *Rājās* etc.' was for the first time assumed by Karṇa.⁷ It continued to be used not only by his descendants⁸ but by several kings of other dynasties also, such as the Gāhaḍavālas,⁹ the Sēnas¹⁰ and the Chandēllas.¹¹ Originally, it seems to

¹ Nos. 56 and 57, verse 16. This seems to conflict with the statement in the latter part of the Udaipur *prafasti* which speaks of the total destruction of Karṇa by Udayāditya. Karṇa may have been killed on the battlefield.

² The plates give the date (K.) 823; but the details do not work out satisfactorily, and it seems that their correct date is (K.) 827. Besides, if Yaśaḥkarṇa really made the grant in K. 823 (1172 A. C.), we shall have to suppose that Sōmēśvara II's accession, his alliance with Karṇa and invasion of Malwa, the devastation of Dhārā and killing of Jayasinha, the defeat of the allies by Udayāditya, Karṇa's abdication of the throne, Yaśaḥkarṇa's coronation and subsequent invasion of the Andhra country—all these events happened in the brief period of four years from 1068 A.C. (the accession of Sōmēśvara II) to 1072 A.C. (the supposed date of the Khairhā plates). This seems to be extremely unlikely.

³ He is called the seventh *Chakravartin* of the world in the Gōpālpur stone inscription. Appendix, No. 5, l. 9.

⁴ See above, p. lxxviii.

⁵ See above, p. xc.

⁶ See, e.g., the Sonpur grant of Mahāśivagupta (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.). This grant describes the king as the self-chosen lord of Kaliṅga, Kōṅgōda, Utkala and Kōsala, and further as the lord of Trikaliṅga which he conquered with his own arms. This makes it clear that Trikaliṅga was different from the other countries named in it. According to R. C. Majumdar, Trikaliṅga denoted 'the hilly tract to the west of Kaliṅga.' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 69-70. He has drawn attention to some passages in which Trikaliṅga (or Trikaliṅgājavī) has been coupled with Vēṅgi. A similar expression (viz., *sa-Kaliṅga-trayāṁ Vēṅgiṁ*) occurs in the Parbhāṇi plates (Ś. 888) of Arikēsarin (G. H. Khare's *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. II, p. 49).

⁷ Prof. Rapson, who has examined this question in detail (*W. C. V.*, pp. 196 ff.), has come to the conclusion that 'during the period of its use from c. 1040 to 1240, it (*i.e.*, the title) denoted the overlord of the Allahabad District, the region of the once famous kingdom of Kauśāmbī, and that it passed by conquest from one possessor of this region to the next.' It may, however, be noted that Karṇa's own Banaras plates, dated K. 1042, do not mention this title though he undoubtedly held Allahabad at the time.

⁸ See, e.g., No. 56, ll. 23 ff; No. 61, ll. 5 ff; No. 63, l. 21.

⁹ See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 100. The Gāhaḍavāla kings from Gōvindachandra to Harīśchandra used this title.

¹⁰ The Sēna kings Lakshmaṇasēna and his two sons Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavasēna adopted this title.

¹¹ The Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman bore this title. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 232.

have signified Karna's suzerainty over the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, the Gaṅgas of Kalinga and the Pālas of Bengal. The Gurjara-Pratihāras maintained a fine cavalry and are sometimes referred to in inscriptions as *Aśvapati* or *Hayapati*.¹ Kalinga was known for its breed of elephants.² Its rulers are occasionally referred to as *Gajādhīśas* or Lords of Elephants.³ The king of the east received, according to Yuan Chwang, the title of the lord of men.⁴ As we have already seen, Karna had vanquished all these kings and in his case the title was significant; but in the case of his descendants and of some kings of the other dynasties who imitated him, it was clearly an empty boast.

According to the *Rāsamālā*, one hundred and thirty-six kings were in attendance upon Karna.⁵ The Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasiṃha states that the Pāṇḍya and Hūṇa kings and the rulers of Murala, Kuṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga and Kīra were panic-stricken when Karna gave a full play to his valour.⁶ The Karaṇbēl stone inscription says that Chōḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara and Kīra used to wait upon him.⁷ It may be that the names of some of these kings have been inserted in the verses by the writers of the *prastāvir* for the sake of alliteration; but the foregoing account of Karna's conquests based on incontrovertible inscriptional and literary evidence testifies to the general correctness of the description. In the records of his enemies, Karna's whirl-wind campaigns are likened to the flooding waters of the oceans at the time of world-destruction. On account of the aggressive and ruthless policy which he pursued towards contemporary rulers, he is called Rudra and Kālāgni (Fire of world-destruction) in the Sanskrit play *Prabōdhachandrodāya*. These similes and metaphors vividly portray the terror he struck in the hearts of his adversaries.

Great as Karna was in war, he was greater in peace. He gave a liberal patronage to religion and literature. At Banaras he built a high twelve-storeyed temple called *Karṇa-mēra*, which was probably dedicated to Siva;⁸ for, he was himself a Saiva and called himself *paramamāhāśvara* in his grants. He built a *ghāt* called *Karṇa-tīrtha* at Prayāga where his Goharwa grant was made. He established a settlement of learned Brāhmaṇas, which he named Karṇāvati after himself. This place is generally identified with Karaṇbēl, now a small village adjoining Tewar; but from the description in the grants of Yaśaḥkarna that it was, as it were, the crown of the heavenly river (Gaṅgā), it would appear that it was situated somewhere on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Though Karna thus extended his patronage to the Vedic and Puraṇic Hinduism, he was no sectarian. There was religious toleration in his kingdom. The Sārnāth stone inscription⁹ dated K. 810 shows that Buddhist monasteries continued to flourish during his reign.

Karna made the holy city of Banaras his capital. It was at Banaras that the Sanskrit poet Bīlhaṇa met him.¹⁰ Learned Brāhmaṇas received liberal gifts at his hands. A verse which is repeated in both of his known grants states that the world was deafened by the engraving of copper-plates which he granted to Brāhmaṇas.¹¹ Even now stories about

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 2.

² KAS., Prakaraṇa 20.

³ See, e.g., No. 100, v. 8.

⁴ B. R. W. W., Vol. I, p. 13.

⁵ RM., Vol. I, p. 89. See also PCH., p. 30.

⁶ No. 60, v. 12.

⁷ Appendix, No. 3, v. 21.

⁸ Nos. 36 and 37, v. 13.

⁹ No. 52.

¹⁰ VDCH., Canto XVIII, v. 93.

¹¹ No. 30 v. 30 and No. 31, v. 32. The same verse with a slight change in one expression and the substitution of *Chandra* for *Karna* occurs in the Chandravati plates (V. 1130) of the Gāhaḍavāla Chandradēva. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV, p. 193.

the munificence of Karṇa Dahāriā are current in Banaras.¹ Bilhana, the well-known Sanskrit poet of Kashmir, received a great honour in his court. He says that he defeated one Gaṅgādhara and composed a beautiful *kāvya* in praise of Rāma while at Karṇa's court.² Other poets of Karṇa's court, known from Sanskrit anthologies, are Vallāpa, Nāchirāja, Karpūra and Vidyāpati. Several verses of these poets are included in the *Kavīndravachana-samuchchaya* and other anthologies.³ Karṇa patronised Prakrit poets also. Some anonymous Mahārāshṭrī and Apabhramśa verses in praise of him are cited in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgala*.⁴ Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhramśa *kāvya* *Karakāṇḍacharita*, says in his concluding verses that he used to delight, by his verses, the mind of the king Karṇa.⁵

Karṇa married a Hūṇa princess named Avalladēvi.⁶ Hūṇa kings are known from references in the records of several kings. They appear to have been ruling somewhere in Central India; for, there are occasional references to defeats inflicted on them by Pratibāta, Paramāra, Pāla and Kalachuri kings or their feudatories. But the exact location of their kingdom has not been fixed. Karṇa had, from Avalladēvi, a son named Yaśaḥkarṇa, who succeeded him. Two of his daughters Viraśrī and Yauvanaśrī are also known. The former, who is named in the Bēlāvā plates of Bhōjavarman,⁷ married Jātavarman of Eastern Bengal. Yauvanaśrī is mentioned as the wife of Vighrahapāla of North-East Bengal in the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin.⁸

Yaśaḥkarṇa succeeded his father in *circa* 1073 A.C. Only two records of his reign are known, *viz.*, the Khairhā⁹ and the Jabalpur plates.¹⁰ Both contain an identical eulogistic portion which was first drafted in Banaras. The only historical event which they mention is Yaśaḥkarṇa's invasion of the Andhra country. Verse 23 of these grants says that 'extirpating with ease the lord of Andhra, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he (*i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarṇa) worshipped, with the offerings of many ornaments, the holy Bhīmēśvara, near whom the Gōdāvarī with her dancing eye-brows of waves sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams, sweet with the cries of intoxicated swans.' There are several temples of Bhīmēśvara in the Gōdāvarī District, but the foregoing description suits especially the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram *tūlukā*, which contains a particularly big *Śiva-liṅga*, fourteen or fifteen feet high. The temple is not on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as suggested in the above verse, but the reference may be to the tank at Drākshārām which is called *Sapta-Gōdāvarī* and which is popularly supposed to contain the waters of the seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī. The Andhra king defeated by Yaśaḥkarṇa was probably Vijayāditya VII, who ruled from 1061 to 1076 A.C. In this campaign, Yaśaḥkarṇa seems to have been aided by Jājalladēva I of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty ruling over Dakṣiṇa Kōśala; for, the latter in his Ratanpur

¹ For an interesting story about Karṇa which Sir G. Grierson heard in Banaras, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

² *VDCH.*, Canto XVIII, vv. 93-94.

³ *KVS.* (ed. by F. W. Thomas), Introd., pp. 100 ff. A *subhāshita* mentions Vidyāpati as the court-poet of Karṇa. See *Subhāshitāvali* (ed. by Peterson), v. 186. Merutuṅga also mentions Vidyāpati, Karpūra and Nāchirāja as poets at Karṇa's court.

⁴ See *C. W. B.*, Vol. II, pp. 334 ff.

⁵ *Karakāṇḍacharita* (ed. by Prof. H. Jain), p. 107.

⁶ See Nos. 36 and 37, v. 13.

⁷ *J. B.*, Vol. III, p. 20.

⁸ *RCH.*, Canto I, v. 9.

⁹ No. 36.

¹⁰ No. 37 and Appendix, No. 2.

inscription dated K. 866 boasts that the lord of Chēdi had sought his friendship by means of presents.¹

Soon after Karna's death, Yaśahkarṇa seems to have lost Kanauj and the surrounding territory. The Basāhi plate says that when king Bhōja became a guest of the eyes of the celestial damsels and Karna existed only in renown, and when the earth was sorely troubled, the husband whom she chose from love and took with confidence as the protector was Chandradēva.² The aforementioned Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva dated K. 866 (1114 A.C.) mentions the king of Kānyakubja as different from the lord of Chēdi. This clearly indicates that the latter had lost his control over Kanauj, as it had passed into the possession of the Gāhaḍavālas.

As stated before, the eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plates is an almost exact copy of that of the Khairhā plates. The date of the former is now lost as the second plate is not forthcoming, but there are grounds to suppose that it was K. 836 (1084 A.C.).³ If the description in the plate could be relied on, Yaśahkarṇa was master of Banaras till that date. Soon thereafter, he seems to have lost that city also to the Gāhaḍavālas; for, the Chandrāvati plates, which record the earliest grant of the Gāhaḍavālas found in the Banaras District, are dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.).⁴

In the latter part of his career, Yaśahkarṇa seems to have made a supreme effort to regain his lost possessions in the north. He carried his arms as far as Champāraṇya (modern Champāran in Bihar) and devastated the country;⁵ but he did not probably succeed in annexing any territory; for, after 1090 A.C. we have several grants of the Gāhaḍavālas from the Banaras District, which shows that they were securely established there.⁶ This conclusion receives an additional support from a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1177 (1122 A.C.) which records the sanction of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandradēva to the transfer of two villages in the Antarālapattalā (*i.e.*, Antardēdī or Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab) which had been previously granted by Yaśahkarṇa to the Śaiva ascetic Rudraśiva.⁷ This clearly shows that the Kalachuris did not succeed in regaining possession of the Doab during the reign of Yaśahkarṇa.

With the loss of the northern provinces, the kingdom of Yaśahkarṇa seems to have shrunk to the home province of Dāhala, and Tripuri again became his sole capital. From the Nagpur *prastuti* we learn that the city was stormed by the Paramāra king Lakshmadēva (*circa* 1086-1094 A.C.), who annihilated his warlike and spirited adversaries, and encamped on the bank of the Rēvā, his elephants allaying the fatigue of the battle by bathing in the stream of the river.⁸

Yaśahkarṇa seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of the Chandēlla Sallakṣhaṇavarman (*circa* 1100-1110 A.C.); for, in an inscription of the latter's descendant Viravarman, Sallakṣhaṇavarman's sword is said to have robbed the Chēdis of their

¹ No. 77, v. 20.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103.

³ See below, pp. 301 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 304 ff.

⁵ For a possible motive of this raid, see below, p. cxiv.

⁶ Jayaswal, who thought that the Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarṇa were dated in K. 874 (1122 A.C.), advocated the view that Yaśahkarṇa regained Banaras some time after the 21st July, 1122 (the date of Govindachandra's Kanauj plate H, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110) and before the 14th August 1124 A.C. (the date of Govindachandra's Banaras grant), but this does not seem to be correct.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 123.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 186.

fortune.¹ Yaśaḥkaṛṇa was also unsuccessful in his encounter with the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.²

It is difficult to state definitely the limits of Yaśaḥkaṛṇa's reign. The earlier of his two grants seems to have been issued in K. 827.³ He must have been reigning then for about 3 years and, therefore, may have come to the throne in *circa* K. 824. The only date of his son and successor Gayākaṛṇa is K. 902. Gayākaṛṇa's reign seems to have closed soon thereafter; for, in K. 907 he was dead and his son Narasiṃha was on the throne. So the period of about 80 years (K. 824 to K. 904) is covered by only two reigns. It seems probable that Yaśaḥkaṛṇa had a longer reign than his son, of whose achievements very little is known. He may, therefore, be referred to the period K. 824 to K. 874 (1073-1123 A.C.).

Yaśaḥkaṛṇa assumed the same imperial titles as Kaṛṇa; but he had neither the ambition nor the military genius of his father. During his reign the Kalachuri kingdom lost the northern provinces of Kanauj, Prayāga and Banaras, and became very much circumscribed. He tried to regain his possessions by forming alliances⁴ and even invaded northern and southern countries; but his raids produced no permanent effect and did not extend the limits of his dominion. The Paramāra invasion of his capital must have dealt a shattering blow to his power and prestige.

Yaśaḥkaṛṇa was succeeded by his son Gayākaṛṇa. Only two inscriptions of his reign are known. The earlier⁵ of these, dated K. 902, which was discovered at Tewar, records the erection of a temple dedicated to Śiva by the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvabrahman. The second inscription⁶ is from Bahuribandh in the north of the Jabalpur District. It has partially lost its date.⁷ It mentions Gōlhaṇadēva of the Rāshtrakūṭa family as the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* (Chief Feudatory) of Gayākaṛṇa. He was evidently a descendant of a scion of the Rāshtrakūṭa family which had settled in the Chēdi country in the 8th or 9th century A.C., when the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūṭas were matrimonially connected. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of the Jina Śāntinātha by a private individual named Mahābhōja.

These inscriptions, both of which come from the Jabalpur District, do not help us in determining the extent of Gayākaṛṇa's kingdom. The discovery⁸ of a hoard of the Chandēlla Madanavarman's silver coins at Panwar in the Teonthal *taluk* of the former Rewa state in 1910 seems to indicate that Gayākaṛṇa had lost the territory north of the Kaimur range. That he had come into a conflict with the Chandēllas is clear from an inscription found at Mau which says that 'the Chēdi king, being vanquished in a fierce fight, runs away in haste at the mention of Madanavarman's name.'⁹ As Madanavarman was ruling from *circa* 1124 A.C. to 1164 A.C., the Chēdi king defeated by him was probably Gayākaṛṇa.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 327.

² *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), pp. 133 and 137. The *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara* Āchugi II, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have conquered the Māle or Highlands of the Ghāṭs and to have defeated a king of Dāhala. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 230. As Āchugi II was ruling in 1122-23 A.C. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 452), the king of Dāhala defeated by him must have been Yaśaḥkaṛṇa.

³ See above, p. c. n. 2.

⁴ Notice the expression *aina-saṅgraha-kṛitā* applied to him in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I, No. 77, v. 20.

⁵ No. 38.

⁶ No. 39.

⁷ For a discussion of its date, see below, p. 310.

⁸ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)* (1914), pp. 199 ff.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 198.

Gayākarna seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of Ratnadēva II of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. The latter belonged to an offshoot of the Kalachuri house of Dāhala. The early princes of this branch owed allegiance to the Kalachuri Emperors ruling at Tripuri and fought their battles. We have already seen that in his war against the king of Utkala (Orissa), Gaṅgēyadēva received valuable help from Kamalarāja of Tummāṇa.¹ Prithvidēva I, the earliest prince of this branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh, does not claim in his Amōdā plates a higher title than *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.² He was plainly a feudatory of the contemporary ruler of Dāhala. But his descendants began gradually to assert their independence. Jājalladēva I, the son of Prithvidēva I, boasts in his inscription that the contemporary lord of Chēdi, who was Yaśahkarna, sought his friendship, and that the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti honoured him with presents of wealth.³ The crushing defeat that Ratnadēva II, the son and successor of Jājalladēva I, inflicted on the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga⁴ increased his power and prestige. He seems to have openly renounced subordination to Gayākarna. The latter sent a large force against him; but it suffered an ignominious defeat. In a Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), Ratnadēva II is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to-be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king.⁵ The latter must have been no other than Gayākarna.

Gayākarna married Alhaṇadēvi, the daughter of Vijayasimha, the Guhila prince of Prāgvāta or Mevad and Syāmaladēvi, who was herself the daughter of Udayāditya, the lord of the Mālava *maṇḍala*.⁶ This alliance, which in a way united the royal families of the Kalachuris and the Paramāras, healed the sores of many generations. Alhaṇadēvi had two sons, Narasimha who succeeded his father, and Jayasimha who 'like Lakshmaṇa did marvellous service to his elder brother.' Gayākarna's spiritual preceptor was Saktiśiva.⁷

As stated before, Gayākarna's reign seems to have come to a close soon after K. 902 (1151 A.C.); for, when the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription was incised in K. 907, he was already dead and his son Narasimha was on the throne.

Only three inscriptions of the reign of Narasimha have been discovered so far. The aforementioned Bherā-Ghāt inscription, dated K. 907 (1155 A.C.), records the construction, by Alhaṇadēvi, of a temple of Śiva under the name Vaidyanātha together with a monastery, a hall of study and a row of gardens attached to it. She endowed the temple with the gift of two villages and placed it in charge of the Pāsupata ascetic Rudrarāśi. The other two inscriptions were discovered north of the Kaimur range—one⁸, dated K. 909 (1158 A.C.), at Lāl Pahād near Bharhut, and the other⁹, dated V. 1216 (1159 A.C.), near the foot of Alha-Ghāt, 'which is one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table land of Rewa to the plain of the Gaṅgā.' The former of these records the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by one Ballāladēva, who was the son of an officer of Narasimha, while the second registers the erection of a temple of Ambikā and the construction of a *ghāt* by the *Kāyaka* Chhīhula. The discovery of these lithic records north of the Kaimur range indicates that Narasimha succeeded in recovering from the Chandēllas a portion of his ancestral

¹ Above, p. xc.

² No. 76, l. 25.

³ No. 77, ll. 19-20.

⁴ No. 93, l. 6; No. 97, l. 4; No. 98, l. 6.

⁵ No. 93, l. 5.

⁶ No. 60, ll. 5 ff.

⁷ No. 64, l. 20.

⁸ No. 61.

⁹ No. 62.

dominion which had been lost by his father. He continued to use the same high-sounding titles as his ancestors Karna and Yaśahkarna had done, though his kingdom had become very much circumscribed.

Like his ancestors, Narasimha was a devotee of Śiva. His spiritual preceptor was Kīrtiśiva, the disciple of Saktiśiva, who is said to have contributed to his prosperity.¹ A stone inscription from Jabalpur states that his fame had spread in all directions. He is identical with Kīrtiśambhu, the disciple of Saktiśambhu mentioned as the head of Gōḷaki Maṭha in an inscription discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District.²

Narasimha was probably an old man when he came to the throne; for, his father Gayākarna and grandfather Yaśahkarna had unusually long reigns. He seems to have died without a son, as he was succeeded by his brother Jayasimha. As the earliest known date of the latter is K. 918, Narasimha seems to have ruled from K. 905 to K. 915 (1153-1163 A.C.).

Jayasimha seems to have been a brave and ambitious prince. The Jabalpur plates of his reign have the following verse about him which is also found repeated in the Kumbhī grant of his son Vijayasimha:—"On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasimha-dēva, the Gurjara king disappeared, the Turushka lost the strength of (his) arms, the lord of Kuntala suddenly renounced all love-sports, and other kings also leaving the earth through apprehension crossed the ocean."³ We have no means to ascertain whether Jayasimha actually raided the countries of these kings. But that he led at least one expedition is known from an inscription at Shēorinārāyaṇ.

This invasion was directed against Jājalladēva II, the contemporary ruler of Ratanpur. The Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription tells us that Ulhaṇadēva, who was descended from a collateral branch of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, routed with his arrows the army of the Chēdi-king. Seeing that his forces were being exterminated, the Chēdi king Jayasimha, whose name is partially preserved in the inscription, advanced in person, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot.⁴ From the subsequent description it appears that Ulhaṇadēva lost his life in the fight. It is not stated how the battle ended. Probably Jayasimha was defeated and had to sue for peace; for, there is no mention of this battle in the subsequent records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The battle must have been fought soon after Jayasimha's accession which we have conjecturally placed in K. 915; for, the aforementioned Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription, which describes it, is dated K. 919.

Five inscriptions of the reign of Jayasimha have been found. The earliest of them is his Jabalpur grant.⁵ It is dated K. 918 and records the gift of the village Agarā which Jayasimha made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full-moon day of Āśvina (the 30th September 1167 A.C.). Another Jabalpur inscription⁶ of his reign is dated K. 926 (1174-75 A.C.). The proper object of it is to record that Vimalaśiva, the spiritual preceptor of Jayasimha, erected a temple of Śiva under the name of Kīrtiśvara, and that Jayasimha endowed it with certain villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Like his elder brother, Jayasimha continued to hold to the last the valley of the Tamasā or Tons; for, the Rewa plate of the *Mahārāṇaka* Kīrtivarman, the ruler of Karkarēḍī, which is dated K. 926, mentions him as suzerain with full titles of paramountcy.⁷

¹ No. 64, ll. 11-12.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

³ No. 63, ll. 18-19; Appendix, No. 4, v. 23.

⁴ No. 98, ll. 16 ff. The name of the king is partially preserved in line 16.

⁵ No. 63.

⁶ No. 64.

⁷ No. 65, ll. 2-4.

The latest date of Jayasimha's reign is K. 928, which is furnished by a stone inscription at Tewar recording the erection of a temple of Siva by a private individual named Kēśava.¹ The next known date is K. 944, which belongs to the reign of his son and successor Vijayasimha.² Jayasimha, therefore, seems to have reigned from K. 915 to K. 940 (1163-1188 A.C.). Towards the close of his reign Jayasimha seems to have been forced to pay homage to the Chandēlla king Paramardin. In a fragmentary Mahōbā inscription dated V. 1240 (1184 A.C.), it is stated that the lord of Tripurī fainted whenever he heard the songs of the valour of Paramardin's arms.³ Paramardin flourished from *circa* 1165 A.C. to 1203 A.C. The Kalachuri king who submitted to him was probably Jayasimha.

Like his predecessors, Jayasimha assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahāvājradhīrāja* and *Paramīvara* as well as 'Lord of Trikalīnga' and 'Overlord of the three Rājās, the lord of horses *etc.*' These titles had then become quite conventional and meaningless. He was a devotee of Siva, and as stated before, made some gifts of villages to that deity. His spiritual preceptor was Vimalasīva.⁴

Jayasimha had two queens—Kēlhanadēvi mentioned in his Jabalpur plates,⁵ and Gōsaladēvi known from the Kumbhī plates⁶ and the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription.⁷ The village Gōsalapur, about 19 miles north by east of Jabalpur, was evidently founded in the name of the latter queen.

As stated before, Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Vijayasimha. It seems that in the beginning of his reign the ruler of Karkarēḍī attempted to throw off his yoke. As we have already seen, Kirtivarman, who was ruling over Karkarēḍī in K. 926, was a vassal of Jayasimha. His brother Salakshaṇa, who succeeded him, revolted against his overlord, but he was promptly subdued by Malayasimha, another feudatory of Vijayasimha, in the battle of Karkarēḍī. This event is mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription⁸ of Vijayasimha, dated K. 944 (1193 A.C.). In the Rewa plate, issued two years later in V. 1253 (1195 A.C.), Salakshaṇavarman acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasimha and names him with the usual Kalachuri titles of paramountcy.

The aforementioned Rewa stone inscription states that Malayasimha routed another chief named Vikrama; but the latter cannot be identified as no further details are given.

The last record of Vijayasimha's reign is the Rewa stone inscription, the date of which is partially effaced.⁹ From the first two figures which are not altogether illegible, it seems that the record was incised in K. 96 (x). As the Dhurēti plates¹⁰ show that the Chandēlla Trailōkyamalla or Trailōkyavarman was in occupation of the territory round Rewa in K. 963 (1212 A.C.), Vijayasimha seems to have lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand in K. 961 or K. 962.

Vijayasimha seems also to have submitted to the Yādava king Simhaṇa. In the

¹ No. 66.

² No. 67.

³ मधुरसि बसो मदे च त्रिपुरीपतिः । मूर्च्छनामेव संवसे नीते मधुसूक्तिकमे ॥ in l. 7 of the Mahōbā stone inscription (BK. p. 438). There is a play on the word *mūrchchhanā* used in the verse. It means (1) a swoon and (2) a melody. So the other meaning is that the king of Tripurī sings a melody in praise of Paramardin.

⁴ No. 64, ll. 14 ff.

⁵ No. 63, l. 22.

⁶ Appendix, No. 4.

⁷ No. 69, l. 1.

⁸ No. 67, l. 12.

⁹ No. 70.

¹⁰ No. 72.

Puṣṭa stone inscription¹, which seems to be dated in 1200 A.C., Simhaṇa is called *Ḍāhala-bṛit-kutāhala* 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the Ḍāhala country'. The expression is perhaps intended to signify that when Simhaṇa invaded Ḍāhala, the people of the country flocked together out of curiosity to see him.

It is not known when Vijayasimha's reign came to an end. The Kumbhi plates² and the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription³ mention Ajayasimha as *Mahārājakumāra*, or crown prince. He was plainly Vijayasimha's son, but whether he actually ascended the throne is not known. Vimalasīva seems to have continued as *Rājaguru* during the reign of Vijayasimha.⁴

We have already seen that towards the close of his reign, Vijayasimha lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand. The western portion, consisting of the Saugor and Damoh districts, was also soon occupied by the Chandēllas.⁵ A stone inscription⁶ dated V. 1344 (1287 A.C.), found at Hindoria, 11 miles from Damoh, states that the local chief Vāghadēva owed allegiance to Bhōjavarma of Kālānjara. Another stone inscription, found at Bamhanī⁷ in the same district and dated V. 1364 (1308 A.C.), mentions the same chief as a feudatory of Hammīravarman of Kālānjara, who had in the meantime succeeded Bhōjavarman. No inscriptions of the Chandēllas have, however, been discovered in the Jabalpur District in which Tripurī, the Kalachuri capital, was situated.⁸ If the Kalachuris retained their hold on this district, they must have owned the suzerainty of the Chandēllas.

The recently discovered Purushōttampurī plates⁹ of the reign of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, dated Saka 1232 (1310 A.C.), state that Rāmachandra had defeated in a moment the king of the great and extensive Ḍāhala country. The inscription does not name the king, nor does it state to which royal family he belonged. Perhaps the Chandēlla king Hammīravarman who had a large part of Ḍāhala under his sway was the king defeated by Rāmachandra.

In the meanwhile, Muslim power was slowly penetrating Baghelkhand. Nāsirud-din Mahmud (1246-66 A.C.) appointed Malik Julachī Governor of the Chēdi country. The latter's son Hisām-ud-dīn, placed Jallāla Khōjā in charge of the country now comprised in the Damoh District. An inscription of the latter, dated V. 1385 (1328 A.C.), has been discovered at Baṭihāgarh, 21 miles north-west of Damoh.¹⁰ The discovery of this inscription in the vicinity of Damoh indicates how precarious was the hold of the Chandēlla rulers on Ḍāhala. After 1310 A.C. we have no records of the Chandēllas or the Kalachuris from the Chēdi or Ḍāhala country.

¹ S. M. H. D., Vol. II, p. 62.

² Appendix, No. 4.

³ No. 69, l. 3.

⁴ No. 70, l. 12. The Kumbhi plates (Appendix, No. 4), however, mention Vidyādēva as the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasimha.

⁵ A stone inscription found at Rāhatgarh (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh), dated V. 1312 (1256 A.C.) mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayavarman II of Dhārā. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84. This shows that the Paramāras had penetrated earlier into the Saugor District.

⁶ I. C. P. B. (second ed.), p. 56.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 10, n. 4.

⁸ The Malkāpuram stone pillar inscription dated Ś. 1183 (1261 A.C.) states that the Śaiva *Achārya* Viśvēśvaraśambhu was the *dīkṣā-guru* of the Kalachuri kings. He was second in spiritual descent from Vimalasīva, the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasimha. If the statement of the Malkāpuram inscription is correct, the Kalachuris may have been holding Tripurī and the surrounding territory till 1240 A.C. at least. A fragmentary inscription incised in characters of about the 12th century A. C. found at Tewar mentions Bhīmāpāla. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85. But this name is not noticed in any genealogies of the period.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 211.

¹⁰ I. C. P. B., p. 58.

A branch of the Kalachuri family which established itself in the Sarayūpāra country is known from two records. One of them is a stone inscription found in the Buddhist ruins at Kasiā (ancient Kuśinagara) where Gautama Buddha entered the Mahāparinirvāṇa, while the other is a copper-plate grant discovered at Kahla, a few miles to the north of the Ghōgrā (ancient Sarayū) in the Dhuriāpār *parganā* of the Gorakhpur District. The copper-plate grant contains three dates, viz., 1031, 1077 and 1079 A.C., the details of which work out quite regularly. The stone inscription is, unfortunately, very sadly mutilated in the lower portion. If it contained any date, it is now lost for ever; but on the evidence of palæography, it can be referred to the 10th century A.C. The two places Kasiā and Kahla where these records were discovered are only about 40 miles distant from each other. *Prima facie*, therefore, the two Kalachuri ruling families mentioned in them should be related to each other, if not identical; but no points of contact have yet been noticed.¹ To facilitate comparison, the genealogies mentioned in the two records are given below—

Kahla Plates

Lakshmaṇa
(conquered Svētapada)

(In his family)

⋮
⋮
⋮
⋮
⋮
⋮

Rājaputra
|
(son)
Sivarāja I
|
(son)
Sankaragaṇa I
|
(son)
Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇasāgara I)
(m. Kāñchanadēvī) | (m. Madanadēvī)
├───┬──────────┤
(son) (son)
Ullabha Bhāmāna I
 (m. Dēhattadēvī)

¹ D. R. Sahni remarked in his edition of the Kasi inscription in the *Ep., Ind.*, "This is the only record so far known of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs." Following him, H. C. Ray calls this branch 'Kasi Kalachuris' to distinguish it from the other branch which he names 'Kahla Kalachuris'. See *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, 742.

* Verse 26 of the Ksatī inscription which mentions this lady is almost completely obliterated. So

INTRODUCTION



A careful examination of the two genealogical lists reveals some connecting links. The Kahlā plates state that the ornament of the Kalachuris who had conquered Kālañjara and Ayōmukha¹ gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, who, in his turn, conquered the country of Svētapada. The Kasiā stone inscription makes similar statements about the third king, Lakshmaṇarāja I, of its list. Verse 17 of the inscription which is sadly mutilated refers to two uterine brothers, of whom one, probably Lakshmaṇarāja I mentioned in the preceding verse, out of love made over a fortress (Kālañjara?), evidently to his brother, and afterwards conquered the mountainous country of Saivaya, the home land of the famous legendary king Sibi. The similarity in the two descriptions is certainly striking. It suggests that the two Lakshmaṇarājas were identical. This Lakshmaṇarāja's brother, who is unfortunately not named in either record, was probably Vāmarāja as suggested before.

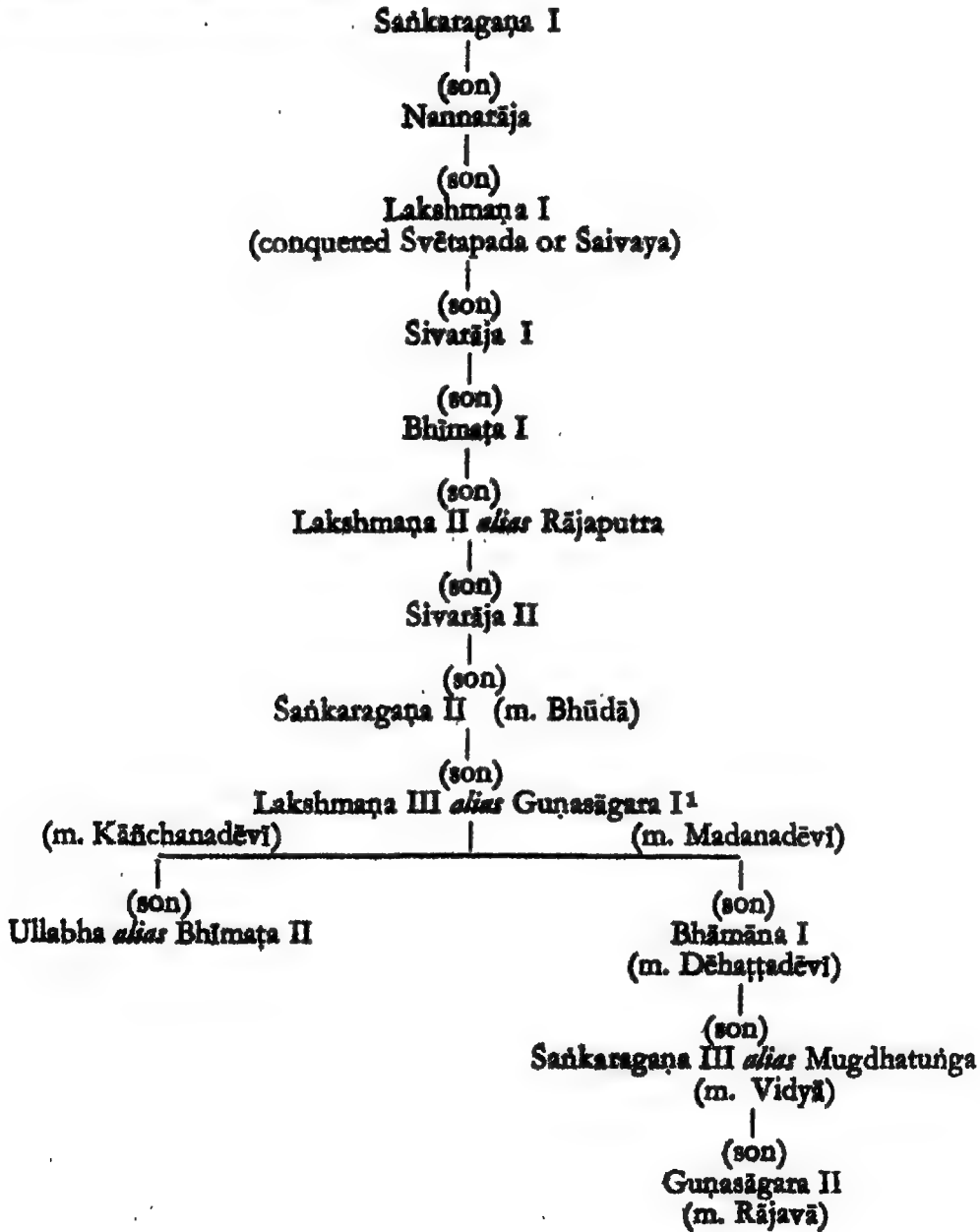
The genealogical lists show agreement in some other places also. Thus Rājaputra and his son Sivarāja I, mentioned in the Kahlā plates, are plainly identical with Lakshmaṇarāja II and his son Sivarāja II, described in the Kasiā inscription; for, the latter inscription says that Lakshmaṇarāja II was, on account of his merits, known by the other name of *Rājaputra*.² This Sivarāja's son is called Saṅkaragaṇa in the Kahlā plates; but his name

her relationship to Lakshmaṇa III mentioned in the preceding verse is uncertain. But a comparison with the corresponding portion of the Kahlā grant leaves no room for doubt that she was his wife.

¹ Prof. Kielhorn's statement that the Kalachuri king subdued the Krathas is based on a mislection, for which see below, p. 383, n. 2.

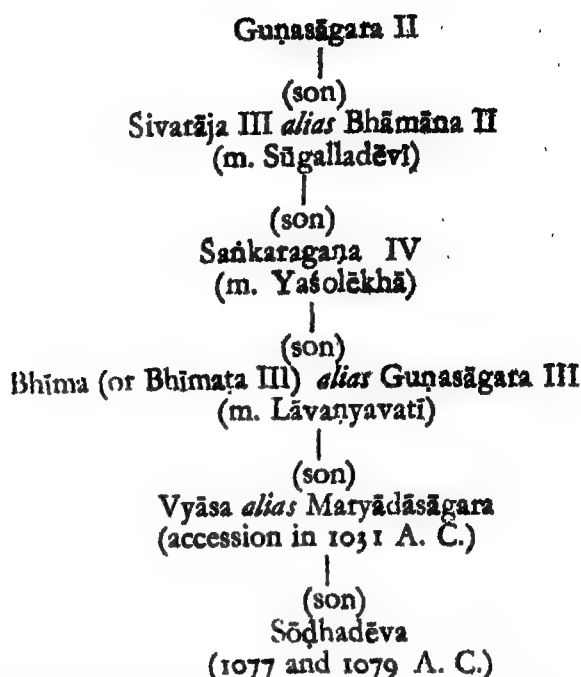
² H. C. Ray's conjecture that '*Rājaputra* Lakshmaṇa probably did not reign' does not appear to be correct; for, according to the Kahlā plates, the title was given to Lakshmaṇa on account of his merits.

is lost in Kasiā inscription. The latter does not, therefore, give any clue to identification. Sivarāja's grandson is named Lakshmaṇa in the Kasiā inscription and Guṇasāgara I (or Guṇasāgara I) in the Kahla plates. The latter is apparently a *biruda*. This conjecture receives support from the fact that the wives of both were named Kāñchanā. Bhīmaṭa II, the son of Lakshmaṇa III, mentioned in the Kasiā inscription, may not, therefore, be different from Ullabha, the son of Guṇasāmbhōdhi, named in the Kahla plates. The names of Bhīmaṭa's successors are lost owing to the mutilation of the Kasiā inscription; but the agreements noticed above leave no room for doubt that the two royal families were identical. From the information derived from the two records, we can, therefore, form the following combined genealogy—



¹ The Kahla plates give the *biruda* as Guṇasāmbhōdhi which is a synonym of Guṇasāgara (an ocean of excellences). As Guṇasāgara is repeated in the later stages of the genealogy, I have called this king Guṇasāgara I.

INTRODUCTION



Lakshmaṇa I, the founder of this Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, was the thirteenth ancestor of Vyāsa. As the latter came to the throne in 1031 A.C., we may place the accession of Lakshmaṇarāja I in *circa* 700 A.C., taking 25 years as the average duration of each generation. Similarly, Lakshmaṇarāja III *alias* Guṇasāgara I, the seventh ancestor of Vyāsa, may have begun to reign in *circa* 850 A.C. This date is supported by the description in the Kahla plates that he defeated a Gauḍa king and obtained some territory from Bhōjadēva. This Bhōja is no other than the Pratīhāra king Bhōja I, whose known dates range from 836 to 882 A.C. We know that he was engaged in a prolonged war with the contemporary Pāla king Dēvapāla (*circa* 810-850 A.C.). The dates conjecturally assigned to the members of this branch may, therefore, be taken to be substantially correct.¹

We have reviewed before the political conditions in North India which led to the establishment of this branch so far to the north.² After consolidating his position in the hill-fort of Kālañjara, Vāmarāja overran Ayōmukha, (modern Partāpgarh and Rai Bareilly Districts of U. P.) which he afterwards made over to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja I. Using Ayōmukha as his base, Lakshmaṇarāja invaded the country to the north of the Sarayū, the home land of the legendary king Śibi, famous for his liberality.³ There he ultimately established himself. The dynasty he founded reigned over the Sarayūpāra country for at least fifteen generations.

¹ According to the dates proposed above, Lakshmaṇa II *alias* Rājaputra was reigning in the period *circa* 775-800 A.C. Kielhorn also was of the opinion that Rājaputra cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century A. C. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

² See above, pp. lxiii ff.

³ The name of the country conquered by Lakshmaṇarāja is given as Śvētapada by the Kahla plates and as Śaivaya by the Kasiā inscription. The latter record again states that it was the home land of Śibi, the son of Uśinara. From the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan, adhyāya 130, v. 20) Śibi appears to have been ruling in the Panjab. The Buddhist Jātakas mention Ariṭṭhapura and Jeṭuttara as the capitals of the Śibi country. Elsewhere, the capital of Śibi is said to be Śivipura. As Dr. Vogel has shown, modern Shōrkōṭ in the Panjab marks the site of ancient Śivipura. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 16. *Śaivaya* may be derived from *Śvētapada* through the intermediate stages of *Sedra* and *Senya*. The context shows that the province of Śvētapada was included in Sarayūpāra, and there may have been a tradition, wrong of course, associating it with the ancient king Śibi, 'the paragon of charity and self-sacrifice.'

The Kahla plates begin the royal genealogy with this Lakshmanarāja I; but the Kasiā inscription carries it two generations backward and names Saṅkaragaṇa and Nannarāja as the grandfather and father respectively of Lakshmanarāja I. We have already stated the reasons for our view that these two kings were ruling not in Sarayūpāra, but in their home province of Anūpa.

We have no knowledge of the political events in the reign of Sivarāja I and Bhīmaṭa I, who succeeded Lakshmanarāja I, one after the other. The description of them, given by the Kasiā inscription, is quite conventional.¹ Bhīmaṭa I was succeeded by Lakshmaṇa II, who, on account of his merits, was known by the second name of *Rājaputra*. About this prince the Kahla plates say that he took captive Vāhali, the Lord of horses, gave no respite to the king of the East and by his achievements lowered the fame of ancient princes like Arjuna.² Vāhali is not otherwise known. He was probably a feudatory of the Pratihāras of Kanauj, who were noted for their fine cavalry. The king of the East against whom Lakshmaṇa fought must have been a king of the Pāla dynasty, perhaps Dharmapāla, who was his contemporary.

About Sivarāja II, who succeeded Lakshmaṇa II, we have nothing but conventional praise in both the records. His son Saṅkaragaṇa II is mentioned in the Kahla plates. His name is lost in the Kasiā inscription, which, however, supplies the information that his wife was Bhūdā. This Saṅkaragaṇa is probably identical with the homonymous prince who received protection from Kōkalla I of Tripurī.³ Perhaps his country was threatened at the time by his eastern neighbour, the Pāla king Dēvapāla. Saṅkaragaṇa wisely allied himself with the powerful kings of the time, Bhōja I of Kanauj and Kōkalla I of Tripurī, to stem the tide of the Pāla invasion. He sent his son Lakshmaṇa III *alias* Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇasāgara I) to fight in the Pratihāra Emperor's campaigns against Dēvapāla. If the description in the Kahla plates can be relied upon, Lakshmaṇa took away the fortune of the Gauḍa king and received as reward some territory from Bhōjadēva who can be none other than Bhōja I of Kanauj.

From his wives Kāñchanā and Madanadēvī, Lakshmaṇa III had the sons, Ullabha and Bhāmāna I respectively. The former, who was apparently elder, abdicated the throne in favour of Bhāmāna I. Bhāmāna came into conflict with the contemporary king of Dhārā and inflicted a crushing defeat on his forces. The Paramāra adversary is not named, but he may have been Muñja (*circa* 974-99; A. C.). Perhaps the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva II had asked for his help when his territory was invaded by the Paramāra king,⁴ and it was now the turn of the Sarayūpāra family to go to the rescue of the main house.

From his queen Dēhātadēvī, Bhāmāna had a son named Saṅkaragaṇa III, who succeeded him. He had the *virudh* Mugdhatuṅga. From his wife Vidyā, Saṅkaragaṇa had a son named Guṇasāgara II. The latter's son from his queen Rājavā was Sivarāja III, also called Bhāmāna II. His son from Sūgalladēvī was Saṅkaragaṇa IV. The latter's son from Yaśōlākṣhā was Bhīma (or Bhīmaṭa III). We have nothing but conventional praise in the case of all these kings.

¹ *Kirtī* which occurs in v. 16 was taken by Sahai as a proper name. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 157, n. 4. Ray has suggested that he might be the Chandella Kirtivarman (*D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 750); but the identification is impossible as Kirtivarman flourished long after. *Kirtī* in that verse is *not* a proper name. It has the ordinary sense of 'fame' or 'glory'.

² *Kirtī* in v. 7 of the Kahla plates is taken by some to be the name of a historical personage; but the intended sense seems to be that by his valour Rājaputra eclipsed the fame of the illustrious kings of yore like Arjuna.

³ See above, p. lxviii.

⁴ Above, p. lxviii.

It seems that there was some trouble during the reign of Bhīma which caused him the loss of his throne. The nature of the trouble is, however, not known.¹ Perhaps, there was an invasion of the country by some enemy. When the enemy retired or was ousted from the country, Vyāsa, the son of Guṇasāgara, got himself crowned at the capital of Gōkulaghāṭṭa on the 31st May 1031 A.C.

Kielhorn identified Guṇasāgara, the father of Vyāsa, with Guṇasāgara II, who was the great-grandfather of Vyāsa's predecessor Bhīma.² Vyāsa would thus have come to the throne after his grand-nephew. This seems improbable. Besides, Vyāsa apparently began to reign when young; for, his successor Sōḍhadēva was ruling at least till 1079 A.C., which date is 48 years later than that of Vyāsa's accession. It seems better, therefore, to suppose that Guṇasāgara was a *virūda* of Bhīma, the predecessor of Vyāsa.³ This conjecture receives support from the description in the plates that Vyāsa was established on his *father's* throne.

Vyāsa *alias* Maryādāsāgara was succeeded by Sōḍhadēva who issued the Kahla plates on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-Saṅkrānti in 1077 A.C. In these plates both he and his father are mentioned with full imperial titles, *viz.*, *Paramabbattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramāśvara*. The period of their rule falls in the heyday of Kalachuri imperialism when the mighty emperors Gaṅgēyadēva and Kaṇṇa had extended their dominion to the Banaras District, south of the Sarayū. The assumption of imperial titles by these rulers of Sarayūpāra plainly indicates that they did not owe allegiance even to Gaṅgēya and Kaṇṇa. The use of the Vikrama instead of the Kalachuri Saṁvat in dating the Kahla grant points to the same direction. The relations of the two Kalachuri families may, however, have continued to be friendly and they may have gone to each other's rescue in times of difficulties.

Sōḍhadēva is the last known prince of this Sarayūpāra branch. Soon after the issue of his Kahla plates, he seems to have lost the support of the Tripurī Kalachuris; for, Yaśaḥkaṇṇa was then ousted from the Banaras District by the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradēva. The Chandrāvati plates dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.), which are the earliest record of the Gāhaḍavālas discovered in the Banaras District, plainly indicate that Yaśaḥkaṇṇa had lost Banaras to Chandradēva before that date.⁴ The Gāhaḍavālas may have next pressed further to the north and supplanted the Kalachuris in the Sarayūpāra country. Perhaps the Rāshṭrakūṭas ruling on the other side of the Gaṇḍakī played⁵ their part in the extermination of their neighbours. Yaśaḥkaṇṇa's raid against Champāraṇya, which was plainly directed against these Rāshṭrakūṭas and in the course of which he devastated their country, may have been prompted by a feeling of vengeance. Yaśaḥkaṇṇa did not, however, succeed in restoring the Sarayūpāra country to his kinsmen. This Kalachuri family thus disappeared from history in the last decade of the eleventh century A.C.

¹ The Kahla plates ascribe the loss of the throne to the misfortune of Bhīma. If there was an invasion of the country, it may have been by *Mahārājādhirāja* Gaṅgēyadēva, a Rāshṭrakūṭa king ruling over the neighbouring country of Tirabhukti on the other side of the Gaṇḍakī. A MS. of the *Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* deposited in the Nepal Durbar Library mentions the date, V. 1076 (1019 A.C.), of this king's reign. For the identification of this Gaṅgēyadēva, see *A. B. O. R. I.* (Silver Jubilee Number), pp. 291 ff. and above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 86.

³ Another similar case is that of *Maryādāsāgara* which from l. 33 of the Kahla plates appears to be a *virūda* of Vyāsa, though this is not stated explicitly in the plates.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.

⁵ I have shown elsewhere that a Rāshṭrakūṭa family was ruling over Tirabhukti (modern Tirhut) in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.C. *A. B. O. R. I.* (Silver Jubilee Number), p. 301.

THE KALACHURIS OF SOUTH KOSALA

In ancient times Dakshina Kōsala (South Kōsala) comprised modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining territory in the State of Orissa up to the boundary of the Katak District.¹ In the Purāṇas this country is mentioned with Traipura (the tract round Tripuri near Jabalpur), Kalinga (part of the State of Orissa) and Mēkala (the region near the source of the Narmadā).² These countries are further said to be situated on the back, *i.e.*, the table-land of the Vindhya mountain. To distinguish this Kōsala from another territory of the same name, the capital of which was Ayōdhyā in the State of Uttar Pradesh, it was called Dakshina Kōsala or South Kōsala. The feminine form of the name, *viḥ*, Kōsalā, is occasionally met with in literature and inscriptions.³ The ancient capital of this country was Kuśāvati, founded by Kuśa, the elder son of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This city, the Purāṇas tell us, was situated on a peak of the Vindhya mountain, but its exact location has not yet been determined.

Our knowledge of the history of Chhattisgarh before the advent of the Kalachuris is very meagre. In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., the country was ruled by Bhīmasena II whose copper-plate grant dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-2 A.C.) has been discovered at Aṭaṅg.⁴ He or his successor was ousted by a king of the Śarabhapura dynasty. Mahā-Pravararāja, the last known king of this family, was overthrown by Indrabala of the Sōmavamśa. The Sōmavamśis ruled in Chhattisgarh for some generations. Mahāśivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna, the last known king of this dynasty, flourished in the beginning of the seventh century A.C. He had a long reign of more than 57 years and was on the throne when the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited Dakshina Kōsala.⁵

About this time, Pulakēsin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty invaded Kōsala after conquering the three Mahārāshṭras. The Aihōlā inscription of his reign, dated 634 A.C., states that the people of Kōsala, like those of Kalinga, were overawed by the invading forces.⁶ The ruling king evidently submitted to the mighty emperor, who allowed him to govern his kingdom as his vassal.

Some time after Pulakesin II's invasion, the Sōmavamśis were ousted from the Raipur District by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings, who held the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining parts of the Vishakhapatam District of the Madras State. A stone inscription of this dynasty, still existing at Rājim in the Raipur District, mentions three kings, *viḥ*, Prithvirāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatunga. The last of these erected the temple of Rājivalōchana at Rājim for the religious merit of his son who had died. The inscription can be referred to about 700 A.C. on the evidence of paleography.⁷

We do not know how long the rule of the Sōmavamśis and the Nalas lasted in Chhattisgarh. An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple of Śiva at Pāli, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District, records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva. This inscription, which was deciphered by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar fifty years ago, has not received from

¹ The Sōmavamśi kings whose copper-plates record grants of land in the former Patna State and Sambalpur District call themselves 'lords of Kōsala'.

² *Purāṇas*, adhyāya 43, v. 233.

³ *MBH.*, (Cr. Ed.), *Āraṇyaka-parvan*, adhyāya 83, v. 10; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 and plate. I have shown that the correct reading of the date is G. 182, corresponding to 501-2 A.C. *Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

⁵ *Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 118 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 329.

⁶ *Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 4.

⁷ *Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

scholars the attention it deserves.¹ As the names Malladēva and Vikramāditya occur in the dynastic list of Bāṇa kings, Dr. Bhandarkar made at the time the ingenious suggestion that this Vikramāditya might be one of the Bāṇa kings.² He could not, however, definitely identify him; for, no such Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva, was then known. From the Gudimallam plates³ discovered later, Dr. Hultzsch has shown that there were three Vikramādityas in the Bāṇa dynasty, of whom the first, also called Jayamēru, was the son of Malladēva. He is identical with the Bāṇa Vidyādhara mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates. As the known dates of his son Vijayāditya Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A.C.)⁴ to Śaka 831 (909-10 A.C.),⁵ Vikramāditya I may be referred to the period 870-895 A.C.⁶

The Bāṇa kings are known from records found in the North Arcot District. The province over which they ruled is called Pērumbāṇappāḍi in later Tamil inscriptions.⁷ As R. B. Venkayya has shown, this province extended from Puṅganūr in the west to Kālahasti in the east.⁸ It is, however, surmised that the Bāṇas were originally settled further north in the Telugu country. From there they seem to have penetrated further to the north and carved out a kingdom for themselves in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgarh, from where they ousted the Sōmavarṇśis, who were obliged to move to the east and settle at Vinītapura (modern Binkā in the Sonpur State). This invasion of the country to the north of the Gōdāvarī appears to have occurred in connection with the northern campaign of Udayachandra, a general of the Pallava king Nandivarman II—Pallavamalla (*circa* 710-775 A.C.)⁹. The Udayēndiram plates¹⁰ state that Udayachandra pursued a Nishāda chief called Purushavyāghra, who, desiring to become very powerful, was running after the horse of the *Aśvamūḍba*, defeated him and ordered him out of the district of Viṣṇurāja, which he subjected to the Pallava king. This Purushavyāghra may have been ruling over the country now comprised in the Bastar District.¹¹ Viṣṇurāja, whose country he had invaded, has been identified with Viṣṇuvardhana III (709-746 A.C.). The Bāṇa chiefs, who were feudatories of the Pallavas, seem to have pressed still further to the north and established themselves in the Bilaspur District with Pāli as their capital. We have no record of the early Bāṇa kings who founded this kingdom. Nandivarman is the earliest king known from the Udayēndiram plates.¹² As shown above, his great-grandson Vikramāditya I was ruling from *circa* 870 A.C. to 895 A.C. Nandivarman may, therefore, have flourished about 800 A.C. Either he or his father may have been the founder of the Bāṇa kingdom in

¹ I drew attention to its importance in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Mahākōśale' published in *P. I. H. C.* (1939), pp. 319 ff.

² *P. R. A. S.*, W. C. (1903-4), p. 32.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 227.

⁵ See No. 99 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1899.

⁶ Sewell says that Vikramāditya I's accession date (872 A.C.) is derived from an inscription which mentions the year Vijaya (873-74 A.C.) as being in the second year of Bāṇa Vidyādhara. *H. I. S. I.*, p. 328. He has, however, not given the exact reference of this record. T. V. Mahalingam places Vikramāditya I in the period 850-895 A.C.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 230.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 238.

⁹ See H. P. K., p. 119. Jouveau-Dubreuil gives the reign-period as 717-779 A.C.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 274 ff.

¹¹ Compare the name Vyāghraṇṇa of the ruler of Mahākāntāra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 7. This Mahākāntāra probably corresponds to the Bastar District.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff.

Chhattisgarh. His descendants seem to have held the country down to the time of Vikramāditya I, who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva at Pāli in the Bilaspur District.

In many records¹ of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, it is stated that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī and made his brothers the lords of *mandalas* in the neighbourhood. In the family of one of these younger brothers was born Kalingarāja, the first known king of the Ratanpur branch. Kalingarāja's son was Kamalarāja, who was a contemporary of Gāṅgāyādēva, whom he helped in his campaign against the king of Utkala. The wording² of the passage describing the relationship of Kalingarāja to Kōkalla shows that the former was separated from the latter by some generations. This Kōkalla, therefore, is the first king of that name who ruled from *circa* 850 A.C. to 890 A.C. This conclusion receives confirmation from a statement in some inscriptions of the Tripurī branch. As we have already seen, the Bilhāri stone inscription states that Mugdhatuṅga, the son and successor of Kōkalla I, conquered the lines of countries along the eastern sea-shore and took (the country of) Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.³ The Banaras plates of Karṇa say that Prasiddhadhavalā (who is none other than Mugdhatuṅga) took possession of Pāli, thinking that in his family there would be born men, eminent on account of greatness in this world.⁴ This plainly means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. The country of Pāli which was conquered from the king of Kōsala was probably the territory round Ratanpur; for, the village of Pāli which contains the aforementioned exquisitely carved temple of Śiva with an inscription of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I lies only 12 miles to the north of Ratanpur.⁵ The king of Kōsala from whom the country of Pāli was wrested is not named in the aforementioned Kalachuri inscription, but the foregoing discussion must have made it plain that he was probably a Bāṇa king. As Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā flourished from *circa* 890 A.C. to 910 A.C., his Bāṇa adversary may have been Vikramāditya I (*circa* 870-895 A.C.).

After conquering the country round Ratanpur, Mugdhatuṅga placed it in charge of one of his younger brothers. There is a gap of nearly a century in the history of this Kalachuri branch, for which no records have come to light. We do not, therefore, know even the name of this founder of the Kalachuri branch of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. But from a statement in the Ratanpur stone inscription⁶ it seems that the Kalachuri capital in that age was Tumṃāṇa, which has been identified with Tumāṇ, a small village in the former

¹ No. 76, l. 10; No. 77, l. 6; No. 83, l. 8, *etc.*

² Almost all the early inscriptions say that Kalingarāja was born *in the family* of a younger son of Kōkalla, thus indicating that a long period of time separated him from Kōkalla. (See, e.g., No. 76, l. 10; No. 77, l. 6; No. 83, l. 8 *etc.*) Only two records, the Shārinikṛtya plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 82), and Kharōḍ stone inscription of Ratnadēva III (No. 100), make Kalingarāja a son of Kōkalla himself. Mr. A. Ghosh ingeniously suggests that *Vaṇṭa-Tumṃāṇa-bhūbhujap* in l. 9 of No. 82 is a mistake for *vaṇṭa Tumṃāṇa-bhūbhujap*. D. R. Bhandarkar *Volume*, p. 161, n. 2.

³ No. 45, l. 10.

⁴ No. 48, l. 13.

⁵ It is supposed by some that this temple was erected by Jājalladēva I; for, there are five inscriptions of the king in the *mandapa* of the temple. Two of these inscriptions are incised on the walls of the *mandapa*, one on a stone built into the rebuilt doorway of the temple and another on a pilaster to support a broken beam. The inscriptions are identical in wording and purport to register some *kṛt* (meritorious work) of Jājalladēva. Their positions clearly indicate that they were meant to record the repairs, not the construction, of the temple by Jājalladēva I. As a period of more than two centuries had passed since the time of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I, it is not surprising that the temple had fallen into disrepair in the time of Jājalladēva I.

⁶ Verse 7 of No. 77 says that Kalingarāja chose Tumṃāṇa as his capital because it had been made the seat of their government by his forefathers.

Lāphā Zamindārī of the Bilaspur District. The Kalachuris seem to have reigned there for two or three generations (from *circa* 895 A.C. to 950 A.C.), but were ultimately ousted by some enemy, perhaps a Somavarāṇśī king ruling over the eastern parts of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. The Kalachuri prince, when ousted from Chhattisgarh, apparently returned to his ancestral country of Dāhala. From the Bilhāri stone inscription we learn that Lakshmaṇarāja II (*circa* 945-970 A.C.) defeated the rulers of Kōsala and Odra. Lakshmaṇarāja's campaign may have been undertaken to punish the king of Kōsala and his ally, the king of Odra, for having ousted the scions of his family from Kōsala. His victory was not, however, a decisive one and does not seem to have led to the re-establishment of Kalachuri power in Chhattisgarh.

It was probably in the reign of Kōkalla II that the Kalachuris renewed their attempt to conquer Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I states that in order to augment his unimpeded prowess and treasure, Kalīṅgarāja, descended from a younger son of Kōkalla I, left his ancestral country (evidently Dāhala)¹ and conquered the country of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala by the prowess of his arms.² As Kalīṅgarāja's son Kamalarāja was a junior contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva (*circa* 1015—1040 A.C.), Kalīṅgarāja's conquest of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala may be dated in *circa* 1000 A.C.

Kalīṅgarāja selected the old Kalachuri capital Tummāṇa as the seat of his government. As the Ratanpur inscription says, while staying there, he destroyed his enemies and increased his splendour. During his reign there was an invasion of the country by Sindhurāja, a well-known Paramāra king of Dhārā (*circa* 995-1015 A.C.). Some years later, he led a second expedition in connection with a love affair which forms the theme of the beautiful Sanskrit *kāvya Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of his court-poet Padmagupta *alias* Parimala.³ The story of the *kāvya* briefly told is as follows :—

"Sindhurāja, while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, sees and falls in love with Saśiprabhā, the daughter of the snake king Saṅkhapāla. After her meeting with the king, Saśiprabhā is carried away by invisible snakes to Bhōgavatī in the nether world. The king flings himself into the stream of the Narmadā to follow her and on the other side reaches a golden palace. The river goddess Narmadā receives him hospitably and tells him how he should win Saśiprabhā. When she was born, it was predicted that she would become the wife of a ruler of the middle world and bring about the death of Vajrāṅkuśa, a mighty enemy of the snakes. Her father had laid down the following condition for her marriage, *viz.*, that her suitor should bring the golden lotus flowers, which grow in the pleasure garden of Vajrāṅkuśa. Narmadā tells Sindhurāja that at a distance of fifty *gavyūtis* lies the town of Ratnavatī built by Maya, the architect of Asuras, where reigns Vajrāṅkuśa, the prince of demons. Finally, Narmadā prophesies that the king will meet the sage Vaṅku on his way to Ratnavatī. Then the king, accompanied by his minister Yaśōbhāṭa, also called Ramāṅgada, starts for Ratnavatī. On the way they reach the grove of the sage Vaṅku. There they converse with the sage and meet Saśikhāṇḍa, the son of Śikhaṇḍakētu, king of the Vidyādharas, who had been transformed

¹ Owing to a wrong *pada-śchēdha* in vv. 4 and 6 of No. 77, it was supposed by Kielhorn and other scholars who followed him that Kalīṅgarāja hailed from the country of Tritasaurya. But no such country is known. See *Kam Futurchrift*, pp. 290 ff.

² The country under the rule of the Kalachuris is called Dakṣiṇa Kōsala in some records and Tummāṇa-dēśa in others. See No. 77, v. 6; No. 93, v. 8; No. 100, v. 3, *etc.* Tummāṇa was, of course, included in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, but sometimes the latter denoted the eastern part of it under the rule of the Sōmavarāṇśīs. See, *e.g.*, No. 77, v. 23.

³ For a detailed discussion of the historical data of this *kāvya*, see my article in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 101 ff.

into a monkey, but regained his original form by the favour of Sindhurāja. In gratefulness Śaṅkhaṇḍa brings his troops to help the king in his expedition. The allied armies surrounded the town Ratnavatī. A battle is fought. Ratnāṅgada, the minister of Sindhurāja, kills Viśvāṅkuśa, the son of Vajrāṅkuśa. The king himself kills Vajrāṅkuśa. The town Ratnavatī is stormed and taken. A snake youth named Ratnachūḍa is made the Governor of the kingdom of the Asura king. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flowers and proceeds towards Bhōgavatī. He presents the golden flowers to Śaṣiprabhā and marries her. Śaṅkhaṇḍa makes the king the present of a crystal Sivaliṅga made by Tvastṛi. The king returns to Ujjayinī and then to Dhārā where he establishes the crystal Sivaliṅga."

The foregoing brief analysis of the *Navasūbasāṅkhaṇḍa* will show that the poem was intended to celebrate Sindhurāja's victory over Vajrāṅkuśa in which he was aided by a Vidyādharma prince and a Nāga chieftain, and his matrimonial alliance with the latter. This campaign of Sindhurāja must be placed late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century A.C.; for, he is described in this work as having already vanquished the kings of Kuntala, Kachchha, Lāṭa, Aparānta and Kōśala as well as a Hūṇa prince.¹ The poet's description that he had to cross the Narmadā on the way shows that the country of Vajrāṅkuśa lay to the south of the river. Vajrāṅkuśa was not a prince of the demons, but a chief of the aborigines, perhaps Goṇḍa, whose capital Ratnavatī must be looked for in the hilly regions not far from the Narmadā; for, we have a valuable hint for its location in the speech of the river goddess that it lay at a distance of 50 *gavyūtis* or 100 *krōśas*, i.e., about 200 miles from the place where Sindhurāja crossed the river. Like Rājaśekhara, Padmagupta seems to have slightly altered the names of the historical characters and places that figure in his poem. Vajrāṅkuśa, the demon king, is, therefore, probably identical with Vajjūka² (also called Vajjavarman in one record³), the lord of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. He was a powerful chief, as his matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuris is mentioned in several Kalachuri records. He flourished in the same period as Sindhurāja; for, his daughter Nonalā was married to Ratnarāja, the son of Kamalarāja who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva.⁴

The identification of Vajjūka with Vajrāṅkuśa is rendered probable by the mention of the hermitage of the sage Vaṅku, which lay on the way to Ratnavatī, the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa. The name of the sage appears to be connected with that of the god Vaṅkēśvara whose temple was erected in Tummāṇa.⁵ Knowing as we do that the names of deities are often derived from those of the individuals who instal them or erect temples in their honour, we can easily conjecture that Vaṅkēśvara may have been installed by some one named Vaṅku and that he may well have been a sage as stated in the *Navasūbasāṅkhaṇḍa*.

Vajrāṅkuśa's capital was Ratnavatī, which it is tempting to identify with the Kalachuri capital Ratnapura, but the identification is open to the objection that Ratnapura was founded by Ratnadēva I⁶ and hence it could not have been in existence in this period. According

¹ NSCH, canto X, vv. 14-20.

² No. 77, l. 13.

³ No. 76, l. 17.

⁴ The identification may be open to the objection that if Vajjūka was killed in battle as stated in the NSCH, canto XVII, v. 69, he could not have given his daughter to Ratnadēva I who flourished two generations later. Perhaps Vajrāṅkuśa is meant to represent the grandfather of Vajjūka, who may have borne the same name. In India grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.

⁵ Vaṅkēśvara was the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. They believed that they owed their kingdom to the grace of the god. See l. 13 of No. 76. Chakravarti has shown that *Vaṅka* is a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Vaṅka*, a name of Śiva. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, Additions etc., p. viii.

⁶ See v. 11 of No. 77.

to a tradition recorded by Mr. Beglar,¹ the ancient name of Ratnapura was Mañipura, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of a Nāga king.² As our poet has slightly changed the names of places, Ratnavati in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* may represent ancient Mañipura, which came to be known as Ratnapura when Ratnadēva made it his capital. If Sindhurāja crossed the Narmadā near Māndhātā,³ Ratanpur would be about 200 miles from the place as described in Padmagupta's poem.

In his battle with Vajrāṅkuṣa, Sindhurāja's ally was the Vidyādhara prince Sīkhaṇḍakētu. He probably represents the Śilāhāra king Arikēśarin *alias* Kēśidēva, the ruler of North Konkan; for, the Śilāhāras traced their descent from Jimūtavāhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyādharas.⁴ The similarity of the names Kēśidēva and Sīkhaṇḍakētu confirms the identification.

Finally, the Nāga king Saṅkhaṇḍapāla, whose daughter was loved and ultimately married by Sindhurāja, was probably a ruler of Chakrakōṭya in the Bastar District. The princes of Chakrakōṭya call themselves Nāgavaniśis and lords of Bhōgavati, the best of towns. This dynasty produced some powerful rulers towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century A.C. Their capital Chakrakūṭa or Chakrakōṭya often figures in inscriptions and literature.⁵ This shows the strategic importance of that territory.⁶ These Nāga princes were often at war with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The existence of a Nāga chieftain, ruling in the Bastar District in the beginning of the tenth century A.C., who was hostile to Vajrāṅkuṣa or Vajjūka of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*, is not, therefore, unlikely.

The historical basis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* thus seems to be that the Nāga ruler of Chakrakōṭya sought the powerful Paramāra king Sindhurāja's aid against Vajjūka of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*, with whom the Kalachuri prince Kalingarāja was probably allied. Sindhurāja seems to have welcomed this opportunity to strengthen the south-eastern frontier of his kingdom against a possible Chōla invasion; for, owing to the debacle of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi after the death of Satyāśraya, the power of the Chōlas, their rivals for supremacy in the south, was increasing. As we shall see later, Rājendrachōla I's general did indeed attack Kōsala a few years later during his victorious march to the north. It was probably to check the Chōla power that Sindhurāja, with a commendable foresight, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Chakrakōṭya. He marched against Vajjūka, whom he slew in battle. Afterwards he placed a Nāga prince in charge of Vajjūka's territory and married the daughter of the Nāga king of Chakrakōṭya.

The Kalachuri king Kalingarāja, who was probably allied with Vajjūka, must have also suffered a defeat at the hands of Sindhurāja. But he seems to have soon rehabilitated himself by driving out Sindhurāja's protégé from the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. We have, however, no further knowledge of any political events of his reign. The description of him in the records of his successors is purely conventional.

Kalingarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja about 1020 A.C. He also ruled from the old capital Tummāṇa, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor of Tripurī. During his reign, Gāṅgēyadēva of Tripurī undertook an expedition against the king of Utkala (Orissa). He seems to have marched through the territory of Kamalarāja,

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. X, p. 216.

² (Chitrāśālā Press ed.), Ādiparvan, adhyāya 215, v. 13; Āśvamedhikaparvan, adhyāya 79, v. 3.

³ It may be noted that some records of the Paramāras were issued after bathing in the Narmadā at this holy place. To the east of Māndhātā lay the country of Chēdi, which Sindhurāja does not seem to have entered on this occasion.

⁴ See, e.g., the Bhāndup plates of Chhittarājadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 250, ff.

⁵ See, e.g., *Vikramādhikāṇḍacarita*, canto IV, v. 30.

⁶ It is worthy of note that the attack on Kōsala followed the victory at Sakkarakōṭṭam (Chakrakōṭya).

whom he called on to join in the campaign. The latter fought for his overlord wholeheartedly. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvidēva I state that like the Mandara mountain of yore, the brave Kamalarāja churned the milk-ocean which was the king of Utkala, and gave Lakṣmī (royal fortune) as well as excellent elephants and horses to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva.¹ The description suggests that the vanquished king of Utkala had to pay a heavy tribute to Gāṅgēya. Some records of Gāṅgēya's son Karna also refer to this campaign. They say that Gāṅgēya defeated the king of Utkala and made his own arm the pillar of victory on the (eastern) sea-shore.

During this campaign, Gāṅgēyadēva and Kamalarāja must have come into conflict with the contemporary ruler of Eastern Kōsala, who was probably Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. The latter claims in one of his grants² that he defeated the Chaidyas and devastated their country of Dāhala.³ This may have been a reprisal raid on Dāhala during the absence of Gāṅgēya in the campaign against the king of Orissa.

The king of Utkala, in securing whose defeat Kamalarāja played a prominent part, was probably a king of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Subhākara II, ruling over Tōsala on the eastern seaboard of Orissa.⁴ When Kamalarāja returned home after this victorious campaign, he was followed by Sāhilla,⁵ a military adventurer who sought his fortune in Chhattisgarh. Sāhilla conquered Vivarabhūmi, evidently for his lord Kamalarāja. As we shall see later, Sāhilla's descendants settled down in Chhattisgarh and helped the Kalachuris of Tummāṇa to extend the limits of their kingdom.

It was probably during the reign of Kamalarāja that the mighty Chōla Emperor Rājendra I (1012-1044 A.C.) sent an expedition to the north under his *Danḍanātha* (General) in 1022 A.C. The Tirumalai *prasasti*,⁶ which was composed in the twelfth year of Rājendra's reign, states that Rājendra's general first seized Sakkarakōṭṭam which is plainly identical with Chakrakōṭya in the Bastar State. Thereafter, he captured or destroyed some other countries and places like Maḍurai-maṇḍalam and Namanaik-kōṇam and defeated and took Indraratha, the ruler of Ādinagara, prisoner. This victory led to the capture of 'the Oḍḍa-vishaya (Orissa) which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence, and the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled.' The *prasasti* does not name the ruler of Kōsala. He may have been either Kamalarāja ruling over the western part, or Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti who held the eastern part of Kōsala. As Rājendra's general next proceeded against Daṇḍabhukti (parts of Midnapore and Balasore Districts), it would appear that the king he defeated was the ruler of Eastern Kōsala. In any case, this Chōla invasion did not produce any lasting effect; for, we have no evidence of the Chōla occupation of any part of Kōsala in this period. Perhaps, the vanquished king of Kōsala, whoever

¹ See No. 76, ll. 12-13.

² J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. I, pp. 4 f.

³ The age of the Sōmavarmas of Kōsala is still undetermined as their records are singularly lacking in historical details and bear only regnal dates. The contemporaneity of Gāṅgēya and Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti suggested here would, if accepted, serve as a landmark in the history of the Sōmavarmas.

⁴ Soon after this, the Karas seem to have been overthrown by the Sōmavarmas Uddyōtakēśarin, who transferred his capital to the eastern coast and gave the kingdom of Kōsala to Abhimanyu.

⁵ The Rājim inscription of Jagapāla dated K. 896 (1147 A.C.) states that this Sāhilla was a spotless ornament of the family of the illustrious Rājamāla. I have suggested that this Rājamāla is identical with Rājamalladēva who had given valuable support in re-establishing the power of the Karas after the death of the ruling prince who was probably Subhākara's father Lalimbhart. If this identification is accepted, Sāhilla would be his son or possibly his grandson. This squares with the description of him given in the Rājim inscription as well as the period here assigned to him.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff. See also J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 207 ff.

he was, was obliged to pay tribute to the Chōla Emperor for some years, as claimed in the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription¹ of Rājādhirāja, dated 1046 A.C.

Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja I in *circa* 1045 A.C. He married Nōnallā, the daughter of Vajjūka or Vajuvvarman, the lord of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. This *maṇḍala* seems to have comprised the territory round Kōmo-Chauki, about 24 miles west of Tummāṇa, the then Kalachuri capital. This marriage is mentioned in most of the subsequent Kalachuri records much in the same way as the marriage of Samudragupta with the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvi is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. It seems to have considerably strengthened Ratnadēva's position in Chhattisgarh.² Judging by the conquests made by subsequent kings, the Kalachuri kingdom in Chhattisgarh was very much circumscribed during the reigns of Kalingarāja and Kamalarāja. Ratnadēva made some conquests and annexed some territory to his dominion. The three sons of the aforementioned Sāhilla—Bhāyila, Dēsala and Svāmin—fought his battles and conquered the countries of Bhaṭṭavīla and Viharā for him. These countries have not, however, been identified.

Ratnadēva beautified the capital Tummāṇa with gardens, mansions and temples. He erected a temple in honour of Vaṅkēśa, the tutelary deity, and another dedicated to the god Ratnēśvara whom he seems to have installed and named after himself. Ratnadēva founded a new city called Ratnapura, to which he shifted his seat of government. The Srēṣṭhin Yaśa is said to have been its Mayor.³ This city was enlarged and beautified by his successors from time to time, and continued to be the capital of the royal family until its overthrow by the Marathas in the eighteenth century A.C.

Ratnadēva I may have closed his reign in *circa* 1065 A.C.⁴ The earlier of the two grants of his son and successor Prithvidēva I is dated K. 821 (1069 A.C.)

Prithvidēva I is the earliest ruler of the Ratanpur branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh. In his Raipur and Amōdā plates he calls himself *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and claims to have obtained the right to *pañcamaḥāśabda*.⁵ Both these indicate his feudatory rank. Like his predecessors, he seems, therefore, to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripuri. In his grants he uses the Kalachuri era, which he calls the era of the Lord of Chēdi.⁶ This also indicates his subordinate position. He seems to have considerably extended his small principality; for, he claimed to be the lord of the

¹ S. I. J., Vol. III, p. 57. This inscription states that the king of Kausalar (*i.e.* Kōśala) among many others unremittingly paid tribute to the Chōla king Rājādhirāja.

² It may be noted that the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I states that Ratnadēva I married Nōnallā 'together with royal fortune.' No. 77, v. 13.

³ He continued to hold the same position during the succeeding reign of Prithvidēva I also. See No. 76, v. 16.

⁴ Mr. Amalanand Ghosh has suggested the identification of Ratnadēva I with Siṅgan, (the king) of the warlike Kōśalai, who was cut to pieces by the Chōla king Viśaṅkēndra in the battle of Kuḍālasaṅgama in *circa* 1066 A.C. He finds corroboration of this event in the passage *Ratnarāja yudhi ripu-jayini svar-gat* in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, v. 13), which he takes to mean 'When Ratnarāja went to heaven in a victorious battle.' B.V., p. 265. The proposed identification is very doubtful. *Siṅgan* is evidently a corruption of *Siṅha*. (Cf. Siṅgaṇa mentioned in the same inscription, who is identical with Jayasirṅha.) Siṅgan may have belonged to the Sūmavarṅsi family. Some members of this family bore names ending in *śarīn* which is a synonym of *siṅha*. Besides, the construction of the above passage proposed by Mr. Ghosh is impossible, because in Sanskrit *yudh* (a fight) is feminine in gender.

⁵ No. 75, l. 6; No. 76, ll. 23 and 25.

⁶ No. 76, l. 47. The era seems to have been then newly introduced into Chhattisgarh and, therefore, had to be specified in this manner.

entire Kōśala country.¹ It is, however, highly doubtful if his sway extended to the Sambalpur District and the former Sonpur and Patnā States which were previously under the rule of the Śōmavathīs; for, no inscriptions of him or even of his successors have been discovered in that part of the country. As we have already seen, this territory was included in Kōśala. The aforementioned title is, therefore, an empty boast. This does not, however, mean that he made no conquests. According to the Rājīm inscription, Jayadēva, the son of Svāmīn and grandson of the aforementioned military adventurer Sāhilla, conquered Dāṇḍōm. His younger brother Dēvasīmha acquired the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. Jayadēva was a contemporary of Prithvidēva I, for whom, we may suppose, these countries were conquered. Of them, the former has been identified with the District of Sarguja, north-east of the Bilaspur District, which was once called Bāis Dāṇḍōr (Dāṇḍōr 22), as it contained twenty-two Zamindāris. The Kōmō *maṇḍala*, though situated close to the Kalachuri capital, seems to have maintained its independence since the time of Vajjūka. The latter's successors were either too weak or too overbearing to be allowed to remain independent. They were, therefore, subdued, and their *maṇḍala* was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom.

Prithvidēva I married Rājallā. She bore him a son named Jājalladēva I, who afterwards succeeded him. He had a younger brother named Sarvadēva, who obtained the territory round Sōṇṭhiva (Sōṇṭhi in the Bilaspur District) as his patrimony (*dāyād-āṁśa*).² Vighraharāja, one of his ministers, and Yaśa, who continued to hold the post of the Mayor of Ratnapura, are named in his Amōḍā plates.³ Another minister Sōḍhadēva is mentioned in a later stone inscription.⁴ Prithvidēva was a devotee of Śiva. At Tummāṇa he dedicated a temple to the god under the name *Prithvidēvaśvara* and also provided the old temple of Vaṅkēśvara with a *chaṭushbhikā* or a hall resting on four pillars. On the occasion of its dedication, he made a land-grant dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.). At Ratnapura he constructed a large 'ocean-like' lake. He reigned from *circa* 1065 A.C. to 1090 A.C.

Jājalladēva I, who succeeded Prithvidēva I, was one of the great kings of this family. Soon after his accession, he embarked on an ambitious scheme of conquest. He subdued the neighbouring chiefs of Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra and Talahāri. Vairāgara is modern Vairāgarh in the Chāṇḍā District. Lañjikā and Bhāṇāra correspond to Lanji and Bhandara in the Balaghat and Bhandara Districts respectively. Talahāri comprised probably the southern part of the Bilaspur District and the northern part of the Raipur District. The subjugation of these places shows that the kingdom of the Kalachuris in the previous reigns was very much circumscribed. Jājalladēva carried his arms even as far as Daṇḍakapura (Midnapur District) in South Bengal, Andhra and Kimiḍi in the Ganjam District. Dakṣhiṇa Kōśala, which also he is said to have conquered, seems to refer to the eastern portion of it comprising the Sambalpur District and the former States of Patna and Sonpur. The rulers of all these countries and also of Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa, which still remain unidentified, were made to pay him an annual tribute. His general Jagapāla, descended from the above-named Sāhilla, vanquished Māyūrikas⁵ (perhaps rulers of the Bhañja dynasty) and Sāmantas (ancestors of the Śāntas in Bilaspur District). These conquests brought him

¹ In his Amōḍā grant he is also called 'the sole lord of twenty-one thousand villages.' The number of villages in Kōśala is variously given. The Kurupāl inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 30) mentions that the Nāga king Sōmāśvara of Bastar conquered six lacs of villages in Kōśala.

² No. 98, v. 13.

³ No. 76, l. 34. Vighraharāja is named also in the Raipur plates of the same king. No. 75, l. 13.

⁴ No. 90, ll. 13-14.

⁵ A Māyūrika family is mentioned in the Bayāṇā (former Bhamatpur State) inscription of Chitralākhā (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 120 ff.). It was ruling in the north and does not seem to have been connected with the Māyūrikas defeated by Jagapāla.

into conflict with Sōmēśvara, the Nāgavarṃśī king of Chakrakōṭṭya. The latter was a foe worthy of his steel. He had defeated the rulers of Uḍra (Orissa) and Vēṅgi, and had carried fire and sword into Lāñji and Ratnapura.¹ He is said to have captured six lacs of villages together with the tract called Shaṇṇavati (96 villages) of Kōsala and assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.² The Kuruspāl inscription describes him as a huge elephant which destroyed the lotuses namely the towns, Lāñji and Ratnapura.

Jājalladēva was not slow to take revenge. He marched against the Nāga king, slew his immense army and took him captive together with his wives and ministers. Ultimately, at the bidding of his mother, Jājalladēva set them free. His Ratanpur inscription proudly asks, "Have you seen or heard of another such prince on this earth?"³ This event must have occurred some time before 1110 A.C., which is the approximate year of Sōmēśvara's death.⁴

Jājalladēva's fame spread to distant lands. The contemporary king of Chēdi, who was Yaśaḥkarṇa, the erstwhile suzerain of the Tummāṇa branch, had to court his friendship. He probably sought his aid in his campaign against an Andhra king, which, as we have seen, occurred early in his reign.⁵ In the Ratanpur inscription Jājalla boasts that he was honoured as an ally by the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jājābhuktika with presents of wealth 'because he was valiant'. The ruler of Kānyakubja was probably the ambitious Gāhaḍa-vāla king Gōvindachandra, who, even while a *yuvārāja*, had wielded considerable authority. He came to the throne about 1110 A.C. and was thus a contemporary of Jājalla. The other ruler who sought Jājalla's alliance was plainly a king of the Chandēlla dynasty. Three Chandēlla princes Kīrtivarman, Sallakshaṇavarman and Jayavarman ruled contemporaneously with Jājalla.⁶ Of these, Sallakshaṇavarman was probably Jājalla's ally. This contact with the Chandēllas is reflected in the Kalachuri coinage as shown below.

These rulers of distant Northern countries sought Jājalla's friendship because his kingdom occupied a strategic position on the route of communication between the north and the south. Earlier conquerors from the north like Samudragupta and Išānavarman had to pass through Dakṣiṇa Kōsala in the course of their southern *digvijaya*. Similarly, Rājendra Chōla I's general had to conquer Kōsala before he penetrated into Bengal. The object of this alliance with Jājalla was probably to check the advance of the Chōla Emperor Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.C.). By his occupation of the Chōla throne, Kulōttuṅga had already united the kingdoms of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Chōlas. He entertained aggressive designs of North-Indian conquests, in pursuance of which he had subjugated Vairāgarh and Chakrakōṭṭa.⁷ In some records he is said to have measured swords even with the Paramāra king of Malwa. The aforementioned northern powers must have regarded Jājalla as a bulwark against a possible Chōla invasion of North India.

We have seen above that Jājalla defeated the king of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. The latter is probably identical with Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarṇapura, modern Sonpur, the chief

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 29.

² *Lec. cit.*, p. 30. *Shaṇṇavati* as the name of a territorial division occurs in a grant of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. See also *J. A. S. B.* Vol. I, pp. 19 ff.

³ No. 77, v. 22.

⁴ Sōmēśvara was living at the time of the Barsur inscription dated 1108 A.C. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 314; Vol. IX, p. 162) and had died when the Nārāyaṇpāl inscription was put up in 1111 A.C. (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 161 ff.) So he seems to have died in *circa* 1110 A.C.

⁵ See above, p. cii.

⁶ V. A. Smith has given the following approximate dates for these three kings—Kīrtivarman, 1060-1100 A.C., Sallakshaṇavarman 1100-1110 A.C. and Jayavarman 1110-1117 A.C. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 127.

⁷ *J. I. I.*, Vol. III, part II, pp. 132-34.

towns of the former Sompur State.¹ This king is not known from other records, but he probably belonged to the Śōmavarmanī dynasty, and might be the son and successor of Abhimanyu who founded a feudatory state in that part of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, when Uddyōtakēśarin conquered Utkala and removed his capital to the eastern seaboard.² Jājalladēva seems to have followed up this victory and also deposed the king of Utkala. But his cause was espoused by his neighbour, the mighty Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, who reinstated him. The earliest record which mentions the reinstatement of the Utkala king is the Korni plates of Anantavarman, dated Śaka 1034 (1113 A.C.).³ This record does not mention the name of the enemy who had deposed the king of Utkala, but the foregoing discussion must have made it clear that he was probably Jājalladēva I.

Jājalla seems to have repudiated the political subjection of his house to the Kalachuris of Tripurī and declared his independence. To announce his independent rank, he struck gold and copper coins in his own name. His gold coins are partially modelled on the issues of Gāṅgēya. They have the king's name in bold Nāgarī letters in three lines on the obverse as on Gāṅgēya's coins. The reverse, however, shows the figure of a lion attacking an elephant,⁴ instead of Lakṣmī sitting cross-legged. His copper coins are imitated from those of the Chandēlla Sallakhaṇavarman, with whom he was allied. They have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing left on the reverse. Both these types were continued by his successors.

Jājalla founded a city in his own name, called Jājallapura, which is probably identical with modern Jānjgir (Jājallanagara). He constructed there a temple and a monastery, which he endowed with the gift of some villages. He also excavated there a large tank and raised a mango grove. He repaired the ancient temple of Siva at Pāli by erecting cross-walls and giving supports to a broken beam.⁵ These repairs are memorised by short inscriptions.

Jājalla married Lāchchhalladēvi,⁶ from whom he had a son named Ratnadēva II, who succeeded him. His religious preceptor was Rudraśiva. It is interesting to note that the latter was conversant with the work of Dīnāga, a famous Buddhist logician who flourished in the fifth century A.C. Vigharāja, who held the position of a *mantrin* in the previous reign, became his *Sāndhinigrahika*. Another minister of the Gauda race, who was descended from the Kāyastha minister of the illustrious Karna of Tripurī, was mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of his reign, but his name is now lost. A third minister, who distinguished himself in all his wars, was Parushōttama, the son of Sōḍhadēva who had served Prithivīdēva I in the same capacity.⁷ The writer of his Ratanpur inscription was Kirtidhara, the owner of the village Jandēra.⁸ He and his descendants were the official scribes of the Ratanpur royal family.⁹ They have written their records on copper-plates and stone-slabs in beautiful letters.

Ratnadēva II seems to have succeeded his father in *circa* 1120 A.C.; for, the earliest inscription of his reign is dated K. 878 (1127 A.C.). He followed his father's policy and

¹ No. 100, l. 6. The gold coins of Jājalladēva I and his successors have been found in the Sonpur State. J.N.S.I., Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 240.

³ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 106 ff.

⁴ It symbolises his victory over the contemporary Gauda king, 'the lord of elephants.'

⁵ Jājalladēva himself did not erect the temple of Pāli, as was previously supposed. See below, p. 418.

⁶ See No. 84, v. 2.

⁷ No. 90, v. 23.

⁸ No. 77, v. 34 and No. 83, v. 35.

⁹ See below, p. 458, n. 3.

struck gold and copper coins in his own name, indicating his independence. The Kalachuri Emperor of Tripuri could brook this impertinence no longer. He sent a large and powerful army against him, but Ratnadēva routed it completely. In the Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), he is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to-be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king. The Chēdi king, though not named in the record, was plainly Gayākarna, who ruled from *circa* 1123 A.C. to 1153 A.C., and was thus a contemporary of Ratnadēva II.

Another memorable event of Ratnadēva's reign which, though not referred to in his own inscriptions, is often mentioned in the records of his successors and their feudatories is the invasion of his country by Chōḍagaṅga.¹ The latter was evidently the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, who had a long reign of 70 years (1078-1147 A.C.). This aggressive Gaṅga king reinstated the deposed king of Utkala and raided the northern country up to the bank of the Gaṅgā. He is said to have laid under tribute all countries between the Gaṅgā and the Gōdāvarī.² In the course of his whirlwind campaign he seems to have attacked the Kalachuri kingdom in Kōsala. The Penḍrābandh plates mention Gōkarna as his ally in this campaign.³ The latter was a feudatory of Chōḍagaṅga as stated in his inscription at Guḍiwādā in the Bimblipatam *tāluka* of the Vishakhapatam District.⁴ Ratnadēva inflicted a crushing defeat on the invaders and obtained a large booty of gold, horses and elephants.⁵ A Ratanpur stone inscription describes Ratnadēva II as 'Rāhu in seizing and swallowing the large lunar orb of the mighty warriors of Chōḍagaṅga'.⁶ The Mallār inscription dated K. 919 speaks of Ratnadēva as 'a fierce cloud which extinguished the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the valour of the king Chōḍagaṅga'.⁷ The battle was a very fierce one and was fought in the Talahāri-maṇḍala, not very far from Shēotinārāyaṇ.⁸ Jagapāla, a descendant of the aforementioned Sāhilla, distinguished himself in it by his bravery and became known as Jagatsimha (the Lion of the World).⁹ Vallabharāja, another feudatory of Ratnadēva, also seems to have fought in it.¹⁰ Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, 'the lord of elephants', suffered an ignominious defeat and had to return home discomfited. Somehow this glorious achievement of Ratnadēva is not mentioned in any of his copper-plate grants, but it may have occurred in *circa* 1130 A.C.

This victory enhanced the power and prestige of Ratnadēva II and encouraged him to undertake distant campaigns. One of them, directed against the king of Gaṇḍa, is mentioned in several inscriptions of Vallabharāja. As stated before, this Vallabharāja was a feudatory of the Kalachuris. He belonged to the Vaiśya caste. His forefathers had loyally served the royal family as feudatories or ministers. Vallabharāja was treated by Lāchchhalladēvī, the mother of Ratnadēva II, as her adopted son. He was a contemporary of both Ratnadēva II and his son and successor Prithvīdēva II. The earliest record in which the campaign in Gaṇḍa is mentioned belongs to the reign of Ratnadēva II, which

¹ No. 93, v. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.

³ No. 101, v. 9.

⁴ My attention to this record was drawn by Mr. N. L. Rao.

⁵ Note बह्वीरगजानुपति कलिङ्गदेशाभिषं गजावीर्यम् ।

समिति जटेश्वरजन[क] कस(न)कावगजोष्णिसम्बन्धे ॥ No. 100, v. 8.

⁶ No. 93, v. 5.

⁷ No. 97, v. 4.

⁸ Note बह्वीरगजानुपतिमिथ्यामिह्व विजये । No. 98, v. 7.

⁹ No. 88, v. 14.

¹⁰ No. 84, v. 18.

fought towards the end of it, in *circa* 1132. Vallabharāja fought very valourously for his lord and captured a large number of elephants in the enemy's camp. Gaṇḍa defeated by Ratnadēva is not named. He was probably one of the sons of Rāmapāla, perhaps Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty, who has been dated *circa* 1130-1150 A.C.¹ Another minister who won laurels in this reign was Purnashōttama, whom Ratnadēva II made his *Sarvādhikārin*. He threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti and punished Daṇḍapura, which was his capital. He also conquered Khijjīṅga and killed Haravōhu, who was a Kshatriya. Khijjīṅga is probably identical with the homonymous capital of the Haravōhu is not known from any other source.

Ratnadēva II was a patron of religion and learning. He made some gifts to pious and learned men. His court attracted learned men from far off lands.² One of his inscriptions, the Sarkho plates, is worthy of note; for, it was made to an astronomer on the occasion of an eclipse.³ There was a considerable building activity during his reign. Purnashōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva II, excavated a palace of pleasure in the centre of it, and erected a temple of Rēvanta at the same place and gave half the religious endowment of it to his liege lord Ratnadēva II.⁴ The latter seems to have endowed some land-grant.

Purnashōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva II, made several endowments which are recorded in his stone inscription dated K. 900. He raised several *stūpas* (monasteries) and *maṇḍapas* (temples), and excavated a deep tank at the same place. He also built a five-shrined temple of Śiva at Kōṇi, about 10 miles south by

had two sons. The elder of them, Prithvidēva II, succeeded him, while the younger, Śrīhaṇḍa, is known only from the fragmentary Raipur Museum inscription. Ratnadēva was ruling at least till K. 885 (1134 A.C.). The earliest date of his reign is K. 890 (1138 A.C.).⁵ Ratnadēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in 1138 A.C.

In the early part of his reign, Prithvidēva II subjugated the petty princes ruling in the neighbourhood of his kingdom and annexed their territories. In the Rājim inscription, he is said to have won several victories. He took the strong forts of Saran (Sarangarh) and Machakā-Sihavā, south of Dhamtari in the Raipur District. He conquered the countries of Bhramaravadra, Kāntāra, Kusumabhōga, and Kākayara.⁶ Bhramaravadra may be identical with Bhramarakōṭya.

Vol. I, p. 385. This invasion is probably referred to in the *Rāmcharita*, Canto IV, v. 10, where it is mentioned that Madanapāla had driven back to the Kālindī (which flowed near the capital) the vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side. (See also *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, Vol. I, p. 170. The invader who is not named in the *Āgrya* was Ratnadēva II.

Gaṅgādharma, a learned Brāhmaṇa, migrated to Tumṇāpa from Madhyadēva and founded a temple at Kōsambī from Ratnadēva II. No. 97, v. 13.

2-33.

Ratnadēva II did not continue to reign till 1144 A.C. as A. Ghosh supposes from the name in v. 8 of the Kharod inscription. B. V., p. 270. Japdeva is mentioned in the description of Chōḍagaṇḍa.

3-17.

maṇḍala in the Bastar District, Kākayara is modern Kātkār in the same district. The extension of Kalachuri rule in this part is indicated by the use of the Kalachuri era in later records from Kānkār.¹ The other places were probably situated in the Raipur District. These conquests seem to have brought a large part of modern Chhattisgarh under the direct rule of Prithvidēva II.

After reducing his recalcitrant feudatories and making his home front secure, Prithvidēva planned to take revenge on his Gaṅga adversary for having invaded the Kalachuri kingdom during the reign of his father. He first marched against Chakrakūṭa (which comprised the central part of the Bastar District) and devastated it. This is said to have so terrified the Gaṅga ruler of the adjoining country, probably Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, that he realised that the only way to save his life was to cross the ocean.² Soon thereafter, Anantavarman died and was succeeded by his son Jaṭeśvara *alias* Madhukāmār-ṇava. Prithvidēva then raided the Gaṅga territory, defeated Jaṭeśvara and took him captive. If the account in the Kharōḍ inscription³ could be believed, the Gaṅga king had to pass some days in the Kalachuri prison before he was released. Gaṅga records are naturally silent about this defeat of Jaṭeśvara, but the account is corroborated by another contemporary Kalachuri record. The Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 913 (1163-64 A.C.), now in a sadly mutilated condition, describes the fierce battle in which Brahmadēva, the ruler of the Talahāri *maṇḍala* and a feudatory of Prithvidēva II, fought valiantly with Jaṭeśvara. Verse 17 of the inscription says that Brahmadēva became famous by imprisoning a mighty foe.⁴ The reference is plainly to the capture of the Gaṅga king. The engagement seems to have occurred in *circa* 1130 A.C., soon after the accession of Jaṭeśvara. After this no Gaṅga king dared invade the Kalachuri territory.

Like his father and grandfather, Prithvidēva II also struck gold and copper coins in his name. Some of his tiny silver coins are also known. He gave a liberal patronage to men of learning. As many as seven inscriptions of his reign record his grants of land to Brāhmanas.⁵ A Ratanpur stone inscription of his time states that his rule followed the path of good policy and caused the people joy unattended by contact with troubles.⁶ Several religious and charitable works were constructed in his reign. The aforementioned Vaiśya feudatory, Vallabharāja, excavated a lake to the east of Ratanpur, which still exists under the name of Khāruṅg. He dug two other tanks, one of which he named after his earlier lord Ratnadēva II, and constructed a temple of Śiva.⁷ Another feudatory Brahmadēva, who has been mentioned above in another connection, erected several temples and excavated tanks at different places in the kingdom. He also raised a mango-grove and maintained a charitable feeding house at Kumārākōṭa.⁸ Prithvidēva's military commander Jagapāla repaired the temple of Rāmachandra at Rājīm and endowed it with the gift of a village.⁹ He also founded the city of Jagapālapura. Even private individuals constructed temples. The Kāyastha Dēvagaṇa, for instance, erected a temple of Śiva at Sāmbā as recorded in his Ratanpur inscription.

Brahmadēva was Prithvidēva's trusted minister. He was previously ruling over the

¹ See the dates of No. 116 and 117.

² No. 89, v. 11.

³ No. 100, v. 9. This statement in the inscription has not been noticed before.

⁴ No. 96, v. 17.

⁵ Nos. 86, 89-92, 94 and 123.

⁶ No. 93, v. 7.

⁷ No. 95, ll. 24 ff.

⁸ No. 96, vv. 23 ff.

⁹ No. 88, ll. 14 ff.

Talabāri mardala. Prithvidēva II specially invited him to his capital, and entrusting the affairs of the state to him, obtained great peace of mind. The last known date of Prithvidēva's reign is K. 915 (1163-64 A.C.). The next known date K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.) belongs to the reign of his son and successor Jājalladēva II. Prithvidēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in 1165 A.C.

Soon after his accession, Jājalladēva II came into conflict with Jayasinhha, the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripuri. The cause of this conflict is not known. Perhaps Jayasinhha thought that it would be easy to subdue the new king before he consolidated his power and that he would thus be able to re-establish the supremacy of his house in Chhattisgarh. He personally led the expedition. Jājalladēva was determined to vindicate his right to independence. He was ably assisted by his feudatories and especially by the members of the collateral branch established at Sōṇṭhiva. A fierce battle was fought. Ulhaṇadēva, a scion of the royal family, fought bravely and decimated Chēdi forces. Seeing this, Jayasinhha, the Chēdi king, himself advanced to the forefront, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot.¹ In the fight that ensued, Ulhaṇadēva lost his life, but the inscription does not state whether Jayasinhha won a victory. Records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri are wholly silent about this campaign. Neither Jājalladēva nor his successors give any indication of their subordinate rank in their subsequent records. So the battle may not have ended unfavourably for Jājalladēva II. He treated Āmaṇadēva, the orphan son of Ulhaṇadēva, with special affection, as his father had died on the battlefield, fighting bravely for his lord, and as his mother had immolated herself as *Sati*.

Some time after this, Jājalladēva was caught by an alligator of the variety locally known as Thirū.² He was fortunately able to extricate himself, and by way of thanksgiving gave the village Bundērā to two Brāhmaṇas, the astrologer Rāghava and the family-priest Nāmadēva, in the year K. 919 (1167 A.C.).

As in previous reigns, there was a considerable building activity during the time of Jājalladēva II. Sōmarāja, the son of Gaṅgādhara who had immigrated from Madhyadēśa, built a temple of Śiva at Mallāla. Several members of the collateral branch of the Kalachuri family, established at Sōṇṭhiva, constructed religious and charitable works in their territory. At Pathariā, Rājadēva, the grandson of Sarvadēva, built a temple of Śiva, raised a mango-grove and excavated a tank. His son Ulhaṇadēva, who, as stated above, died later fighting with the Emperor Jayasinhha of Tripuri, built the temple of Chandrachūḍa. This temple still exists at Shēorinārāyaṇ. Ulhaṇadēva's son Āmaṇadēva II donated the village Chichēli to provide materials for the worship of the god Chandrachūḍa installed by his father.

All the three inscriptions of Jājalla's reign are dated K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.).³ It appears that there was some trouble towards the close of his reign. The Kharod inscription states that when Jājalladēva attained, through accursed fate, union with Brahman (*j.s.*, died), the world became enveloped in darkness on all sides, the people being distressed through the loss of their discernment on account of the Kali Age. The cause of the trouble is not known. Perhaps the country was invaded by some enemy, in consequence of which there were confusion and disorder throughout the land. In this time of trouble Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalla II, came hastily from the Eastern country and established peace, order and good government in the kingdom. As the Kharod inscription says, under Jagaddēva's rule thieves disappeared, obstacles vanished, dangers departed and enemies took shelter in the corners of mountain caves.⁴

¹ No. 98, vv. 27 ff.

² For other interpretations due to misreading of v. 19 of No. 99, see below, p. 319 and n. 2.

³ Nos. 97-99.

⁴ No. 100, v. 14.

It has been suggested that Jagaddēva had been superseded by his younger brother Jājalla II and was ruling over some eastern districts during the latter's life time. But in that case the Kharōd inscription of his son Ratnadēva III's reign would not have bestowed high praise on the usurper.¹ The wording of the verses 13 and 14 of that inscription rather suggests that Jagaddēva had voluntarily relinquished his claim to the throne in order to fight with the Eastern Gaṅgas and that he had to return home hastily when the country was rent by disorder as a result of some foreign invasion.

Jagaddēva seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years (K. 920-930 or 1168-1178 A.C.). He had a queen named Sōmalladēvi, who bore him a son named Ratnadēva III.

Ratnadēva III came to the throne about 1178 A.C. The Kharōd stone inscription dated K. 933 (1181-82 A.C.), which is the only record of his reign, states that he was distinguished for a handsome form, learning and charity. During his reign too there was some trouble. As the Kharōd inscription states, the treasure was exhausted, the elephant force became weak, the people were scattered and the country was infested by a famine and reduced to a pitiable state. In this emergency Ratnadēva made the learned Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādhara his Prime Minister. The latter, by his policy, vanquished the enemies of his lord everywhere, and freed the kingdom from all troublesome persons.² It would appear, therefore, that the trouble had been caused by some unnamed enemy.

Gaṅgādhara, the aforementioned minister of Ratnadēva III, erected religious and charitable works at several places in the kingdom. He repaired the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Lakshmaṇēśvara at Kharōd. This temple had been erected by the Sōmavarṇsi king Iśānadēva more than six centuries before.³ Its *maṇḍapa* may have fallen into disrepair owing to the passage of time. Gaṅgādhara constructed temples at several other places in honour of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Ēkavīrā, Durgā and Gaṇapati. Some of them, such as the temple of Ēkavīrā at Ratnapura, are still standing. He excavated tanks, raised a garden, and established a charitable feeding house at Nārāyaṇapura.⁴

Ratnadēva III was succeeded by his son Pratāpamalla in *circa* K. 950 (1198-99 A.C.). He is known from his two land-grants dated K. 965 and K. 969, and some copper coins which have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of a lion and a dagger on the reverse. From the description in the Penḍrābandh plates that though a boy, he was a second Bali in strength, it seems that he came to the throne while quite young. In other respects, the description of him given by the plates is quite conventional.

We have no records of the successors of Pratāpamalla until we come to the time of Vāharēndra towards the close of the fifteenth century A.C. In the records of other dynasties, there are occasional references to the defeats inflicted on the kings of Kōsala, but they rarely mention the names of the reigning kings. Hēmādri's *Vratākhaṇḍa* states in its *Rājapratāsti* that the Yādava king Śimhaṇa took away troops of rutting elephants belonging to the king Jājalla.⁵ The latter was probably a king of Ratanpur. As he was a contemporary of Śimhaṇa (*circa* 1210-1247 A.C.), he seems to have succeeded Pratāpamalla. He suffered another defeat at the hands of Viṣṇu, the minister of the Gaṅga king Anaṅga-

¹ See No. 100, v. 11. It must, however, be noted that the Penḍrābandh plates of Ratnadēva III's son Pratāpamalla omit Jājalladēva II's name in the genealogical portion; but that may be because he was a collateral.

² No. 100, v. 27.

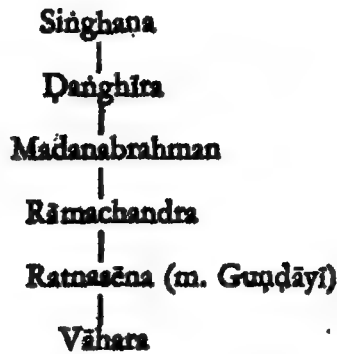
³ Iśānadēva was the uncle of Tivradēva and flourished probably towards the close of the sixth cen. A.C. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 17 ff. and Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

⁴ No. 101, vv. 30 ff.

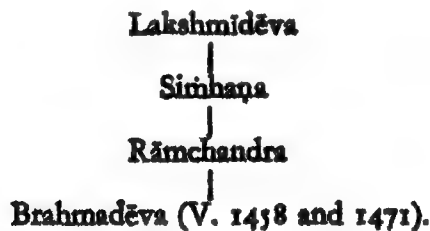
⁵ See the extract from the *Rājapratāsti* I in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *E. H. D.*, p. 195. Recently some coins of Śimhaṇa have been found in the Raigarh District. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 148 ff.

bhīma III.¹ The Purshōttampur plates of the Yādava Rāmchandra intimate a victory of Simhapa's grandson Kṛishṇa over the contemporary king of Kōsala. The latter is not named, but he may have been a successor of the aforementioned Jajjala.

The next notice of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur that we get is from the stone inscriptions of the king Vāhara. The Kosgain inscription² of this king mentions the following pedigree.



The inscription mentions no political events of the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. For Vāhara, we have two dates, *viz.*, V. 1332 (1494-95 A.C.), furnished by the Ratanpur inscription,³ and V. 1370 (1513 A.C.), occurring in the Kosgain inscription.⁴ He may, therefore, have reigned from *circa* 1480 A.C. to 1513 A.C. Taking twenty-five years as the average duration of a reign, the accession of Singhapa, who flourished five generations before, may be dated in *circa* 1355 A.C. This Singhapa is probably identical with Siṅgha or Simhapa mentioned in the Raipur⁵ and Khalāri⁶ stone inscriptions, who also seems to have reigned in the same period; for, his grandson Brahmādēva was ruling at Raipur and Khalāri in V. 1458 (1402 A.C.) and V. 1471⁷ (1415 A.C.). These inscriptions give the following pedigree—



It seems plain, therefore, that in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.C., the Ratanpur family of the Kalachuris split into two branches. The elder branch continued to rule at Ratanpur, while the younger one founded a separate principality with Raipur⁸ as its capital. Combining the two pedigrees, we get the following genealogy⁹—

¹ See the Chāpēvara inscription. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII (1898), pp. 317-27.

² No. 103, ll. 6-7.

³ No. 103, l. 11.

⁴ No. 106, l. 14.

⁵ No. 107, l. 13.

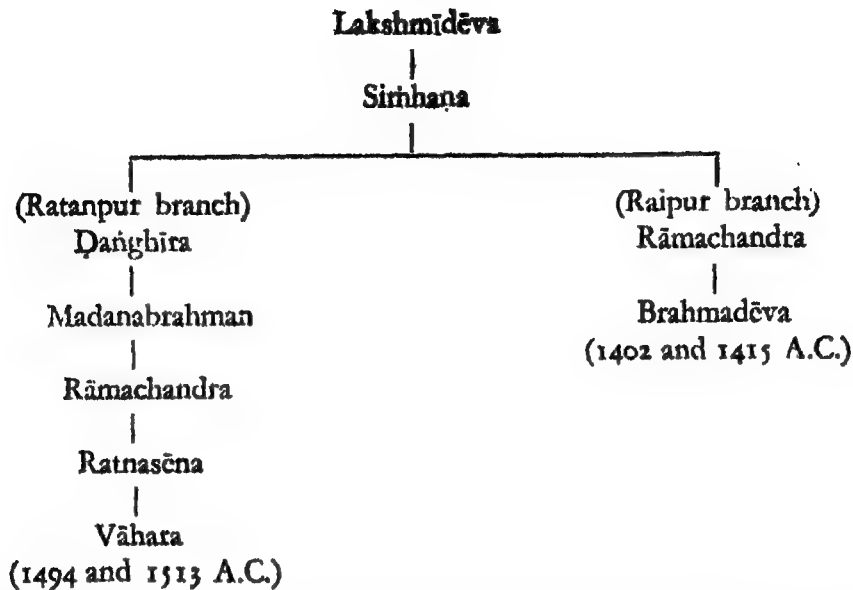
⁶ No. 108, l. 5.

⁷ The inscription contains in l. 15 the date V. 1470, but it is a mistake for V. 1471. See below, p. 376.

⁸ Rāyapura (the royal city) may have been founded by Rāmchandra. In the time of his son Brahmādēva, Khalāpikā (modern Khalāri) seems to have become a second capital of the royal family. See No. 108, l. 8.

⁹ According to local tradition, Kāśava was the founder of the Raipur line and flourished in 1420 A. C. *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 31.

INTRODUCTION



As stated before, the inscriptions give no historical information about the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. Vāhara's reign, however, was marked by skirmishes with the Pathans. The Kosgain inscriptions show that he had shifted his capital from Ratanpur to the stronghold of Kōsaṅga (modern Kosgain) probably owing to the forays of the Pathan adventurers.¹ From there he used to raid Pathan outposts. The Kosgain inscription states that when he attacked the Pathans, they, leaving their stations, used to flee to the Sōṇa. Mādhava, Vāhara's brave minister, is credited with a victory over the Pathans, whom he despoiled of gold and other metals, elephants, horses, cows and buffaloes. The Muslim chroniclers do not mention any incursions of the Afghans, who are evidently meant by the Pathans, into Chhattisgarh, which, being land-locked, must have been comparatively secure from their depredations. From the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* of Abdulla, we learn that Sikandar Lodi invaded the territory of the Rājā of Bhata,² devastated the country and stormed the fort of Bāndhu (Bāndhōgarh in the Rewah State), 'the strongest castle of the district', which he, however, failed to reduce. Bāndhōgarh is about 125 miles north by west of Kosgain. Sikandar's invasion seems to have occurred about 1496 A.C., two years after the date of the Ratanpur inscription of Vāhara's reign. During this expedition or some time later, some Afghan adventurers from Jaunpur may have attempted to raid the Kalachuri territory, but they were turned back by Vāhara.

We have no inscriptions of the successors of Vāhara. Local tradition mentions twelve successors³ of Bāhar Sahāi (evidently identical with Vāharēndra of the inscriptions) who ruled at Ratanpur until the country was conquered by Bhāskar Pant, the Brāhmaṇa General of the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1740 A.C. The reigns of these princes were uneventful and inglorious. One of them Kalyāṇ Sahāi, the successor of Bāhar Sahāi, is said to

¹ Verse 13 of No. 105 states that Vāhara had stored various kinds of food-grains, wealth, fuel and fodder in the fortress evidently to make it sufficiently strong to stand a siege by the enemy.

² *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 462. According to General Briggs, he was Śālivāhan, the Rājā of Pannā. *Loc. cit.*, n. 2. *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 239, states that he was the Rājā of Phaphamau.

³ In his *A. S. I. R.* Vol. XVII, pp. 77 ff., Cunningham gives a list of these kings with approximate dates. He places Bāhar Sahāi in 1519 A.C., which is not wide of the mark. But the dynastic lists are, on the whole, unreliable; for, according to them, the five immediate ancestors of Bāhar Sahāi were Kamala Dēva, Śankara Sahāi, Mahāṇa Sahāi, Dādu Sahāi and Puṣpachōttama Sahāi, but these names do not agree with those given by Vāhara's Kosgain inscription (No. 105).

have proceeded to Delhi to pay homage to the great Akbar.¹ He was absent for about eight years and returned to Ratampur, being invested by the Emperor with the full rights of Rājā and confirmed in the possession of his territory. The Muslim chronicles, however, do not mention this event.

The Raipur branch has left two inscriptions² dated 1402 and 1413 A.C., both of which belong to the reign of Brahmadēva. The only historical event recorded in them is the defeat which Rāmadēva (or Rāmachandra), the father of Brahmadēva, inflicted on Bhōṇīṅgadēva, who belonged to the Phaṇivamśa or Nāga dynasty.³ Two Nāga families were ruling in Chhattisgarh during this period, one in the former Kawardhā State and the other in the former Bastar State. The last dated record of the Bastar family is of Hariśchandra, who was ruling in 1324 A.C.⁴ The Kawardhā family also continued to rule till the fourteenth century, as its last dated inscription is of 1349 A.C.⁵ In the absence of subsequent records, it is difficult to say to which family Bhōṇīṅgadēva, defeated by Rāmachandra, belonged. Perhaps he was ruling over the former Bastar State; for, the Nāgavamśī chiefs of the Kawardhā state are known to have been feudatories of the Kalachuris, whose era they used in earlier times. Some of them were also matrimonially connected with the latter.⁶

The conditions in Chhattisgarh at the time of its annexation by the Marathas are very well described in the following extract.⁷—"The Haihayas merely stood at the head of a number of petty Rājās and official chiefs, each of whom was, to a large extent, independent, and among whom the whole country was divided. It was an essentially weak system, adapted only to an earlier stage of social development, and it would have fallen long ago, had any well organised foreign invasion ever been attempted. When the Marathas came, they marched through the whole country without any opposition, and demanded and obtained the allegiance of all the surrounding states." Thus ended the rule of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgarh after lasting for more than seven centuries from *circa* 1000 A.C. to 1740 A.C.

ADMINISTRATION

The records edited here belong to two main periods—the earlier one extending from about 250 A.C. to about 750 A.C., and the later from about 850 A.C. to about 1500 A.C. The earlier inscriptions mainly come from Western India comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Northern Maharashtra, and the later ones from Northern India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The administrative system, religion, and social and economic life in these two periods naturally show wide differences.

In the earlier period, the largest administrative unit was the *dēśa*, corresponding to the province of modern times. The kingdom of the Traikūṭaka Vyāghrasēna, for instance, comprised several *dēśas* or provinces, only one of which, *viz.*, Aparānta (North Konkan),

¹ According to Cunningham, he went to Delhi in consequence of a dispute with the Rājā of Maṇḍlā and returned in Sāhvat 1628 or 1571 A.C.

² Nos. 107 and 108. A copper-plate inscription of Amarasimhadēva, who is said to have belonged to the Kalachuri family, was discovered at Āraṅg. But it gives no pedigree, contains no date and has no historical importance.

³ No. 108, l. 6.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 39 ff.

⁵ *I. C. P. B.*, (second ed.), p. 176.

⁶ The Māṇḍava Mahāl inscription from the former Kawardhā State states that Rāmachandra of the Phaṇivamśa married Ambikādēvi of the Haihaya lineage. *Ibid.* p. 174.

⁷ *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 48.

finds a specific mention in his grant.¹ The names of the other *dēśas* comprised in the Traikūṭaka kingdom, *viṣ.*, Mahārāshṭra, Rīshika (Khandesh) and Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) do not occur in the records of the Traikūṭakas. The next lower administrative unit was the *viśhaya* corresponding to the modern district. This term was current over a very wide area, *viṣ.*, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. Gujarat was, for instance, divided into a number of *viśhayas* such as the Saṅgamakhēṭaka,² Antarnarmadā,³ Nāndīpura,⁴ Antarmaṇḍalī,⁵ Akūrēśvara,⁶ Bāhirikā,⁷ Kārmaṇēya,⁸ Trēyaṇṇa⁹ and Kāśākula.¹⁰ Some of the *viśhayas* seem to have changed their names in course of time. Thus, when Broach attained a greater importance as the capital of the Gurjaras, the name of the Antarnarmadā *viśhaya* was changed to the Bharukachchha *viśhaya*.¹¹ From Konkan we have the *viśhayas* Trikuṭa, Pallūḍhamba, Amrarāji, Mairikā, Mahāgiriḥāra¹² etc. North Maharashtra had such *viśhayas* as Nāsikya¹³ and Bhōgavardhana.¹⁴ Sometimes *viśhaya* was used as a synonym for *dēśa*. The Kaṇhēri plate, for instance, mentions the Sindhu *viśhaya* in the sense of the province of Sindh.¹⁵ Similarly, the Purī-Koṅkaṇa *viśhaya*, mentioned in the Anjanēri plates,¹⁶ signified the province of Konkan. Our records do not state the extent of these *viśhayas* except in the case of Purī-Koṅkaṇa, which is said to have comprised 14000 villages. Purī-Koṅkaṇa, however, was a *dēśa* rather than a *viśhaya*. Other *viśhayas* must have been much smaller in size. This is also indicated by the number of *viśhayas* into which Gujarat and North Konkan were divided.

A *viśhaya* was subdivided into smaller units which were generally called *ābhāras* in Central India¹⁷ and Gujarat, and *bhōgas* in Maharashtra. Thus we find that the Nagēndra *ābhāra* comprised the territory round modern Eraṇ.¹⁸ Several more *ābhāras* are mentioned in the records from Gujarat, *e.g.*, Iksharakī¹⁹, Lōhikaksha²⁰, Trēyaṇṇa²¹, Kaṇhavalā²² and Kārmanēya.²³ In the south the Nāsikya *viśhaya* of Maharashtra probably comprised the Vāṭanagara

¹ No. 9, l. 2.

² No. 19, l. 9; No. 20, l. 9.

³ No. 11, l. 4.

⁴ No. 22, l. 17.

⁵ No. 8, ll. 2-3.

⁶ No. 16, l. 33; No. 17, l. 33.

⁷ No. 27, l. 16.

⁸ No. 29, l. 21; No. 30, l. 38.

⁹ No. 26, l. 20.

¹⁰ No. 34, l. 9.

¹¹ No. 23, l. 11.

¹² Nr. 31, l. 27.

¹³ No. 28, l. 14.

¹⁴ No. 12, l. 18.

¹⁵ No. 10, l. 2.

¹⁶ No. 31, l. 23.

¹⁷ That an *ābhāra* was a sub-division of a *viśhaya* is evident from the explicit statement in the Navsāri plates of Sryāśraya-Śilāditya (No. 27, l. 16) that the Kaṇhavalā *ābhāra* was included in the Bāhirikā *viśhaya*. Contrast, however, the statement *Trēyaṇṇ-ābhā-āntargata-viśhayā* in line 20 of No. 26, which seems to convey just the opposite. Perhaps the intended statement there was *Trēyaṇṇ-ābhāra-viśhay-āntargata-*. Cf. No. 29, l. 21 and No. 30, l. 38.

¹⁸ No. 119, l. 4.

¹⁹ No. 9, l. 8.

²⁰ No. 24, l. 33.

²¹ No. 26, l. 20.

²² No. 27, l. 16.

²³ No. 29, l. 21 and No. 30, l. 38.

*bbōga*¹; for, Vaṭanagara, modern Vadner, is not far from Nasik. The terms *ābāra* and *bbōga* are sometimes noticed outside the aforementioned limits also. We find, for instance, that Gōrajā *bbōga* was a subdivision of the Bhatukachchha *vishaya* in Gujarat,² while Mahāgiri-hāra in Konkan was probably so called because Mahāgiri was the headquarters of that *ābāra*.³ Some *ābāras* had the same name as the *vishayas* in which they were included, and so the two technical terms are often found combined; see, e.g., Kārmanēy-āhāra-vishaya⁴ and Trēyaṇṇ-āhāra-vishaya.⁵ Some sub-divisions of *vishayas* may have been known as *rāshṭras*. Kalachuri inscriptions mention the *mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* among persons to whom the royal order about a grant was to be communicated.⁶ Some *rāshṭras* may have been large enough to be known as *vishayas*. Gōpa-rāshṭra, for instance, is mentioned as one of the *vishayas* of Puri-Kōṅkaṇa.⁷ An *ābāra* contained smaller territorial units called *pathakas*. Very few *pathakas* have, however, found a mention in our records. Kōrillā *pathaka*⁸ and Lohikaksha *pathaka*⁹ lay in Gujarat, while Nagarikā *pathaka*¹⁰ was in Khandesh. Bāhrikā,¹¹ which is mentioned in the Ēraṇ inscription as a subdivision of Nagēndra *ābāra*, was probably a *pathaka*. *Bhōgas* and *pathakas* contained several towns¹² (*nagaras* or *puras*) and villages (*grāmas*). Capital cities were called *rājadhāni* and were distinguished by prefixing *śrī* or *vijaya* to their names.¹³ Other towns were called *nagaras*, *puras* or *adhishṭhānas*.¹⁴ The village was, of course, the smallest territorial unit. The names of villages generally ended in *khēṭa*, *padra*, *padraka* or *palli*, as, for example, Pippalakhēṭa,¹⁵ Sirishapadraka¹⁶ and Suvarṇārapalli.¹⁷ Villages granted to Brāhmaṇas were known as *agrahāras*; see Śraddhik-āgrahāra¹⁸ mentioned in the Navasāri plates. Some of the larger villages had hamlets attached to them; see, e.g., Śrīparṇakā¹⁹ included in Taṇḍulapadraka, and the three *pallikās*²⁰ attached to Samagiripattana.

In the later period some of these technical terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others. *Dēśa* continued to signify the largest territorial unit, viz., a country or a province.²¹ *Vishaya*, which in the earlier period was the common term denoting a district, is rarely noticed in this period.²² Its place was taken by *maṇḍala* in the south and *pattalā*

¹ No. 14, l. 19. Vaṭanagara was also the name of a *vishaya* which was included in the Nāsika *dēśa*. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

² No. 15, l. 19.

³ No. 31, l. 27.

⁴ No. 29, l. 21; No. 30, l. 38.

⁵ No. 26, l. 20.

⁶ No. 12, l. 17.

⁷ No. 31, l. 26.

⁸ No. 21, l. 22. This is probably identical with Kōrēlla-chaturāṣṭi mentioned in No. 121, l. 16.

⁹ No. 24, l. 35.

¹⁰ No. 2, l. 5.

¹¹ No. 119, l. 4.

¹² Towns which had predominantly a merchant population were called *vaṇiṇ-nagaras*.

¹³ Cf. *Vijay-Aniruddhapurāṭi* in No. 9, l. 1.

¹⁴ No. 119, l. 4.

¹⁵ No. 25, l. 20.

¹⁶ No. 16, l. 33 and No. 17, l. 33.

¹⁷ No. 19, l. 10.

¹⁸ No. 21, l. 19.

¹⁹ No. 15, l. 8.

²⁰ No. 32, l. 50.

²¹ See Vaṭabara *dēśa* mentioned in No. 88, l. 1.

²² Some instances of *vishaya* are Guṇakala *vishaya* mentioned in the Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 36) and Anarghavallī *vishaya* in the Shēorinārāyaṇ plates (No. 82, l. 19). In some stray records other terms like *bbūmi* and *uddēśa* are noticed; see No. 48, l. 37 and No. 56, ll. 27-28. These did not, however, become common.

in the north. The records from Chhattisgarh mention several *maṇḍalas* such as Kōmā-maṇḍala¹, Aparā-maṇḍala,² Madhya-maṇḍala,³ Sāmanta-maṇḍala,⁴ Anarghavalī-maṇḍala⁵ (called also Anargha-maṇḍala), Talahāri-maṇḍala⁶ etc. Sometimes *maṇḍala* was used in the sense of *dēśa*. Notice Mālava-maṇḍala⁷ in the sense of Mālava-dēśa in the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha, and Chēdi-maṇḍala in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛithvī-dēva II.⁸ A more common term denoting a district was *pattalā*, which was current over a wide country. We have, for instance, Kauśāmba-pattalā⁹ from Uttar Pradesh, Devagrāma-pattalā,¹⁰ Khaṇḍagahā-pattalā,¹¹ Kūyīśambapālisa-pattalā,¹² Dhanavāhi-pattalā¹³ and Rēvā-pattalā¹⁴ from Vindhya Pradesh, and Sambalā-pattalā¹⁵, Nava-pattalā¹⁶ and Jāulī-pattalā¹⁷ from the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Subdivisions of a *pattalā* are rarely mentioned. In the records edited here, we have only two instances of Māladvādaśaka¹⁸ and Kōrēlla-chaturaśīti,¹⁹ which were evidently groups of villages of which Mālā and Kōrēlla were the principal ones. A *pattalā* may, therefore, have been divided into smaller territorial units of 10, 12, 40 or 100 villages, but they rarely find a mention in the inscriptions of this period. Names of towns ended in *nagara* or *pura* and those of villages in *grāma* or *pājaka*. See, e.g., Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura,²⁰ Hastigrāma, Nikhatigrāma, Thiulapājaka and Vanīā-pājaka.²¹ Some towns were named after the kings or queens who settled them. See, e.g., Ratnapura founded by Ratnadēva I, Jājallapura by Jājalladēva I and Gōsalapura by Gōsala-dēvi. All these are still known by their ancient names which, in some cases, are slightly changed.

The form of government was monarchical throughout the long period represented by the records edited here. At the head of the administrative machinery was the king whose authority was supreme. He appointed viceroys, governors, ministers, and important civil and military officers, and transferred them from one province to another according as he considered it desirable. The Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, for instance, appointed his younger brother Jayasimha to govern Gujarat and the Nasik District²² and placed the Harīśchandra-prince Svāmichandra in charge of the whole Puri-Koṅkaṇa.²³ The king usually

¹ No. 77, l. 13.

² No. 76, l. 29.

³ No. 91, l. 23.

⁴ No. 92, l. 22.

⁵ No. 83, l. 23.

⁶ No. 96, l. 6.

⁷ No. 60, l. 18.

⁸ No. 93, l. 8.

⁹ No. 30, l. 37.

¹⁰ No. 36, l. 18.

¹¹ No. 63, l. 11.

¹² No. 68, l. 7.

¹³ No. 72, l. 10.

¹⁴ No. 70, l. 13.

¹⁵ Below, p. 649.

¹⁶ No. 64, l. 26.

¹⁷ No. 60, l. 24.

¹⁸ No. 42, l. 31.

¹⁹ No. 121, l. 16.

²⁰ No. 43, l. 32.

²¹ No. 74, l. 37.

²² No. 27, l. 9.

²³ No. 31, l. 6.

conferred titles and other distinctions such as *pañchamahāśabda* for meritorious service.¹ He was also the Commander-in-chief of the army and himself led important campaigns. Some early grants were issued from the victorious camps of kings evidently in the course of military campaigns. The king was also the Supreme Judge, and, according to the Smṛitis, it was one of his principal duties to dispense justice either personally or through judges appointed for the purpose. His consent was necessary for the transfer of any immovable property in the State. The three early inscriptions from Khandesh,² for instance, record the royal assent to certain gifts of land made by private individuals.

The king's authority was thus, in theory, unfettered, but in practice there were several checks. The education of the princes was so designed as to make them self-controlled as well as learned and brave. The high ideals of self-restraint, charity, impartiality, liberal patronage to religion and learning, and respect to elders and learned people were constantly kept before their eyes and inculcated upon their minds. The princes who were brought up in such traditions did not generally belie the expectations of their educators. The earlier records of the Traikūṭakas, the Kalachuris and the Gurjaras give a glowing description of the *ābhigāmika-guṇas* (attractive qualities) and other merits of the reigning kings and their ancestors. The Surat plates state, for instance, that the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna shared his wealth with learned people, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons, and that his enviable fortune was allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth.³ The Kalachuri records state that the illustrious king Kṛṣṇarāja wielded his weapon for the protection of the distressed, fought to humble the arrogance of his enemies, acquired learning to attain humility, and wealth to spend it in charity, made gifts to acquire religious merit and accumulated religious merit to attain salvation.⁴ The Gurjara grants say that Dadda III was an adept in performing his duty, as he had acquired discrimination by studying the sacred treatise of the great sage Manu.⁵ Even foreigners were impressed by the high ideals preached by the Hindu *Dharmaśāstras* and *Arthaśāstras*. The Śaka king Śrīdhavarman is described in both the records of his reign as *dharmavijayin*, i.e., a righteous conqueror.⁶ This means that he never waged any war for self-aggrandizement. There may be some exaggeration in the description of the princes given by their panegyrists, but it undoubtedly indicates the ideal set before the rulers, which many of them must have striven to reach. In later inscriptions, however, we do not find the same emphasis laid on the virtues of self-restraint, learning and humility. The later *prāśastis* abound in glowing descriptions of a king's bravery and liberality as well as his construction of religious and charitable works, but they rarely refer to his discipline, duties and responsibilities.

The king could not also oppress the people by means of harsh and unjust laws; for his legislative powers were extremely limited. He was enjoined to govern the people and to administer justice strictly in accordance with the civil and criminal laws laid down in the Smṛitis. He had no power to enact fresh laws and to issue orders except in matters not covered by these works. In ancient times when religion had a firm hold on the minds of the people, few kings dared to defy the dictates of the age-old sacred Dharmaśāstras. On the other hand, many took pride in stating in their records that they studied these works and implicitly followed their teaching in respect of the institutions of the *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life).⁷

¹ See above, p. lrv.

² Nos. 2-4.

³ No. 9, l. 7.

⁴ No. 12, ll. 8-9.

⁵ No. 21, l. 8.

⁶ No. 5, l. 2 and No. 119, l. 2.

⁷ No. 21, ll. 8-9.

Besides, the counsellors (*mantrins*) whom the king was enjoined to consult, the Purōhita who, by his prayers and religious rites, propitiated gods and secured their help in warding off all calamities and attaining success,¹ and the *Rājaguru* who was greatly venerated must have wielded considerable influence in controlling the arbitrary actions of the king. There were, again, rich and powerful *Śrēṇis* (guilds) and *Gaṇas* (corporations) which maintained their own militia.² The kings were not loth to use this military force in times of difficulty. The existence of these powerful self-governing institutions must also have exercised a wholesome influence in curbing the oppressive tendencies of a despot.

Royal power must also have been considerably checked by the existence of powerful feudatories. The latter enjoyed considerable privileges. They could make grants of land in their own name without referring to the paramount power or even mentioning its name in their records.³ The Gurjaras of Central Gujarat called themselves *Sāmantas* and undoubtedly owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, to whom they must have paid an annual tribute ; but in other respects they exercised independent authority and could wage war or make peace on their own initiative. The Sēndrakas, the Gujarat Chālukyas and the Harischandriyas originally obtained their principalities by the favour of the imperial Chālukya family of Bādāmi, but in their land-grants they generally make no mention of the contemporary Chālukya Emperor. In later times, however, as the power of the central authority increased, the feudatories became weak. Most of them were required to be in attendance in the Imperial court. The *Prabandhaśintāmaṇi* states that as many as 136 kings were in attendance in the court of Kaṇa.⁴ It is significant that we have hardly any grants made by these numerous feudatories of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The only instances known so far are those made by the princes of Karkarēḍī,⁵ but they belong to the age when the power of the imperial family was declining.

Kingship was hereditary. The eldest son was generally made the heir-apparent. He is called *Yuvarāja* in earlier records, and *Mahārājaputra* or *Mahākumāra* in later ones. He helped the king in the administration of the kingdom and succeeded him after his death. Sryāśraya-Śilāditya, for instance, was governing South Gujarat on behalf of his father. He could make grants of land in his own name and was also authorised to use his own seal for the charters he issued.⁶ Sometimes a king himself in his old age crowned his son and himself retired from government. Kaṇa, the illustrious Kalachuri king, is said to have himself performed the coronation of his son Yaśaḥkaṇa.⁷ Junior princes were often appointed to govern outlying provinces. The Gurjara king Dadda II appointed his brother Raṇagraha to govern a province. The latter could, however, make a grant of land only with the consent of the reigning king.⁸ Kōkalla I had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest succeeded him, while the younger ones were appointed rulers of the neighbouring *maṇḍalas*.⁹

Later records generally mention the *Mahārājī* or crowned queen among the persons to whom the royal order about a grant of land was to be communicated. It is not known whether she took any part in the deliberation of state affairs. She had, in any case, no independent authority. The Kārīṭalāi inscription, while recording a gift of Rāhaḍā, the

¹ Cf. *Rigveda*, IV, 30, 7-9; *NVA.*, p. 160.

² Nos. 1 and 120.

³ They had their own Department of Peace and War. See No. 16, ll. 30-31.

⁴ *P. C. H.*, p. 30.

⁵ Nos. 65 and 68.

⁶ See the seal of No. 27.

⁷ No. 36, l. 15.

⁸ No. 18, l. 10.

⁹ No. 76, ll. 8-9. This is also laid down in *SNS.*, *adhyāya* 1, vv. 346-48.

Mahādēvi (queen) of Lakshmaparāja II, expressly states that it had been made by her with the consent of the king.¹ Similarly, the Kumbhī plates state clearly that the village Chōralāyī was granted by the queen-mother Gōsaladēvi with the consent of her son, the reigning king Vijayasimha.² Still, some queens must have exercised a considerable political and religious influence. Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, greatly influenced the religious policy of her husband and invited to the Chēdi country several ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan from her home country. She herself built a lofty temple of Śiva under the name of Nōhalēśvara, which she endowed with the gift of several villages.³ The dowager queen Alhanadēvi also caused a temple of Śiva, a monastery and a lecture-hall to be constructed at Bhēr-Ghāt and herself granted two villages for their maintenance.⁴ Both these gifts must have been made with the tacit approval of the ruling king. Gōsaladēvi also must have exercised a considerable influence during the reign of her son Vijayasimha. She is mentioned prominently with her son and grandson in the Bhērā-Ghāt temple inscription.⁵

The king was assisted by counsellors (*mantrins*), ministers (*amātyas*) and heads of departments (*adhyakṣas*). The *Sukranītisāra* emphasises the importance of the Crown Prince and the Council of Ministers by saying that they are the arms, eyes and ears of the king.⁶ The *Nītivākyāmṛita* of Sōmadēva, who flourished in the 10th century A.C., recommends the appointment of three, five or seven counsellors.⁷ We have, however, no definite information about the existence of a *mantri-parishad* either in the earlier or in the later age. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates⁸ mention chief counsellors (*mantri-mukhyas*), but whether they formed a *mantri-parishad*, it is difficult to say. Earlier records mention very few ministers and high State functionaries. Later records, no doubt, enumerate a number of them, but they do not state whether any of them were regularly consulted by the reigning king in the important affairs of the State. Again, divergent views were held by the authors of the Smṛitis and the Arthaśāstras about the number of ministers. According to Manu, the king should have seven or eight ministers.⁹ Sukra mentions a council of eight or ten ministers.¹⁰ Sōmadēva tells us that the departments entrusted to the ministers (*amātyas*) were those of revenue, expenditure, protection of the king's person and the army.¹¹ If there was a council of eight ministers in the age of the Later Kalachuris, it may have consisted of the following who are generally mentioned in their records :—*Mahāmantrin*, *Mahāmātya*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahādharmaḍbikavāṇika* (or *Mahāpurōhita* as stated in some records), *Mahākṣapāṭalika*, *Mahāpratibāra*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahāpramātri*. The ministers wielded a considerable power. In cases of emergency they carried on the administration of the State and placed their nominee from among the princes on the royal throne.¹² The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state, for instance, that the Chief Counsellors placed Kōkalla II on the throne of his father Yuvarājadēva II evidently in an emergency caused probably by the latter's sudden death.¹³

¹ No. 42, l. 29.

² See p. 650.

³ No. 45, l. 18.

⁴ No. 60, ll. 23-4.

⁵ No. 69, l. 1.

⁶ *SNS.*, *adhyāya* II, v. 12.

⁷ *NVA.*, X, 71.

⁸ No. 56, v. 8; No. 57, v. 8.

⁹ *MSM.*, *adhyāya* VII, v. 54.

¹⁰ *SNS.*, *adhyāya* II, vv. 69 ff.

¹¹ *NVA.*, XVIII, 6.

¹² See e.g. No. 48, ll. 34-36; No. 56, ll. 25-26.

¹³ No. 56, v. 8; No. 57, v. 8.

The chief among these ministers was called *Mahāmantrin* (Chief Counsellor). He was the right-hand man of the king and wielded a great power. We have no information about the *Mahāmantrins* of the early kings such as the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Śēndrakas and the Chālukyas; for, no grants made by them have yet come to light. For the later period, however, we have some inscriptions recording their construction of religious and charitable works, from which we can glean some information about their abilities and achievements. The Kalachuri king Yuvarājādēva I had an able Counsellor named Bhākamīśra, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*.¹ He was very learned and pious. His son Sōmēśvara, who served Lakshmaṇarāja II, is highly eulogised in the Kārttalāi inscription. We are told that once when the palanquin of the *Mahāmantrin* was about to fall owing to the exhaustion of the bearer, the king Lakshmaṇarāja himself put his shoulder to it.² This plainly indicates in what high esteem the king held him. The *Mahāmātya* who was next in rank was also a very influential minister.³ He was probably in charge of the administration of the State. From the Rewa inscription we know of a highly cultured and valiant Kāyastha family which served the Kalachuris of Tripurī for several generations. Its founder was Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, who was the *Amātya* of Yuvarājādēva I.⁴ The *Mahādhyakṣha*, who is mentioned in some records, was the General Superintendent of Administration.⁵ Sometimes a *Sarvādhikārin* was appointed and invested with supreme powers of direction and administration.⁶ The *Mahāpratībāra* was also an important officer.⁷ He was in constant attendance on the king. He ushered people into the royal presence and communicated royal orders to the officers concerned.⁸

The *Rājaguru*, though not included among the ministers, exercised a great influence in the court of the Kalachuri kings. He was consulted in important matters and was often entrusted with various kinds of work befitting his position.⁹

The earliest records included here, *viz.*, the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh, do not mention any royal officers specifically. They refer to them in general terms as *Ayuktakas*.¹⁰ The Kalachhala plate, however, mentions *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Dāṇḍika* and *Dāṇḍapāśika*, besides those in charge of elephants, horses and men, as well as *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*.¹¹ The mention of the first two officers is noteworthy; for, till now they were known to occur first in the records of the Gupta age. The Kānākhērā inscription mentions *Mahādāṇḍanīyaka*,¹² and the Bṛaṇ inscription *Ārakṣhika* and *Sēnāpati*.¹³ These three records, which are of the pre-Gupta or early Gupta age, show that the Sanskrit technical terms signifying a hierarchy of officers in the different departments of the State had already been evolved before the rise of the Guptas. Later inscriptions such as the Bāgh cave plate of Subandhu, the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna and the Sunao Kala plates of Saṅgamasimha mention several more functionaries. From these and other records we can form a general idea of the administration of the different departments of the State.

¹ No. 42, l. 3.

² *Ibid.*, l. 16.

³ No. 51, ll. 22 ff.

⁴ Nos. 38-41.

⁵ No. 48, l. 36.

⁶ No. 90, l. 18.

⁷ No. 48, l. 35.

⁸ Cf. No. 11, l. 24.

⁹ No. 64, v. 40.

¹⁰ See, e.g., No. 2, l. 2.

¹¹ No. 118, l. 3.

¹² No. 5, l. 2.

¹³ No. 119, l. 6.

General Administration—Early records mention several officers of different grades. The *Rājasthāniya*, who heads the list in the Sunao Kala plates, was probably the highest officer.¹ As the term signifies a Viceroi, he may have been in charge of a province. Under him were the *Uparikas*, who administered smaller territorial units like the modern Commissioners' Divisions. The *Vishayapatis* corresponded to the modern Collectors or Deputy Commissioners and were in charge of *vishayas* (districts). *Kumārāmātya* was a general term denoting officers of different grades. Some of these terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others in course of time. *Uparika* and *Kumārāmātya* do not occur in the later records of the Gurjaras, the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas. *Rājasthāniya* continued for a longer time, as it occurs in the Bagumrā plates of Allāsakti.² The new terms which generally replaced *Rājasthāniya* and *Uparika* were *Rājan* and *Sāmanta*.³ They administered larger territorial units like the modern province or the Commissioner's Division. The *Vishayapatis* continued to be in charge of the districts. Under them were the *Bhōgika-pālakas*, who probably supervised the work of the *Bhōgikas*.⁴ The latter were in charge of smaller territorial divisions like the *bhōgas*, *pathakas* and *grāmas*. The Navsāri plates mention a *grāmabhōgika*.⁵ Other records mention the *Rāshtrakūṭa* and the *Grāmakūṭa*, who were evidently the heads of a *rāshtra* and a village respectively.⁶ The *Sthānalaka*, who finds a mention in one record,⁷ was probably a local officer. Similarly, the *Drāṅgika* was the Mayor of a town.⁸ Subordinate officers were referred to as *āyuktakas* and *vinī-yuktakas*.⁹ Later they came to be known as *ādbikārikas*.¹⁰

Revenue Department—The head of this department was probably the *Mahāpramātri* who is mentioned in the later Kalachuri records.¹¹ He surveyed all land and fixed its assessment. The *Mahākshapaṭalika* was the head of the Records Department.¹² The officer who collected the land revenue was called *Dityōdgrābaka*.¹³ Villages and lands granted to the Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of temples were exempt from *ditya* or land-tax.¹⁴ The officer who collected other taxes was known as *Vishayādānika*.¹⁵

There were different sources of state revenue. *Udrāṅga* and *uparikara* are generally mentioned in early inscriptions. They probably correspond to *kṛipta* and *upkṛipta* mentioned in the Vākātaka grants, and to *bhāga* and *bhōga* of later records.¹⁶ *Udrāṅga* may have been a land-tax. As for *uparikara* which seems to signify an additional tax, it may have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which traders and artisans had to pay. Besides these, salt and iron mines, forests, pasture-lands, mango and *mahud* trees, threshing floors, fines imposed for offences, *str.* were the other sources of revenue.¹⁷ Rates were levied

¹ No. 11, l. 2.

² No. 26, l. 16.

³ No. 12, l. 16. The Bagumrā plates, however, have both *Rājan* and *Rājasthāniya*.

⁴ No. 13, l. 4; No. 18, l. 9.

⁵ No. 30, l. 36.

⁶ No. 26, ll. 17-18; No. 28, l. 13.

⁷ No. 7, l. 2.

⁸ No. 31, l. 2. *Drāṅga* occurs as the name of a territorial division in the Maitraka grants. According to some, the *Drāṅgika* was an octroi officer. *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 279.

⁹ No. 7, l. 2.

¹⁰ No. 12, l. 17.

¹¹ No. 48, l. 36.

¹² *Ibid.*, l. 35.

¹³ No. 7, l. 2.

¹⁴ No. 8, l. 6.

¹⁵ No. 74, l. 35. Here the term occurs as *Vishayādānika*.

¹⁶ No. 48, l. 43.

¹⁷ No. 48, l. 37; No. 42, l. 34.

for the salary of the *Paṭṭakila* and the apprehension of criminals (*dussādhyas*).¹ Octroi and excise duties were another good source of income.² They were collected by the officers called *Saulkikas*.³ The *Ghaṭṭapati* and *Tarapati*, mentioned in the Kahla plates, looked after the ghāts and ferries, and collected a small cess levied for their use.⁴

There were various other taxes. The Anjanēri plates of Bhōgāsakti mention the tax levied on shops in market-places.⁵ Another tax called *kōvira*, imposed on written documents (*karanas*), may have been a fee for registration. Each cart of a caravan had to pay a certain octroi duty while entering and leaving a village or a town.⁶ There was also a sales tax levied in money or kind on the articles sold in the market-places. The Bilhāri inscription mentions that for every elephant sold in the market in a particular town, a tax of four *pauras*, and for every horse, that of two *pauras* were required to be paid. A small tax was also levied on the sale of other commodities, such as salt, oil, betel-nuts, black pepper, ginger, bundles of grass, vegetables and egg-plants.⁷ Some of these taxes were paid in kind. In some cases these taxes were assigned to temples for their maintenance. Otherwise, they were collected for the State.

Judicial Department—There are very few references to Judicial Officers in inscriptions. Perhaps *Dāṇḍika* who is mentioned in the Kalachhala plate⁸ separately from *Danḍapāsika* was a Magistrate. *Danḍanāyaka*, however, was probably a military officer.⁹

Religious Department—This department is not mentioned in any early record edited here. Later, it seems to have attained a greater importance. Its head, the *Mahādharma-dhikaraṇika* or *Mahāpurōhita*, is invariably mentioned among the officers to whom the royal order about a land-grant was to be communicated.¹⁰ In one record he is called *Dharmakarmādhikārin*, i.e., the Officer in charge of religious works.¹¹ The *Mahādānika* mentioned in the Kahla plates¹² probably belonged to this very department and arranged for the *mahādānas* (great gifts) when the king desired to make them. The scribe who recorded the royal order about a grant was called *Dharmalēkhin*.¹³ He was also known as *Datamūlin*.¹⁴

Military and Police Departments—The army was traditionally divided into four members—chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.¹⁵ Each of these must have been under a head, but it is significant that the Kalachhala plate, which is the earliest record referring to them, mentions only the heads of the elephant-force, cavalry and infantry (*basty-atva-jana-vyāpṛita*).¹⁶ Chariots had perhaps lost their importance. The elephant force was an important constituent of the army. The strength of the latter was generally

¹ No. 63, l. 29.

² No. 21, l. 27. See also p. 89, n. 2.

³ No. 74, l. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 35.

⁵ No. 31, l. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 36.

⁷ No. 43, l. 31.

⁸ No. 118, l. 3.

⁹ The Gunji rock inscription mentions the titles *Danḍanāyaka* and *Balādhikṛita* borne by the same person. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 51. *Mahādanḍanāyaka* in No. 3, l. 2 was clearly a military title.

¹⁰ No. 48, l. 35; No. 36, l. 25.

¹¹ No. 100, l. 28.

¹² No. 74, l. 34.

¹³ No. 36, l. 44. He is called *Adīśanāibandhika* in No. 74, l. 37.

¹⁴ No. 63, l. 40.

¹⁵ Notice the reference to the four-membered army in No. 36, l. 8.

¹⁶ No. 118, l. 3.

measured by the number of elephants in it. The elephant-drivers also had a considerable importance and had their own *gana* or corporation.¹ The head of the elephant force was called *Mahāpīlāpati* in early times. Later, he came to be known as *Mahāpramattavāra*. He occupied an influential position in early times and was sometimes appointed even the head of a territorial division. Nirihullaka, for instance, who was *Mahāpīlāpati*, is described as *Bhūjikapālaka* and had a military officer under him.² Later Kalachuri inscriptions mention the *Mahāśvasādbhanika*,³ who was the head of the cavalry, which as a mobile force may have attained a great importance in the later age. It is noteworthy that the Rewa stone inscription mentions a *Ghōṭaka-vigraha* or Battle of Horses, fought and won by Vappulla, a general of the Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa.⁴

*Balādhikṛita*⁵ and *Śenāpati*⁶ were the general terms denoting a military officer. Later, *Sādbhanika* was used in the same sense. *Gaulmikas* were officers in charge of a troop of soldiers or a battalion of the army. The Commander-in-chief is called *Mahābalādhikṛita*⁷ in earlier records and *Mahāśenāpati*⁸ in later ones. It is curious that the Commander-in-chief of the whole army is generally not mentioned among the officers named in later Kalachuri grants.⁹ On the other hand, we find that the *Mahāpramattavāra* and the *Mahāśvasādbhanika*, who were the chief commanders of the elephant force and cavalry, are mentioned specifically. The reason may be that the kings themselves were the Commanders-in-chief of their armies. Military officers are generally mentioned as *Dūtakas* in early land-grants.

The *Daṇḍapāśika*¹⁰ was a Police Officer. The Superintendent of the Police was called *Arakṣhika*.¹¹ He was generally a military officer. Thus, Satyanāga who erected the *yashṭi* at Erikiṇa was both *Senāpati* and *Arakṣhika*. The Police Officers who were specially charged with the investigation of thefts and apprehension of thieves and other criminals were called *Chōrōddharanikas*.¹² The *Dushāsādhaka* mentioned in the Kahla plates¹³ was probably a Police Officer of the same type. The *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, who are frequently mentioned in early land-grants, were policemen and soldiers whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the country and to apprehend criminals. They were often harsh and exacting in their ways and were, therefore, forbidden to enter *agrahāra* villages except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.¹⁴

Foreign Department—In ancient times this was called *Sandhi-vigraha-ādhanika* (the Department of Peace and War). Its head *Mahāsāndhivigraha* figures in several early grants as the writer of copper-plate charters.¹⁵ In fact, it was laid down that such charters should be written only by this officer and none else, in accordance with the instructions received from the king.¹⁶ The reason was that of all the departments of the State, the Department

¹ No. 120, l. 4.

² No. 13, l. 4.

³ No. 48, l. 36; No. 50, l. 37; No. 56, ll. 25-26.

⁴ No. 33, l. 10.

⁵ No. 21, l. 42.

⁶ No. 119, l. 6.

⁷ No. 26, l. 38.

⁸ No. 74, l. 34.

⁹ The Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 34), however, mention the *Mahāśenāpati* among such officers.

¹⁰ No. 118, l. 3; No. 120, l. 3.

¹¹ No. 11, l. 2; No. 119, l. 6.

¹² No. 24, l. 19; No. 56, l. 16.

¹³ No. 74, l. 35.

¹⁴ No. 9, l. 10.

¹⁵ No. 9, ll. 17-18.

¹⁶ See Mitākṣharī on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, adhyāya I, v. 320; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 139.

of Peace and War was most likely to have an accurate information about the conquests of the king and his ancestors which were generally described in the initial part of such charters.

Other Officers—Several other officers are mentioned in later inscriptions. The *Bhāṇḍāgārika* was the Treasurer. The *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika* corresponded to the modern Chancellor of the Exchequer.¹ The *Mahāsāmanta* was the head of the feudatory princes. The *Mahākaraṇika* was the head of the Secretariat.² The *Vāsāka* or *Vāsāpnaka* arranged for the residence of strangers and officers on tour.³ *Mahākōṭṭapāla* was the head of the guardians of forts.⁴ The exact significance of some technical terms denoting officers such as *Khaṇḍavāla*, *Balādbhira* and *Mākutika*⁵ is not known.

The records do not show that any of these officers' posts were held on the principle of heredity. For instance, Kēsava, the *Mahābalādhikṛita* of Jayabhata III, was the son of a mere *Bhōgika*.⁶ He must have risen to his high post by merit. If in some families the same post was held for more than one generation, it must also have been due to merit. Thus Sahabhata, the writer of the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhata III, who held the post of *Balādhikṛita*, was the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Durgabhata.⁷ Similarly, Sōmēśvara, the capable Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II of Tripurī, was the son of Bhākamiśra who had served the royal family in the previous generation in the same capacity.⁸ There are some other instances of the same type in the history of the Ratanpur branch also. We have no reason to suppose that any of these posts were monopolised by these families on the principle of heredity. In some minor offices, the posts may have been held hereditarily. The post of the scribe of copper-plate grants in the Secretariat at Ratanpur was, for instance, held by a Kāyastha family of the village Janḍēra for several generations.⁹

In towns and villages, the administration seems to have been carried on by royal officers with the assistance of the committees called *pañcbakulas*. The *Sukranītisāra* states that the officers appointed by the king in every town and village should be six, viz., the head of the town or the village, the collector of land revenue, the collector of taxes, the magistrate, the scribe (or accountant) and the Pratihāra who was probably the head of the town or village police.¹⁰ Some of these officers are mentioned in our records. The mayor of a town is called *Drāṅgika*¹¹ in early records and *Purapradhāna*¹² in later ones. The head of a village was *Grāmakūṭa* or *Grāmabhōgika*.¹³ The *Saulkika* who collected taxes and the *Daṇḍapāśika* who inflicted punishment are also named in some records.¹⁴ The other officers were generally mentioned as *āyuktakas* in early records. The *pañcbakulas* were committees of persons elected by the residents of a town or a village for the management of the several departments.¹⁵ The Dhurēti plates mention a *pañcbakula-dharmādhikaraṇa*

¹ No. 48, l. 36.

² No. 48, l. 35. He is called *Lakṣanādhyaṅksha* in No. 113, l. 1.

³ No. 30, l. 36.

⁴ No. 70, l. 12.

⁵ No. 74, l. 35. The *Mākutika* was perhaps a village officer. See below, p. 396, n. 1.

⁶ No. 21, l. 42.

⁷ No. 22, l. 38.

⁸ No. 42, ll. 3 ff.

⁹ Below, p. 458, n. 3.

¹⁰ *JNS.*, adhyāya II, vv. 120-21; 170-75. Nilakaṇṭha, in his commentary on *MBH.*, Sabhāparvan, adhyāya V, v. 80, mentions five village officers somewhat differently.

¹¹ No. 11, l. 2.

¹² No. 76, l. 34.

¹³ No. 30, l. 36.

¹⁴ No. 74, l. 34; No. 120, l. 3.

¹⁵ In *NVA.*, XVIII, 49, Sōmadēva mentions the following members of the *karaka* or *pañcbakula* of what appears to be the Revenue Department:—One member receives the offered amount, the second records it in the register, the third seals it, the fourth deposits it in the Treasury, while the fifth exercises general supervision.

which was probably the Judicial Department managed by a *pañchakula*.¹ The description shows that the merchant community had a preponderating representation on it. Other departments also must have had similar *pañchakulas* elected for their administration. The Anjanēri plates state that when the king Bhōgatakti assigned certain taxes *etc.* for the maintenance of the temple of Bhōgēśvara in the town of Jayapura, he laid down that the festival of the god should be celebrated by five or even ten merchants in accordance with the custom of the town.² The wording of the passage shows that five was the usual number of the members of such committees, on account of which they were usually known as *pañchakulas*. In special circumstances, however, a larger number up to ten was elected. The *pañchakulas* decided also civil and criminal cases and imposed fines. Some rules for their guidance were laid down by the central government.³ In other cases, the Anjanēri plates state, whatever eight or sixteen *Mahallakas* would declare after due deliberation would be the right standard of punishment.⁴ This shows that sometimes the committees consisted of as many as sixteen members. Generally appeals were allowed on the decisions of the *pañchakulas*, except in the case of *agrahāra* villages which were donated with full powers of adjudication.⁵

The members of the *pañchakulas* were called *Mahattaras* (Prakrit, *Mahallakas*). There were evidently elected, but we have no information about the mode of election or the manner of voting. Their head or President was probably called *Mahattama*. The Smṛitis lay down special qualifications for the post of the *Mahattama*. A *Mahattama* should be honest, conversant with religion, vigilant, self-controlled and high-born. *Mahattamas* were also called *Pañchakulikas*, heads of *pañchakulas*. The chief of them, called *Mahāpañchakulika*, is mentioned in the Kahla plates.⁶ He evidently resided in the capital, but what department he exactly represented we do not know.

Another officer who was common to both the town and the village was *Gaṇāgamika*.⁷ He is mentioned in the grants of Subandhu and the Sēndrakas. His function evidently was to keep a watch on persons coming into or going out of the town or the village. It is interesting to note that the *Sukramitiśāra* also mentions a similar officer. He was specially in charge of the *pāṇṭhaśālā* or *sarai* of the village. He made inquiries about the caste, family, name and residence of the traveller, the places he came from and was going to, and after taking away his arms if he had any, made arrangements for guarding the *sarai* at night. In the morning the traveller's arms were returned to him and he was escorted to the limit of the village.⁸

RELIGION

We shall next proceed to consider the state of religion in the periods represented by our records. In the beginning of the earlier period, Buddhism was in the ascendant in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, and claimed many votaries—especially among the lower classes as also among the foreigners who were attracted by its catholic spirit. It is significant that the first record of the period included here, which belongs to the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, registers certain endowments made by a woman of the Saka race

¹ No. 72, l. 9.

² No. 32, l. 44.

³ No. 32, ll. 34 ff.

⁴ No. 32, l. 37.

⁵ No. 32, l. 41.

⁶ No. 74, l. 34.

⁷ No. 7, l. 2; No. 22, l. 19; No. 26, l. 16.

⁸ *JNS.*, adhyāya I, vv. 270-7.

to provide medicines for the sick among the Community of the Buddhist monks living in the *vihāra* on the Trirāśmi hill near Nasik. Later, during the time of the Traikūṭakas we find an inhabitant of distant Sindh coming to Kṛishnagiri in North Konkan and erecting a *stūpa* dedicated to Śāradvatīputra, one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha.¹ At Bāgh in the former Barwāni State, a private individual named Dattatāka caused a cave to be excavated and decorated with beautiful paintings for use by the followers of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The ruler of the country, though himself a follower of the Vēdic religion, made a liberal grant for the worship of the Buddha image, the repairs of the *vihāra* and provision of food, clothing, medicines *etc.* for the Buddhist monks living there.² Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.C., states that there were about 100 monasteries in Maharashtra with more than 5000 monks of the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna living in them. In the country of Bharukachchha (*i.e.*, Central Gujarat) he found more than ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 monks, all adherents of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school.³ Later, Buddhism seems to have gradually declined in strength for want of royal patronage.

On the other hand, Hinduism which had been lying dormant for some centuries began to assert itself with the rise of the Gupta and Vākātaka dynasties in North and South India respectively. This revival of Hinduism was marked by the performance of the *Srauta* sacrifices which had been in abeyance for a long time. In North India Samudragupta is credited with the revival of the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.⁴ In South India the Ikshvāku king Śāntamūla I and the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna I performed several Vēdic sacrifices such as *Agnishṭōma*, *Vājapēya* and *Aśvamēdha*.⁵ Unfortunately we have no official records of the Ābhīras wherein we could have expected positive information about their religious activities. Perhaps on account of their low social status, they were not keen on the performance of the Vēdic sacrifices. The Traikūṭakas, who followed them, showed a greater regard for the Vēdic religion. Dahrasēna performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice to proclaim his independent status.⁶ It is noteworthy that this is the first known mention of the performance of this sacrifice by a king of Northern Maharashtra after a lapse of nearly seven centuries. The Vedic sacrifices were, however, costly and could, therefore, be performed by rich persons only. The Smṛitis also lay down that great Vedic sacrifices such as the *Sōmayāga* should be performed by such householders only as have in stock food-grains sufficient for the maintenance of their dependants for at least three years.⁷ Even among kings, few emulated the example of Samudragupta and Pravarasēna I. The tendency to perform great Vēdic sacrifices did not strike deep root, and after the sixth century A.C., we have hardly any record mentioning them.

Though the *Srauta* sacrifices were rarely performed, the *grihya* rites such as the *pañcamaḥāyajñas* continued unabated in Brāhmaṇa families. The State also encouraged them. Most of the grants⁸ of the Early Kalachuris, the Sēndrakas, the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, *viz.*, *dīvayajha* (offerings to gods),

¹ No. 10.

² No. 7. For the age of the Bāgh caves, see my article in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

³ O. Y. C., Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 43.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 21.

⁶ No. 8, l. 2.

⁷ *MS.*, adhyāya XI, v. 7.

⁸ The earlier records of the *Mahārājas* of Valukha registered only the royal consent to certain gifts made by private persons. The Barwāni plate of Subandhu and the Pārāḍi and Sūrat plates of the Traikūṭakas do not mention any specific purpose for the royal grant.

pātṛyajña (offerings to manes), *bhūtajajña* (offerings to creatures), *manushyajajña* (reception to guests) and *brāhmayajña* (study of one's Vedic texts). It was believed that the regular performance of such rites by pious Brāhmanas conduced to the well-being of the State.¹

We find that the Purāṇic Hinduism was making a much greater headway in the earlier period. The doctrine of *bhakti* (devotion) preached in the *Bhagavadgītā* appealed more to the popular mind than the cult of the sacrifice. Again, the teaching of that sacred work that all worship, whatever may be its object, ultimately reaches the same Supreme Being, led to religious eclecticism. Of the several gods of the Hindu pantheon, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kārttikēya and Āditya attained a great importance in this period. The Traikūṭakas were Vaiṣṇavas. They describe themselves as *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara* (servants of the feet of Bhagavat) in their grants² and as *paramavaiṣṇava* (fervent devotees of Viṣṇu) on their coins. Again, the Hariśchandraiya king Bhōgatakti believed that there was no pre-eminent god except Vāsudēva (Viṣṇu), who was the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. He built a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Bhōgēśvara in the merchant-town of Jayapura, and granted some villages and assigned certain taxes for the worship of the deity, the repairs of the temple and the maintenance of a charitable feeding house attached to it. The *Yātrā* festival of the god was to continue for a full fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. The management of the temple was entrusted to a committee of five or ten members elected by the merchants of the town. In return for this, the merchants living there enjoyed certain immunities and exemptions.³

Śiva was also an equally popular god—perhaps more so with the aborigines and foreigners who embraced Hinduism. The cult of this god received even a greater royal patronage than that of Viṣṇu. In the absence of the official records of the Ābhīras we have no definite information about their religious inclinations, but judging by their names Śivadatta and Śīvarasēna, they seem to have been devotees of Śiva. The same appears to be true of their feudatories ruling in Khandesh and Central Gujarat; for, their names Svāmīdāsa, Rudradāsa and Śīvararāta unmistakably point to their predilection for the Śaiva faith. The Kaṭachchuris or Early Kalachuris also were adherents of Śaivism. All the three Early Kalachuri kings, Kṛishṇarāja, Saṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja, are described in the Kalachuri grants as *paramamāhēśvara*, i.e., fervent devotees of Mahēśvara (Śiva). That they belonged to the Pāsupata sect of Śaivism is shown by the description of Kṛishṇarāja as devoted to Paśupati from his very birth.⁴ Anantamahāyī, the queen of Buddharāja, is specifically mentioned as a follower of the Pāsupata sect.⁵ The *Dūtaka* of the Ābhōṇa plates bore the name *Pāsupata* itself.⁶ All this is a clear indication of the influence the Pāsupatas exercised in the court of the Early Kalachuris.

The Early Kalachuris must have erected splendid temples for the worship of their *iṣṭa-dēvatā*, but none have been discovered so far. The magnificent temple of Śiva, however, carved out of a living rock, now known as Elephanta near the island of Bombay, probably belongs to their age. There has been a considerable difference of opinion about the age of the Elephanta caves. Burgess placed them about 800 A.C.,⁷ while Hiranand Sastri thought that the sculptures therein were, in all probability, wrought in the Gupta

¹ Inscriptions of this period generally mention *śali* (offerings to creatures), *śarna* (offerings to manes), *satīvadāna* (offerings to gods) and *śrīṣṭi* (reception of guests). See, e.g., No. 21, L 21.

² No. 8, ll. 1-2; No. 9, l. 1.

³ No. 31, ll. 48 ff.

⁴ No. 12, l. 4.

⁵ No. 14, ll. 31-33.

⁶ No. 12, l. 34.

⁷ C. T. I., p. 467. Fergusson placed them slightly earlier in about 750 A.C.

period of Indian history.¹ Gupte, on the other hand, who finds certain resemblances between the sculptures at Elephanta and those at Bādāmi, would place them in the first half of the seventh century A.C.² The last view seems to be nearest to the truth. Now, the only great royal family ruling in Maharashtra and Konkan in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. which could have financed such a magnificent work of art was that of the Kalachuris. The Mauryas, who held North Konkan in that period, were only a feudatory family which could hardly have commanded the resources necessary for such a great work. There is another circumstance which supports this conjecture. The cave temple was caused to be carved by the Pāsupatas. This is indicated by the figure of Lakulisa, the founder of the Pāsupata sect, in the recess at the north end of the shrine in the Western Court of the caves.³ We have seen above that the Kalachuri Emperors were followers of the Pāsupata sect, which exercised a considerable influence in their court. It would seem, therefore, that the Elephanta caves were excavated in the second half of the sixth century A.C. when the Kalachuri power was at its peak.

Saivism must have received further support from the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas, who succeeded the Kalachuris in Gujarat and Maharashtra; for, they also were votaries of that cult. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti made a grant of some *nivartanas* of land in favour of the god Alaṅghyēśvara whose temple was situated at Pippalakhēṭa, modern Pimpalner in the West Khandesh District.⁴ This Alaṅghyēśvara appears to be a name of Śiva. The object of worship in this temple was probably his phallic emblem.⁵ The Chālukya prince Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha as well as his two sons, Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, were also worshippers of Śiva. In the Nasik plates Jayasinhha is described as meditating on the feet of a holy sage whose name ended in *śiva*⁶ and who therefore probably belonged to the Saiva, not the Pāsupata, sect.

Of the two sons of Śiva, Kārttikēya and Gaṇēśa, the former seems to have risen into prominence earlier. He is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁷ and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali⁸ and is adored in the beginning of the great Nānāghāṭ cave inscription.⁹ He was, it seems, a favourite god of the foreigners like the Sakas and the Kushāṇas who embraced Hinduism. The Saka king Śrīdhara-varman was his devotee. In the Kānākhērā inscription, this god is called Mahāsēna and Mahākumāra and is described as the Commander-in-chief of the heavenly army. The Early Chālukyas believed that they owed their continuous prosperity to his grace. Gaṇapati, though sculptured in the panel of the Mātṛikas (Divine Mothers) in the Elephanta caves,¹⁰ does not appear to have been separately worshipped in this period. Needless to say that there is no obeisance to him in the beginning of the inscriptions of this age.

The Sun also was a popular god in this period. Many of the Early Gurjara kings were his worshippers. They are described as devoted to the feet of the Sun.

¹ Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 11.

² Y. R. Gupte, *A Guide to Elephanta* (Marathi), p. 1.

³ Hirananda Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ No. 25, l. 24.

⁵ Similarly, in the temple of Āśramadēva to which a grant was made by the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV (No. 25, l. 10), the object of worship was probably the Śiva-liṅga.

⁶ No. 28, l. 11.

⁷ MBH., Ādiparvan, adhyāya 60, vv. 22-23.

⁸ *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99.

⁹ I have shown elsewhere that *Kumāravarā* in the first line of that inscription refers to Kārttikēya. J. N. S. I., Vol. XIV, pp. 29 ff. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 46, n. 4.

¹⁰ Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 30.

Their copper-plate grants have an emblem of solar worship, perhaps an *agnikūṇḍa*, on their seals. Some of their grants were made on the occasion of a *saṅkrānti*, i.e., the sun's crossing a sign of the zodiac.¹ The later kings of this dynasty from Dadda III onwards were worshippers of Maheśvara, but they continued the old emblem of the dynasty and made grants on the *tithi* sacted to the Sun. Dadda III, for instance, made a grant on Magha śu. di. 7, known as the *Rathasaptamī*.²

There must have been several temples of the Sun built by the Gurjara princes and others in the country of Lāṭa, but none are mentioned in Gurjara grants. We know, however, of a temple of the Sun under the name of Jayāditya from a reference in a later grant of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭas.³ It was situated at Kōṭipura in the territorial division of Kāpikā (modern Kāvī) and was probably erected by the Gurjara king Jayabhata II.

An analysis of the grants of this period would shed an interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. Of the thirty-one grants⁴ of this period, two were made to Buddhist *vihāras*⁵ and three to Hindu temples.⁶ The remaining twenty-six grants were made to Brāhmaṇas, most of them being intended for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. As for the auspicious occasions on which grants were made, we find that no particular *tithi* were observed in the grants to Buddhist *vihāras*. Those to Hindu temples and Brāhmaṇas were generally made on some sacred *tithi* or *parvan*. Of the twenty-five grants, in which a *tithi* is mentioned, we find that three were made at the time of a solar eclipse⁷ and one on that of a lunar eclipse.⁸ The *pūrṇimā* was generally regarded as an auspicious *tithi*; for eleven grants were made on a *pūrṇimā*. The *Kārttikī pūrṇimā* or the full-moon day of Kārttika was regarded as specially holy, probably because Siva killed Tripurāsura on that *tithi*. Donations on this *tithi* are specially enjoined when it is joined with the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikā. Of the eleven grants made on *pūrṇimās*, as many as five were on the *Kārttikī pūrṇimā*.⁹ In two grants it is called *Mahākārttikī*.¹⁰ Some grants were recorded on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of a month, probably after the completion of the *Ekādasi-vrata*.¹¹ Grants were rarely made on an *amāvāsyā* unless it was the day of a solar eclipse. Only three such occur in the records of this period.¹² The holy *tithi* *Rathasaptamī*, sacted to the Sun, has already been mentioned. Finally, three grants are known to have been made on the occasion of *saṅkrāntis*, namely Mēsha, Karkāṭaka and Tūlā.¹³

This analysis will show that though the Vedic religion had not lost its hold on the people of the age, the Pauranic Hinduism, which laid a stress on the construction of the temples of gods as a specially meritorious act, was gradually gaining ground. Buddhism, on the other hand, was losing the popular support.

We shall next turn to the later period and first take up the countries of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. In the fragmentary Kārttalāi stone inscription which is the earliest official record of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, all the three members of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā,

¹ See Nos. 22 and 23.

² No. 121, l. 28.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 f.

⁴ No. 33 and 34 are excluded as the grants are spurious.

⁵ Nos. 1 and 7.

⁶ Nos. 23, 25 and 31.

⁷ Nos. 13, 23 and 120.

⁸ No. 21.

⁹ Nos. 9, 11, 16, 17 and 30.

¹⁰ The *pūrṇimā* gets this name when the moon is in Rāhīṇī or when the moon and Jupiter are in Kṛttikā.

¹¹ Nos. 8, 14 and 27.

¹² Nos. 15, 18 and 24. The grant on Āśvina *amāvāsyā* is in propitiation of Lakṣmī.

¹³ Nos. 28, 23 and 22 respectively.

Vishṇu and Rudra, are revered¹ and praised, a fact which indicates the eclectic spirit of the age. Temples dedicated to Brahmā are, however, very rare and none have yet been discovered in any part of the Kalachuri dominion;² but that the cult of Vishṇu was widely prevalent and had influential followers in the Chēdi country is shown by several inscriptions of the 10th and later centuries. At Bāndhōgarh and the adjoining village of Gōpālpur, Gollāka *alias* Gauḍa, the *Amātya* of Yuvarājādēva I, caused to be carved out of the rocks huge images of several incarnations of Vishṇu such as the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, Paraśurāma and Haladhara (*i.e.*, Balarāma), besides one of Śeṣhaśāyin (Vishṇu reclining on the serpent Śeṣha).³ It is noteworthy that as in some early panels, Balarāma, not Kṛishṇa, is included among the incarnations of Vishṇu.⁴ Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II, who performed several Vēdic sacrifices, erected a lofty and magnificent temple dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu under the name of Sōma-svāmin at Kāritālāi in the Jabalpur District.⁵ The remains of this temple are still extant at the place. The contemporary Kalachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja II was himself a devotee of Siva; but he granted a village for the maintenance of the eight Brāhmaṇas whom he settled there for the worship of the god. His queen Rāhādā and son Saṅkaragaṇa III also made grants in favour of the god.⁶ This prince is described as *paramavaishṇava*. Contrary to the general tendency of the Kalachuris, he was a devotee of Vishṇu and erected a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Saṅkaranārāyaṇa at Bargaon in the Jabalpur District.⁷ At Makundpur in the Rewa District of Vindhya Pradesh, there was another temple dedicated to Vishṇu under the name of Jalasayana (the god who reposes on water) by a private individual, *viz.*, the *Srēṣṭhin* Dāmōdara.⁸

Though the cult of Vishṇu was thus prevalent in the Chēdi country and received a considerable patronage from the royal family, it was far outshone by that of Siva, the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris. Vāmarāja, the founder of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, was a devout worshipper of Siva. No inscription of his reign has been discovered so far, but in some records of his successors⁹ he receives the epithet *paramamāhēśvara* indicative of his devotion to Siva. He first established himself at Kālāṅjara, the impregnable fort in the Banda District, which from very early times has been sacred to Siva. Later, the family divided itself into two branches, one establishing itself in the country of Sarayūpāra and the other in that of Chēdi.¹⁰ Both of them were devoted to Siva. The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra had Nandin, the *vāhana* of Siva, as their emblem on the seals of their copper-plate charters. Though the Kalachuris of Tripurī adopted the Gaja-Lakshmi as their distinctive emblem, they did not omit Nandin from the seals of their charters.

Saivism became the paramount cult throughout the extensive dominion of the

¹ No. 37, ll. 1-4.

² Subsidiary images of Brahmā are, however, noticed in several temples of that period. See H. T. M., pp. 52, 63 *etc.*

³ Nos. 38-41.

⁴ R. D. Banerji, *Eastern and Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 103. I have noticed the same in the *prabhāvali* of an image of Vishṇu found at Pavnār in the Wardha District. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Balarāma represents both himself and his younger brother Kṛishṇa.

⁵ No. 42, l. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 29-30.

⁷ No. 43, l. 3.

⁸ No. 47, l. 2. For other temples of Vishṇu at Amarakantak and Vaishṇava sculptures at Sōhāggpur, see H. T. M., pp. 57 and 99 ff. There was a temple of Vishṇu erected by a private person at Karāṇbēl, for which, see below, p. 653.

⁹ No. 56, l. 22.

¹⁰ See above, pp. lxix ff.

Kalachuris from the 8th to the 12th century A.C. It received a great fillip during the reign of Yuvratjadēva I, who, under the influence of his queen Nōhalā, invited several *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan to the Chēdi country and built magnificent temples of Śiva and monasteries for them at Gurgi, Masaun, Chandrēhē, Bilhāri, Bhērā-Ghāt and other places. As these *Āchāryas* exercised a profound influence on the political and religious history of the period, it would not be out of place to give here a somewhat detailed account of this clan.

The earliest inscription of the Mattamayūra clan, which was discovered at Ranōd in the former Gwalior State, was edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 351 ff. It gives the following earliest genealogy of the line. It is to be remembered that the genealogy is spiritual, *i.e.*, not from father to son, but from *guru* to disciple.

Kadambaguhādhivāsin—(the Inhabitant of Kadambaguhā)

Saṅkhamathikādhīpati—(the Lord of Saṅkhamathikā)

Tērambipāla—(the Protector of Tērambi)

Āmardakatīrthanātha—(the Lord of Āmardaka)

Purandara

Kavachasīva

Sadāsīva

Hṛdayasīva

Vyōmasīva

We learn from the inscription that when the king, the illustrious Avantivarman, who desired to be initiated in the Śaiva faith, heard of the great holiness of the sage Purandara, he attempted to bring him to his own country. He himself went to Upēndrapura where the sage was practising penance, and with a great difficulty persuaded him to accede to his request. The sage founded a *maṭha* at Mattamayūra, the capital of the king whom he initiated in the Śaiva faith, and established another *maṭha* at Raṇipadra (modern Ranōd). The last *Āchārya* mentioned in the genealogy, *viz.*, Vyōmasīva, enlarged and repaired the *maṭha*, erected temples and excavated a magnificent tank at the same place.

Another inscription of this line, discovered somewhere in the former Gwalior State and now deposited in the Gwalior Museum, gives the same genealogy as above, except for the substitution of Rudrasīva for Āmardakatīrthanātha.¹ It will be noticed that the personal names of the first four *Āchāryas* in the genealogical list have not been given. The name of the fourth *Āchārya* is thus known from the Gwalior Museum inscription. Again, this record carries the genealogy one generation further and mentions Patāṅgaśambhu as the disciple of Vyōmaśambhu.²

The Ranōd inscription is undated; but on palaeographic grounds, Dr. Kielhorn referred it to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.C.³ The

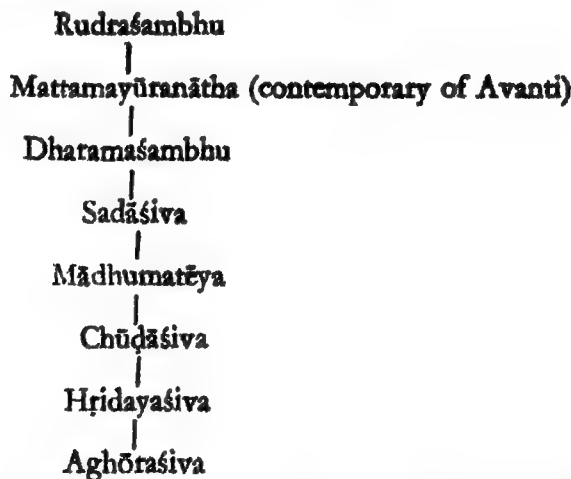
¹ I am indebted to Mr. M. B. Garde, late Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, who first supplied to me an account of this inscription. Dr. D. R. Patil, the present Director of Archaeology in Madhya Bharat, has also obliged me by sending me an impression of it.

² The members of this clan who belonged to the Śaiva, not the Pāśupata, sect bore names ending in *śiva* or *śambhu*. The names of the Pāśupatas generally ended in *śāhī*.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353.

tenour of the description shows that the first four *Āchāryas* of this clan were living at different places such as Kadambaguhā, Saṅkhamāthikā, Tērambi and Āmardaktīrtha, far away from the country of Avantivarman, and that Purandara was the first *Āchārya* who came to Mattamayūra,¹ the prince's town, and founded a *maṭha* there, from which this clan derived its name *Mattamayūranātha*. Upēndrapura, where Purandara practised penance, has not been identified. Banerji has called our attention to a place of the same name which is mentioned as the head-quarters of a *maṇḍala* in a grant of Naravarman, dated V. 1167 (1110 A.C.).² This grant mentions Kadambapadraka as situated in the *pratiṣṭhāgāraṇaka* (*pargana*) of Mandāraka in the *maṇḍala* of Upēndrapura. None of these places have yet been identified. Mandāraka may be identical with Mundair, about 15 miles north-east of Ujjain. The village Kamlikhērā, which lies only about a mile to the east, may be the ancient Kadambapadraka. Whether the latter is identical with Kadambaguhā, the traditional original home of the *Āchāryas* of this clan, cannot be determined at present. We may, in any case, be certain that the earlier Saiva *Āchāryas* of this clan were living in Western Malwa. The places Kadambaguhā, Saṅkhamāthikā, Tērambi and Āmardaka, from which they derived their appellations, must therefore be sought for in Malwa.³ Kielhorn identified Kadambaguhā with Kadwāhā, six miles to the south of Ranōd, and Tērambi with Tērahi, 5 miles to the south-east. At both these places some remains of Saiva *maṭhas* and temples are still extant, but these identifications do not seem to be plausible in view of the description given in the Ranōd inscription. Perhaps some places in the kingdom of Avantivarman were named after the older seats of the clan in Western Malwa.⁴

Avantivarman who brought the sage Purandara to his capital is not known from any dated record, but his age can be ascertained approximately on other evidence. The Bilhāri stone inscription of Yuvarājādēva II (*circa* 980-990 A.C.) gives the following genealogy of the Mattamayūranātha :—



¹ The Mattamayūras are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as living in Rōhītaka (modern Rohtak, 43 miles north-west of Delhi). See *MBH.*, Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 32, vv. 4 f. They were, of course, not connected with this town of Mattamayūra.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

³ This is also supported by the following extract from the *Pañjikā* of Brahmasambhu, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. S. N. Sen:—

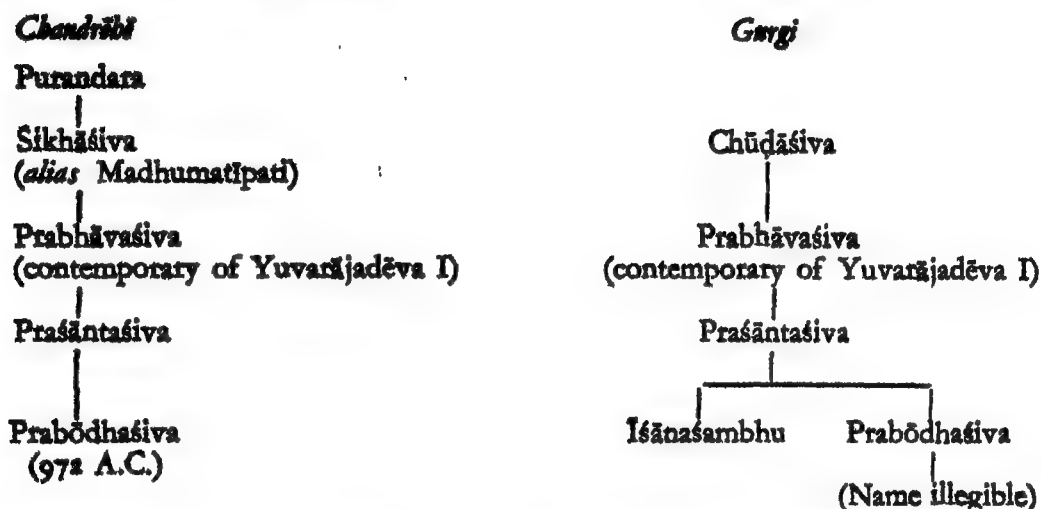
श्रीमदामर्दकाशीशमारातमनीतले । तच्छिष्याणां बहुवैजि कुरुमात्मकस्त्विति ॥

⁴ This is suggested by the name Uttara-Tērambagriha mentioned as the original place of habitation of the *Āchārya* Gaganāśiva in the Ranipur Jhardal inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 240 ff. This place seems to be distinguished from the original Tērambi by prefixing *uttara* to its name. It may be identical with modern Tērahi in the former Gwalior State.

The inscription tells us that Rudrasambhu belonged to the line of the *Siddhas* living at Kadambagubā and that Mattamayūranātha communicated the supreme splendour to the king Avanti. This description shows that the first two *Ābhāryas* of this line were identical with Amardaketrinātha¹ and Purandara mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. This identification is further supported by the aforementioned Gwalior Museum inscription which names Rudrasīva as the spiritual ancestor of Purandara.

The Bilhāri inscription further tells us that Hridayasīva was a contemporary of a king of Chēdi (probably Lakshmanarāja II mentioned in the next verse) who invited him to his country.² He may, therefore, be referred to *circa* 950 A.C. Taking 25 years as the average duration of a generation, we can place Purandara *alias* Mattamayūranātha, the fifth ancestor of Hridayasīva, in *circa* 825 A.C.

Two other inscriptions of this clan, discovered at Chandrēh³ and Gurgi⁴ in Vindhya Pradesh, give the following genealogy of the Saiva *Ābhāryas* who subsequently came to and settled down in the Chēdi country :



The genealogy in the Chandrēh inscription begins one generation earlier and that in the Gurgi inscription is carried one generation further ; but otherwise the two genealogies are identical. The Chandrēh inscription is dated K. 724 (972 A.C.). It tells us that the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva, who must evidently be the first king of that name, invited Prabhāvasīva to his country and induced him to sanctify it with his feet. Prabhāvasīva, who flourished two generations before Prabōdhasīva (972 A.C.), must have lived in *circa* 925 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I (*circa* 915-945 A.C.).

Comparing the genealogies in the Bilhāri and Chandrēh inscriptions, we find that Chūdāsīva of the former must be identical with Sikhāsīva of the latter ; for, (i) the two names are synonyms and (ii) their disciples Hridayasīva and Prabhāvasīva lived in the same period, the latter being a senior contemporary of the former as he was invited by an earlier Chēdi king, *viz.*, Yuvarājadēva I. The immediate ancestors of Chūdāsīva and Sikhāsīva, *viz.*, Mādhumatēya and Purandara, must, therefore, be identical. Purandara evidently obtained the other name *Mādhumatīya* because he lived at Madhumatī. His disciple is called Madhumatīpati (the lord of Madhumatī) in the Chandrēh inscription. Madhumatī,

¹ Amardaketrinātha is mentioned as the original habitation of the Saiva *Ābhāryas* of the Sōpuriya clan. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 266.

² No. 43, l. 22.

³ No. 44.

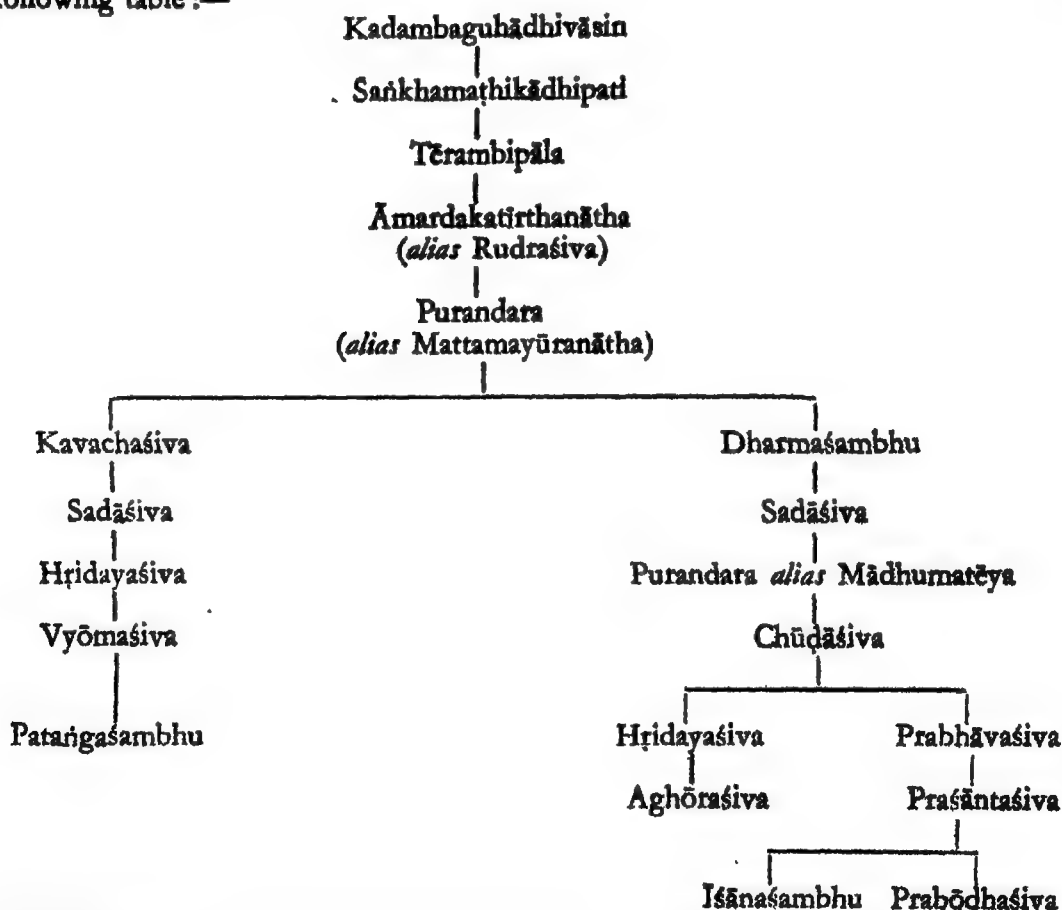
⁴ No. 46.

where these *Ācharyas* flourished, was probably situated on the Madhuvēṇī (Mohwar of the maps), and may be identical with the modern village Mahuā which lies only a mile to the south of Tērahi. This Purandara *alias* Mādhumatēya must be distinguished from his namesake who founded the *maṭha* of Mattamayūra and was a contemporary of Avantivarman; for, the latter flourished four generations before Chūḍāśiva, while the former immediately preceded him.²

Another line of Saiva *Ācharyas* is also mentioned in the Bilhāri inscription. While describing the grants of Nōhalā,³ the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, the inscription gives the following genealogy :—

Pavanaśiva
(Mādhumatēya or lord of Madhumatī)
|
Sadbāśiva
|
Īśvaraśiva
(contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)

The known *Ācharyas* of the Mattamayūra clan may, therefore, be stated in the form of the following table :—



¹ The river Madhuvēṇī is mentioned in an inscription at Tērahi dated V. 960 (903 A.C.). *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 201 ff. Mahuā has the remains of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Mahādēva. They are assigned to the seventh century A.C. on the palaeographic evidence of a Sanskrit inscription which exists on the porch of one of them. The river Madhumatī is mentioned in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, Act IX.

² Banerji identified the two. This has vitiated the genealogy given by him in *H.T.M.*, p. 112. The first Purandara was called Mattamayūranātha, while the second was Mādhumatēya.

³ Nōhalā donated some villages to Īśvaraśiva as *vidyā-dhana*.

Pavanaśiva, Sabdeśiva and Išvaraśiva¹ were contemporaries of Purandara, Chūḍāśiva and Prabhāvaśiva, but whether Pavanaśiva was a disciple of Sadāśiva or of some other *Āchārya* of Madhumatī is not known. Another Śaiva *Āchārya*, named Gaganāśiva, who originally hailed from Uttara-Tērambagriha and built a temple of Śiva at Ranipur Jhariā in the former Patā State in Orissa, is known from an inscription recently edited by Dr. Chhabra. He probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan, but his exact relation to the other *Āchāryas* of the clan is not known.

Mattamayūra, the chief seat of this clan, has not yet been identified. It must have been situated not far from Tērahi, Ranōd and Mahuā, where inscriptions, temples and monasteries of this clan have been found. It may be identical with Kadwāhā, about 15 miles south of Ranōd, which possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery and of not less than 14 Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A.C. "Such a large group of temples," says Mr. Garde, "is found at no other single place in the Gwalior State. Kadwāhā thus deserves to be styled the Khajurāhō or Bhuvanēśvara of Gwalior." Such buildings could not have been erected without a continuous royal patronage. Kadwāhā may, therefore, have been the capital of Avantivarman and his successors.²

Inscriptions give no definite information about the dynasty and age of Avantivarman who ruled at Mattamayūra. From the evidence of the Chēdi inscriptions mentioning the Śaiva *Āchāryas* of this line, we have inferred above that Purandara who was invited by Avantivarman flourished in *circa* 825 A.C. This is, therefore, the approximate time of Avantivarman. As regards his dynasty, Kielhorn, while editing the Ranōd inscription, suggested that he might be related to the Chaulukya princes Śimhavarman, Sadhanva and Avaniwarman, the ancestors of the Chēdi queen Nōhalā. The suggestion appears quite plausible; for, it was probably owing to the influence of this queen, who was a favourite wife of Yuvarājādēva I, that the Śaiva *Āchāryas* first obtained a footing in the Chēdi country. She, her husband Yuvarājādēva I and their son Lakshmanarāja II invited Śaiva *Āchāryas* of this line to the Chēdi country and honoured them with munificent gifts of temples, monasteries and villages. It is, therefore, quite plausible that her ancestors were ruling over the territory round Mattamayūra.³ This suggestion is further supported by the reference to a Sulki (*i.e.*, Chaulukya) dynasty ruling in Central India in the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. A stone inscription discovered by Mr. Garde at Maser in the Bhilsā District mentions a line of Sulki kings.⁴ The progenitor of this line was the sage Bhāradvāja. He was born of a drop of water which fell from the *śijālī* of the Creator. Hence, the royal family descended from him came to be known as *Sulki*. This tradition differs from that described in the Bīlhāri inscription in connection with the ancestry of the Chēdi queen Nōhalā. The ancestors of Nōhalā belonged to the Chaulukya family, which was so called because its progenitor was born from the *chuluka* (handful of water) of the sage Bhāradvāja himself.⁵ Both these traditions are no doubt fanciful, being intended to give a plausible explanation of the dynastic name *Sulki* or *Chaulukya*, but they leave no room for doubt that the two families were identical. The Maser inscription mentions some kings of this

¹ This Išvaraśiva may be identical with his namesake mentioned in a fragmentary inscription at Kadwāhā. *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1939), p. 18.

² The old name of the place seems to have survived in the name *Marayatar* of an old tank on the south of the village, the temples near which are 'the largest and the most important.' See *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 96.

³ An analogous instance is that of the Kalachuri queen Alhanadēvi, who, hailing from Mewar, placed the Pāsupata ascetic Rudraśīlī of Lāṭa in charge of a temple of Śiva and made grants of some villages for its maintenance. No. 60, ll. 24-25.

⁴ *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1930-31), p. 10.

⁵ No. 45, l. 14.

line such as Narasimha and Kēsarīn and describes their wars with the Kalachuris, their neighbours on the east, as well as with the rulers of Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat), Kachchhavāha and Hūṇa kings. Narasimha was a feudatory of Kṛishṇarāja who is undoubtedly the same as Kṛishṇapa, the younger brother of the Chandēlla Dhaṅga. The latter flourished from 950 A.C. to 1005 A.C. These kings, therefore, undoubtedly flourished in the 10th century A.C. They evidently belonged to the same line as Avantivarman and Simhavarman. The known kings of this line may, therefore, be stated as follows¹ :—

Avantivarman (825 A.C.)
|
Simhavarman (850 A.C.)
|
Sadhanva (875 A.C.)
|
Avanivarman (900 A.C.)
|
Narasimha (950 A.C.)
|
Kēsarīn (975 A.C.)

The subsequent history of this family is not known; but as shown elsewhere,² the Chaulukyas of Gujarat who flourished from the 10th century onwards may have been related to these kings. That the Chaulukyas of Gujarat were staunch supporters of Saivism is well known.

The *maṭha* at Mattamayūra, being a renowned seat of Saivism, supplied Saiva pontiffs from time to time to the monasteries in the Chēḍī country. As stated above, Yuvarājadēva I invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and made munificent gifts to him. His wife Nōhalā invited another Saiva *Āchārya* named Iśvaraśiva and donated several villages to him. Her son Lakshmanarāja II called Hṛidayaśiva from the *maṭha* of Madhumatī and made over to him the *maṭhas* of Vaidyanātha and Nauhalēśvara. Hṛidayaśiva placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the latter *maṭha*.

Kalachuri inscriptions mention some other Saiva *Āchāryas* who acted as *Rājagurus*. They also probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 (1174 A.C.) mentions the following Saiva *Āchāryas* :—

Vimalaśiva
|
Vāstuśiva
|
Puruṣaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥkaṭṭa)
|
Saktiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Gayākaṭṭa)
|
Kirtiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Narasimha)
|
Vimalaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Jayasimha)

Two sons of the last *Āchārya* Vimalaśiva became *saṃnyāsins*. The elder was Sāntaśiva, who became the *Rājaguru* of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyamalla, when the latter annexed the Chēḍī country. The younger son was Nādaśiva. He executed a mortgage deed recorded in the Dhurēti plates of Trailōkyamalla, dated K. 963 (1212 A.C.).³

¹ The dates given against the royal names here are approximate.

² See my article 'Varuṇaśarmaka Grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja' in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (May 1945), pp. 90 ff.

³ No. 72, L. 18.

Day 12

1

Sōmaśambhu

Vāṇasambhuḥ

Saktiserahbu

Kirtisambhu

Vinculativa

Dharmaśāstrin

Višvėsvarasambhu

It will be noticed that the three *Āchāryas* from Saktiśambhu to Vimalaśiva are identical with those mentioned in the Jabalpur inscription as the *Rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings Gayākarnpa, Narasiṃha and Jayasiṃha. Vimalaśiva hailed from the Kērala country, while his disciple's disciple Viśvēśvaraśambhu was a resident of Pūrvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha in Gauḍa. This shows plainly that the *Gōḷaki māṭha* attracted learned and pious men from distant places. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had attained the position of the head of the *Gōḷaki māṭha*, afterwards repaired to the Andhra country, where he received great honours at the Kākatiya court. He initiated the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati into the Saiva faith and received munificent gifts of land and villages from him as well as from his daughter Rudrāmbā. Branches of the *Gōḷaki māṭha* were established at several other places in Cudappa, Karnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts in the Madras State.

¹H.T.M. p. 78.

J. A. H. R. S., Vol IV, pp. 158 E.

* Some scholars identify this Vāmaśambhu with Vāmadēva, mentioned in the grants of Karna and others with full imperial titles. The identification does not appear to be correct. From the description in the Malkāpuram inscription, Vāmaśambhu does not appear to have been the immediate predecessor of Śaktiśambhu, but flourished several generations earlier. Cf. *सम्पिन् सठे सत्सु सुपेयमुनुः शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्च परावृत्ताः । विनिर्वाह्यं सगनुवहीनुं श्रीवीरचरणसकटावधारीः ॥ इत्यं काले प्राति सत्संप्रदाये सन्तानेऽस्मिन्निर्वाह्यसन्तानम् ॥* *श्रीसाम्भोदेः सन्निभस्य श्रीवराहसिन्धुः श्रीमान् श्रीविजयस्यञ्जयः ॥* *J.A.H.R.S., Vol. IV, p. 136.*

Another branch of the Mattamayūra clan was established at Karkatōṇi. This place has not been identified, but was situated somewhere in Central India. Brahmasambhu, the author of the *Pañjikā*, belonged to this branch.¹ Some *Āchāryas* of this branch settled down in Konkan. A copper-plate inscription of Rattarāja of the Silāhara dynasty, dated in S. 930 (1008 A. C.) and discovered at Kharepatan, records a grant of land made for the use of the *Āchāryas* of this branch.²

Kalachuri inscriptions afford us glimpses into the lives of these *Āchāryas*. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 describes the lineage, learning and mode of life of the great Saiva *Āchārya* Vimalasīva, the *Rājaguru* of the Kalachuri king Jayasīrha.³ He was born in a family of great Vedic scholars renowned as much for charitable and religious works as for learning. Vimalasīva studied the Vēdas, observed religious vows and visited holy places in different parts of India such as Prabhāsa, Gōkarna and Gayā. He then received initiation from Kīrtisīva of the *Gōlakī maṭha*, the *Rājaguru* of Narasīrha. He was employed by the king Jayasīrha in various affairs of the State, but never neglected his *nitya* and *naimittika* religious duties. He was renowned for his charities and erected temples, *maṭhas*, charitable feeding houses (*satṭras*), dwellings for the Brāhmaṇas as well as gardens. He built a large temple of Śiva under the name of *Kīrtisvara* in honour of his *guru* Kīrtisīva. For the maintenance of the temple, the Kalachuri king Jayasīrha donated some villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse in K. 926 (1174 A.C.).

Similar glowing accounts of the religious and charitable activities of other Saiva *Āchāryas* are given by several Kalachuri inscriptions. These *Āchāryas* received honour and patronage at the hands of the ruling kings. The *Rājagurus* are mentioned among royal officers to whom grants of land and villages, recorded in copper-plate charters, are communicated. The Malkāpuram pillar inscription records the tradition that Sadbhāvaśambhu of the *Gōlakī maṭha* received a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva (I). If correct, this would indicate that the king assigned to him one third of the total revenue of his home province of Dāhala, which, according to tradition, comprised nine lakhs of villages.⁴ Though this princely gift has not been recorded in any Chēdi inscriptions, there is no doubt that the Kalachuris liberally patronised the *maṭhas*. Both the Bilhāri⁵ and Gurgi⁶ inscriptions record the donations of several villages for the maintenance of temples and monasteries, made by successive Kalachuri kings. The former inscription mentions, besides, several taxes and rates levied on oil mills, and on elephants horses, vegetables, betel leaves and other articles sold in the local markets, which were assigned for the maintenance of these religious and charitable institutions.

Many of these *Āchāryas* were engaged in austerities and, therefore, preferred to stay in solitary retreats far from the crowd. For them monasteries were built on the banks of holy rivers where they could practise meditation in peaceful surroundings. A graphic description of the quiet life led by these *Āchāryas* is given in the Chandrēhē inscription.⁷

The *Āchāryas* utilised the wealth of the *maṭhas* and the income of the *agrabāra* villages for the welfare of the people. Kalachuri inscriptions mention *vyākhyāna-sālās* (lecture halls), *satṭras* (charitable feeding houses) and gardens with which the *maṭhas* were provided.⁸

¹ I owe this information to Mr. S. N. Sen, Curator of the Nepal Museum, who kindly supplied me with an extract from the MS. of the work in his possession.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.

³ No. 64, ll. 14 ff.

⁴ It is noteworthy that the *Āchāryas* of the South-Indian branches of the *Gōlakī maṭha* are described as belonging to the *Lakṣadhyaṇī-santāna* or *Bhikṣa-maṭha*. *A.R.S.I.E.* (1923-24), p. 114.

⁵ No. 43.

⁶ No. 46.

⁷ No. 44, ll. 13 ff.

⁸ No. 60, ll. 23-24.

They do not, however, give us any information about the management of these *maṭhas*. For this we must turn to the Malkāpuram inscription, which gives a detailed description of the measures adopted by Viśvēśvaraśambhu for the maintenance and management of the institutions he founded in his *agrahāra* village, *viz.*, a temple, a monastery, a college, a choultry for the distribution of food, a maternity home and a hospital. Elaborate rules were laid down for the appointment of an *Āchārya* as the head of the *Maṭha*; his qualifications and the fee to be paid to him for his services were set forth in detail. The whole Śaiva community of the village was given the right to appoint a new *Āchārya*, if the existing one was found negligent in his duty or was guilty of misbehaviour.¹ As Viśvēśvaraśambhu was previously the head of the *Gōlaki Maṭha*, it would not be wrong to infer that similar rules were in force for the management of the *maṭhas* in the Chēdi country.

There were four well-known sects of Salvism, *viz.*, Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kārūka (or Kārūpika) Siddhāntin and Kāpālīka. The *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan belonged to the Śaiva, not the Pāśupata sect. According to tradition, Śiva first initiated Brahmā, the Creator, into this faith after a sacrifice in Dāruvana.² From the latter sprang this line of Śaiva *Āchāryas*. In some inscriptions the first *Āchārya* is said to be Durvāsas. His spiritual descendants called themselves *Siddhāntikas*, *i.e.*, followers of the true doctrine. Madhumatī in Central India is described as the abode of the *Siddhāntikas*.³ The *Siddhāntas* were revealed by Mahēśvara. According to this sect, there are three principles, *viz.*, the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*) and the fetters (*pāśa*). The whole system has four *pādas*, *viz.*, *vidyā* or right knowledge of the three *padārthas*, *kriyā* or ceremonies consisting of *dīkṣā* (initiation) *etc.*, *yōga* or meditation and *charyā* or discipline consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is prohibited. *Charyā* and *yōga* are regarded as important as *vidyā*.⁴ The *Āchāryas* of Madhumatī are described as having an excellent discipline.⁵ Most of the inscriptions of this clan contain descriptions of the yōgic practices of the *Āchāryas*. These led to emancipation (*siddhi*). The *Āchāryas* who attained emancipation were called *Siddhas*. Kadambaguhā, the original home of the Mattamayūra school, is called the venerable abode of the line of the *Siddhas*.

Though the *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan were followers of the Śaiva school, they were not bigotted. They studied various orthodox and even heterodox systems. Rudraśīva, the *guru* of the Kalachuri king Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant not only with the *siddhāntas* of his own but also with those of others' schools; he was, besides, well-read in the authoritative works of Dīnnāga and others.⁶ In the Gurgi inscription, the Śaiva *Āchārya* Prāsantaśīva is said to have spent his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adepts in the philosophy of the *Pāñchārthikas* or Pāśupatas.⁷

There were several Pāśupata *Āchāryas* living in the Kalachuri kingdom. One of them, *viz.*, Rudrarāśi who came from Lāṭa, was placed in charge of the temple of Śiva under the name of *Vaidyanātha*, and of the *maṭha* and the hall of teaching with gardens *etc.* attached to them, which the Kalachuri dowager queen Alhanadēvi had erected at Bhērā-Ghāt.⁸ Another Pāśupata *Āchārya*, known from the inscriptions, was Bhāvabrahman, who also had

¹ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 138 ff.; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 684 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 335.

³ No. 46, l. 5.

⁴ *Sarvadharmaśāstra* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 175.

⁵ Cf. *Saṁcharyā-Āchārya-śāstrā* in No. 46, l. 4.

⁶ No. 77, l. 27.

⁷ No. 46, l. 20.

⁸ No. 60, ll. 23-24.

hailed from Lāṭa and erected a temple of Śiva at Tripurī¹. His mode of life was in accordance with the teaching of the Pāśupata system. He lived on scanty food which he obtained by begging, wore only a loin cloth, slept on pure ashes and lived a life of celibacy. He practised *yōga* as taught in the system of *Patañjali*, and cultivated the four *bhāvanās* (sentiments) of *maitrī* (benevolence), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (cheerfulness) and *upēkṣā* (indifference). According to the Pāśupatas, salvation consists not only in the cessation of misery but also in the attainment of supernatural powers. Liberated souls live in an intimate union with Śiva.²

As stated before, almost all Kalachuri kings were devout worshippers of Śiva. Some of them went on a pilgrimage to distant holy places to offer worship to the god. We learn from the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmanārāja II marched in state with his whole retinue of feudatory princes and his army of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers all the way from Tripurī to Sōmanāth Paṭṭan, and bathing in the sea there, he worshipped the god Sōmanātha with lotuses of gold. He also offered to the god in worship the effigy of the serpent Kāliya, made of gold inlaid with precious stones, which he had obtained from the king of Orissa. He then himself composed a hymn of praise and concentrated his mind on Śiva's glory.³ His son Yuvarājādēva II also dedicated to Sōmēśvara the wealth he had obtained by conquering the kings of the four quarters.⁴ He also composed an excellent hymn in praise of the god.⁵

There was a great building activity during the age of the Kalachuris. The temples and monasteries, built by Yuvarājādēva I, his queen Nōhalā and their son Lakshmanārāja II, have already been mentioned. From a huge sculpture of Hara-Gaurī, measuring 12' 8" long by 4' 7" broad on the mound at Gurgi, Cunningham conjectured that the structure in which it was enshrined must have been about 100 ft. in height.⁶ Banerji says that the height of the top of the *śikhara* of this temple, when it was intact, must have been a good 150 ft. above the surrounding ground level.⁷ From the Gurgi inscription we know that this temple was erected by the sage Praśāntaśiva.⁸ By its side there was another temple erected by Yuvarājādēva I, which must have been still more lofty. The illustrious king Kama built a twelve- or sixteen-storeyed temple called *Kaṇamēru*, which was probably dedicated to Śiva. The ruins of this temple can still be seen near Rājghaṭ in Banaras. Another temple, said to have been erected by Kama, is at Amarakaṇṭak. It is a magnificent triple-shrined structure with profusely sculptured lofty *śikharas*. Other temples of the age are those of Virāṭēśvara at Sōhāgpur and Vaidyanātha at Baijnāth, both in the former Rewa State. Most of these temples have a circular *garbha-griha*. Temples of this type were a speciality of the Chēdi country and were built for the first time by the *Achāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan. Such temples have not been noticed outside the dominion of the Kalachuris.⁹

Several ministers and generals of the Kalachuri kings as well as private individuals living in the Chēdi country followed the example of their rulers and erected temples dedicated to Śiva. The descendants of the aforementioned Kāyastha *Amātya* of Yuvarāja-

¹ No. 58, ll. 8 ff.

² See *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 171. See also No. 58, l. 8.

³ No. 45, ll. 23-24.

⁴ Appendix, No. 3, l. 7.

⁵ No. 45, ll. 28-30.

⁶ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, p. 152. The great *śravan* erected in front of the Rājā's palace in Rewa originally belonged to the temple of Śiva at Gurgi.

⁷ H. T. M., p. 43.

⁸ No. 46, l. 14.

⁹ H. T. M., pp. 48; 53-54 etc.

dēva I changed their religious creed and became Saivas. The last of them, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated K. 800, whose name is unfortunately lost, constructed a temple of an imposing height probably at Gurgi, which he dedicated to Siva.¹ Vappulla, a brave general of Karṇa, who had distinguished himself in several battles, built a temple of the *pañchayatana* type, in which the central shrine was surrounded by four small *dīvākulis*. The image installed in one of them was of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The names of the images in the other three are unfortunately lost.² Besides Viṣṇu and Siva, Gaṇeśa also seems to have been worshipped in this period. He is invoked in the beginning of some records of this period,³ but no specific mention of a temple erected in his honour occurs in the records of the Chēdi country. The same is true of Kārttikēya.⁴ Sculptures of both the gods have, however, been found in abundance at Tripurī and other places. Ambikā was regarded as a guardian deity and her image was installed when a new work like a *ghāt* was constructed.⁵ Images of the Sun also have been found at Masaun and Bhērā-Ghāt, but there is no mention of any temple dedicated to him.⁶ A beautiful bronze image of Rāvanta, son of the Sun, was found at Tripurī and is now in the possession of the former Maiguzar of the village.

Buddhism and Jainism also were flourishing in the Chēdi country. At Sarnath, Māmakā, the wife of Dharmēśvara, who was a follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Aśvataṣasrihāprajñā* to be written, which she made over to the Order of the Venerable Monks of the Mahābōdhi Mahāvihāra where the Buddha had turned the Wheel of the Law by his first sermon. At Gopālpur, about 3 miles from Bhērā-Ghāt, were discovered five Buddhist images. Four of these were of Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara, while the fifth was of his consort Tārā. From the inscription on one of them, it seems that the image was the gift of a woman named Dhēnuvā, who was a gate-keeper of one Satka, son of a lay worshipper named Subhaṭa Kāyastha. She was a follower of the Mahāyāna school. These images appear to be of the Magadha school.⁷ The inscription shows that there were some Buddhists living in peace and prosperity near the Kalachuri capital Tripurī.⁸ At Tewar itself was found the beautiful image of a Bōdhisattva of the Mahāyāna school, seated in the Vajrasana posture, with his two hands in the attitude of teaching.⁹ The Buddha had come to be included among the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and is figured on the *prabhāvali* of the images of that god.¹⁰

That Jainism also was flourishing in the Kalachuri dominion is shown by the Bahuribandh inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa. It records the construction of a temple of the Jaina *Tīrthankara* Śāntinātha by one Mahābhōja, son of Sarvadhara.¹¹ The

¹ No. 51, l. 28.

² No. 53, ll. 14-15.

³ No. 60, ll. 4-5; No. 65, l. 1.

⁴ See, e.g., H. T. M., pp. 86, 92 *etc.*

⁵ No. 62, l. 4.

⁶ H. T. M., pp. 91 and 93.

⁷ No. 52, ll. 10-11.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 73 ff.

⁹ H. T. M., pp. 93 ff. According to S. C. Vidyabhusan, Gaṅgēyadēva and Karṇa overthrew Buddhism and brought about the revival of Brahmanism in Mithilā. See his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 350. This view is based on the wrong identification of Gaṅgēyadēva of Tīrabhukti with the homonymous Kalachuri king. See above, p. lxxix, n. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹¹ No. 59, C, l. 4. Recently another fragmentary Jaina inscription has been discovered at Tripurī. In the extant portion it mentions the Kalachuri king Karṇa.

colossal statue of Śāntinātha is still standing at Bahuribandh. Several other images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have been found in the Jabalpur District. There were Jaina temples at Sōhāgpur also. At the palace of the *Thākar* of the place are collected a number of Jaina sculptures, among which there are some Śāsanadēvatās.¹ All this leaves no room for doubt that Jainism also had a considerable following in the Chēdi country.

Many of the grants made in this period were in the form of endowments to temples erected by kings, their ministers and *Rājagurus*. Some grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the attainment of religious merit. There is, however, no specific mention of the object as in the earlier grants, *viz.*, that they were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. Some *agrahāra* villages were granted for the settlement of the Brāhmaṇas. These settlements were called the *Brāhma-stambas*.² Karna invited some learned and pious Brāhmaṇas to settle at a newly founded town called *Karṇāvati*, which, from its description, appears to have been situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Karaṇbēl was another town founded by the same king near Tripurī.

Of the ten grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra or their feudatories, two were made on the occasion of the *śrāddha* of the donor's father,³ three on the occasion of a saṅkrānti,⁴ one on a lunar eclipse,⁵ and two on the *tithis* of Kārttika-pūrṇimā and Mārgaśīrṣa-kṛishṇa-saptamī.⁶ The occasion and purpose of one are not known. One grant was made on the occasion of a *yugādī*.⁷ Curious as it may appear, no grant made by the Kalachuris to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in this period has yet been found in the Chēdi and Sarayūpāra countries.

Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala—The religious condition in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala did not materially differ from that in Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. The Kalachuris who ruled there believed that they had obtained their kingdom by the grace of the god Vaṅkēśvara.⁸ This was probably a Prakrit name of Śiva. There was an old temple of Vaṅkēśvara at Tummāṇa, the old capital of the Kalachuris. The object of worship was an image, not a *linga*; for, the Amōdā plates state that the king Pṛithvīdēva I washed the resplendent feet of the god before he made a grant to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the construction of the *chatusbhikā* (hall) of the temple.⁹ After the capital was shifted to Ratnapura, several temples were built there by the kings and their ministers. Jājalladēva I founded the town of Jājallapura (modern Janjgir in the Bilaspur District), and built there a temple of Śiva and a monastery for ascetics.¹⁰ He also repaired the old temple of Śiva at Pāli by constructing additional walls and pillars.¹¹ The temples of Śiva were erected by the princes, their feudatories and ministers as well as private persons at several places such as Mallāla, Sōṇthivapura, Varēlāpura, Nārāyaṇapura, Kumarākōṭa, Pathariā, Shēorinārāyaṇ, Vaḍada and Pōrathā.¹²

Saivism was thus the predominant cult in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala, but Vaishṇavism also was prevalent, though it played a subordinate rôle. At Janjgir there is a beautifully sculp-

¹ H. T. M., p. 100.

² No. 43, l. 2; No. 56, l. 13.

³ No. 48, l. 40; No. 65, l. 14.

⁴ No. 56, l. 27; No. 74, l. 39; Appendix, No. 2.

⁵ No. 63, l. 26.

⁶ No. 50, l. 41; No. 68, l. 13.

⁷ See below, p. 649.

⁸ No. 75, l. 4.

⁹ No. 76, l. 28.

¹⁰ No. 77, l. 26.

¹¹ Nos. 78-81. See also p. 418.

¹² See No. 97, l. 24; No. 98, l. 21; No. 96, l. 25; No. 96, ll. 28 and 29; No. 98, ll. 22 and 23; No. 100, l. 22.

tured temple of Vishṇu which was unfortunately left incomplete. Above the door-way of the *garbhagriha* are carved the images of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, which testify to the religious syncretism of the age. Vishṇu, to whom the temple was dedicated, appears in the centre. On the pillars and walls of the temple appear beautifully carved images of the several incarnations of Vishṇu as well as of Sūrya, Dēvi and other gods. This is one of the most beautiful temples in Chhattisgarh.¹ Its builder's name is unknown. Another old temple of Vishṇu exists at Shēorinārāyaṇ, perhaps erected by a collateral branch of the royal family. It is a simple structure, possessing no architectural beauty. Jagapāla, who distinguished himself in several battles of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, repaired an old temple of Vishṇu, originally built by a Nala king in the 8th century A.C.² He re-named the god as Rāmachandra and granted a village for his worship.³ Another temple dedicated to the god was built by a *Mēchi* or Shoe-maker at Khalvāṭikā in the Raipur District.⁴ Several beautifully carved images of Vishṇu have been discovered at Ratanpur and other places.

Besides Śiva and Vishṇu, other gods and goddesses like Pārvatī, Ekavīrā, Gaṇapati and Rēvanta (son of the Sun) were adored by people, high and low, and had temples dedicated to them at several places such as Ratnapura, Vaḍada, Durga, Pahapaka and Vikarna-pura.⁵ Of these the temple of Rēvanta at Vikarna-pura, modern Kotgaḍh, deserves a special mention. It was built by Vallabharāja, a feudatory of the Vaiśya caste, who distinguished himself in the wars of Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvidēva II. It was a fine structure, beautifully decorated with sculptures. Its ruins still exist at Kōtgaḍh. Some of these temples were of the *pañchāyatana* type,⁶ and some others had charitable feeding houses attached to them. At some places like Jānjgir and Kharōd, monasteries were constructed for the residence of ascetics.⁷ They must have served as centres of learning and religious teaching as in the Chēdi country.

The cult of Dēvi also was prevalent in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. She and other Saktis like Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasimhī, Aindrī, Chāmuṇḍā and others, who were associated with her in her fight with the demons, were worshipped in several places, and their favour was invoked for success in fighting. Tantricism also had some followers.⁸ It was believed that by the practice of the *Sākambharī vidyā*, one could obtain supernatural powers ensuring success in battles.⁹

A festival was celebrated in honour of Durgā in the bright fortnight of Āśvina. It continued for nine days. The Dīpāvali festival in Kārttika was marked by illuminations, gifts of cows and reading of the Purāṇas, as at present.¹⁰ Mahāmāyā and other similar gods and goddesses were worshipped by the lower classes of the society.¹¹

Buddhism was flourishing in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala before the advent of the Kalachuris. That Buddhist *vihāras* existed at Āraṅg in the Raipur District¹² and Mallār in the Bilaspur District¹³ is known from inscriptions. Yuan Chwang tells us that there were over 100

¹ *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 271.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

³ No. 88, l. 14.

⁴ No. 108, l. 12.

⁵ No. 96, l. 16; No. 100, l. 25; No. 95, l. 16.

⁶ No. 90, l. 23.

⁷ No. 77, l. 26; No. 100, l. 22.

⁸ No. 114, ll. 1 ff.

⁹ No. 89, l. 25.

¹⁰ No. 103, l. 10.

¹¹ Nos. 103 and 104 are on stones built into a wall of the temple of Mahāmāyā.

¹² *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, pp. 617 ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 227, n. 2.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

Buddhist monasteries and about 10000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists, in Dakṣhiṇa Kōśala.¹ The reigning king Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna made grants to Buddhist *vihāras*, though he himself was a fervent devotee of Siva. But in later times Buddhism declined here as in other parts of the country. There is not a single reference to any Buddhist *vihāra* or Bhikṣu in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakṣhiṇa Kōśala. The Buddhist canonical and philosophical works were, however, studied by some people. Rudraśiva, the spiritual teacher of Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant with the works of Dīnāga and others.² Kāśala, who composed the Kōṇi stone inscription, tells us that he had knowledge of three *ratnas* (*i.e.*, probably Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) and that he had mastered the *āgamas* of the Buddha and others.³ Some learned Brāhmaṇas also, who were required to take part in philosophical debates, must have been well acquainted with the Buddhist systems.

There are also no references to the Jains in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakṣhiṇa Kōśala, but there is no doubt that Jainism had some followers there. Images of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras have been discovered at Araṅg, Sirpur, Mallār, Dhanpur, Ratanpur and Padampur, these at Mallār being colossal.⁴

It is noteworthy that many of the grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Dakṣhiṇa Kōśala were on the occasion of a solar or a lunar eclipse. Of the sixteen grants included here, as many as nine were made at the time of eclipses, five being lunar and four solar.⁵ Three grants were made on a *saṅkrānti*,⁶ one on the *akṣaya tṛtīyā*⁷ which is regarded as a very holy day, and one on the *śrāddha-tithi* of the donor's father.⁸ In the case of the remaining two, no auspicious occasion has been mentioned.⁹

SOCIETY

Like religion, the social life also changed considerably in course of time. In the earlier period people had a broader outlook on social matters. The caste system had not become quite rigid. Foreign tribes like the Sakas were welcomed to the Hindu fold and were assigned their rightful place in the social structure. Hence they did not try to conceal their racial origin, but proudly stated it in their records. The Saka king Śrīdharavarman, for instance, makes a specific mention of his race in both the records of his reign.¹⁰ The Gurjaras also make no attempt in their earlier grants to trace their pedigree from a mythological or legendary hero, but take pride in stating that they were born in the *Gurjara-varaṇṣa*.¹¹ The Sakas, the Gurjaras and the Hūṇas became completely absorbed in the Hindu society in course of time and had matrimonial relations with the most notable Kshatriya families. The Hūṇas came to be reckoned among the thirty-six Kshatriya families of the best blood, their foreign origin having been completely forgotten.¹² We find that the Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa, who claimed to belong to the lunar race, had

¹ O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 200.

² No. 77, l. 27.

³ No. 90, l. 27.

⁴ *Raipur District Gazetteer*, pp. 65-66; *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 61.

⁵ For lunar eclipses, see Nos. 82, 83, 86, 91 and 102, and for solar ones, see Nos. 89, 90, 117 and 122.

⁶ Nos. 75, 92 and 101.

⁷ No. 94, ll. 20-21.

⁸ No. 123, l. 27.

⁹ Nos. 76 and 99.

¹⁰ No. 5, l. 2; No. 119, l. 2.

¹¹ See, *e.g.*, No. 16, l. 2.

¹² *Prithvirājāśā*, I, 135. The list with a few minor changes occurs in the *Kumārapālacharita*.

no objection to marrying the princess Avalladēvi of the Hūṇa lineage.¹ She was probably his chief queen. Her son Yaśaḥkaṇṇa succeeded his father on the Kalachuri throne. The Ābhīras also rose in social status and, like the Hūṇas, were ranked among the best Kshatriya families.²

In the social hierarchy, the Brāhmaṇas occupied an honoured place. They were revered for their pious life and devotion to learning, and received royal patronage in the form of grants of land. In the earlier period, their sub-castes had not been formed and their surnames based on the places of origin had not come into vogue. The only distinctions recognised were those of the Vēdas, *śākhās* and *gōtras*. It would be interesting to see how the Brāhmaṇas of the different Vēdas and *śākhās* were geographically distributed. Unfortunately, we do not find these details mentioned in all grants. The earliest grants included here, *viz.*, those of the *Mahārājās* of Valkha, Subandhu and the Traikūṭakas, mention the *gōtras*, but not the Vēdas and *śākhās*, of the Brāhmaṇa donees.³ In later records they are generally mentioned, though some details are found lacking in a few grants. They are again conspicuous by their absence in the grants made after 1150 A.C. In this latter period, we find modern surnames gradually coming into vogue. We find that the Bahvrichas or Ṛigvēdins are mentioned in very few records.⁴ When their *śākhā* is named, it is only Āśvalāyana. The Ṛigvēdins, though few, were fairly wide-spread. We find them named in the grants from Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajurveda was predominant everywhere. Several Brāhmaṇas of this *śākhā* received grants of land in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh.⁵ The other *śākhā*, Kaṇva, of this Vēda is rarely mentioned. There are only four references to it in our records.⁶ The Brāhmaṇas of the Black Yajurveda or the Taittirīyas were rarer still. They had their home in South India and we find them mentioned only in the records of the south. One of them, residing at Kallivana, modern Kalvan in the Nasik District, received a grant of land situated in that district.⁷ A few others were residing near Nagpur.⁸ We no doubt find a Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīya *śākhā* receiving the grant of a village in Gujarat,⁹ but he originally hailed from Vanavāsī in the Kanara District, Bombay State. He bore a Kanarese name and had evidently gone to Gujarat at the invitation of the Chālukya prince, Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, who also originally came from Karpāṭaka. A few Sāmavedins are noticed in the grants from Gujarat, Sarayūpāra, and the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions of Madhya Pradesh.¹⁰ When their *śākhā* is mentioned, it is invariably Kauthuma.¹¹ The Atharvavedins were extremely rare. They are mentioned only in one record, *viz.*, in the Kairā plates of Dadda II-Praśāntarāga, dated K. 380.¹² They all belonged to the Pippalāda *śākhā* and were residents of Bhērajikā, modern Borjai in the Broach District. They received a village in common with the

¹ No. 56, l. 15; No. 57, l. 13.

² *Prithvirājāraṇ*, I, 135.

³ Nos. 2-4, 6, 8 and 9.

⁴ See No. 11, l. 8; No. 16, ll. 35-37; No. 56, l. 30; No. 74, ll. 41 ff.; No. 76, l. 26; No. 121, l. 19.

⁵ No. 14, l. 21; No. 19, ll. 16-17; No. 20, l. 15; No. 21, l. 20; No. 24, l. 36; No. 25, l. 22; No. 26, l. 25; No. 74, ll. 41-42; No. 91, l. 21.

⁶ No. 15, l. 22; No. 16, l. 37; No. 29, l. 19; No. 120, l. 10.

⁷ No. 12, l. 21.

⁸ No. 120, ll. 10-11.

⁹ No. 30, ll. 57-58.

¹⁰ No. 11, l. 5; No. 16, l. 39; No. 22, l. 16; No. 74, l. 44; No. 75, l. 10; No. 82, l. 17; No. 120, l. 11.

¹¹ No. 16, l. 39; No. 22, l. 16.

¹² No. 16, l. 41.

Brāhmaṇas of the other Vēdas, but they seem to have fallen out with them. They were, therefore, omitted in a later grant of the same village, which virtually cancelled the earlier grant. It is well known that the Atharvavēda was looked upon with disfavour in ancient times.

The original places of habitation, from which the Brāhmaṇas had migrated, are generally stated in land-grants. Some of these places were well known in ancient times as the homes of particular *śākhās*. Thus, Kulāñchā in the Bogra District of North Bengal was famous as the home of the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*,¹ most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda. Similarly, Ṭakārī in Madhyadēśa, which is probably identical with the homonymous village in the Gayā District, was known as the home of the Brāhmaṇas of the Mādhyandina *śākhā*,² though some Brāhmaṇas of other *śākhās* also resided there. In some cases we find Brāhmaṇas migrating from far off places in search of royal patronage. Thus, the Kalachuri court in Ratanpur attracted Brāhmaṇas from such distant places as Sōṇabhadra³ in Uttar Pradesh and Kumbhaṭī⁴ in Madhya Bharat. Derivatives from place-names such as Māthura and Nāgara, which later became family-names of the Brāhmaṇas, are also noticed in one record.⁵ In the earlier period the Brāhmaṇas were distinguished from other castes by the prefix *Brāhmaṇa*,⁶ *Bhaṭṭa* or *Bhaṭṭika*⁷ and the suffix *svāmin*.⁸ Towards the close of the later period other prefixes such as *Paṇḍita*, *Ṭhakura*, *Rāuta* and *Gaintā* became common.⁹ The names generally ended in *śarmaṇ*. The modern surnames Miśra¹⁰ and Tripāṭhī¹¹ occur in very late records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.C.

Many Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to the study of the Vēdas and Sāstras. Some of them mastered more than one Vēda. This was indicated by the prefixes like *Dviveda* attached to their names,¹² which in the earlier period had not become mere family surnames. Those who had performed a sacrifice were known as *Dīkṣita*.¹³ In the earlier period, the Brāhmaṇas generally maintained the sacred fire and performed the *grihya* rites like the five great sacrifices regularly. It is interesting to read that Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmaṇa Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II, performed regularly the *Darśapūrnāmāsa* and other sacrifices.¹⁴ Some Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests (*Purōhitas*). The *Mahāpurōhita*, who was in charge of the Department of Religion, is mentioned with ministers and high State functionaries in the later grants of the Kalachuris.¹⁵ Many members of the priestly caste obtained proficiency in the Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vēdānta and other *darśanas* and even studied heterodox philosophical systems like the Chārvāka, Bauddha and Jaina.¹⁶ Some of them took part in literary competitions and philosophical disputations at the royal courts. Some others became proficient in astronomy and mastered more than one

¹ See below, p. 268, n. 1.

² See below, p. 475, n. 4.

³ No. 83, l. 16.

⁴ No. 97, l. 11.

⁵ No. 74, ll. 41 and 44.

⁶ No. 11, l. 5.

⁷ No. 13, l. 7.

⁸ No. 14, l. 22.

⁹ No. 99, l. 37; No. 117, l. 5.

¹⁰ No. 108, l. 13.

¹¹ No. 105, l. 16.

¹² Np. 30, l. 38.

¹³ No. 29, l. 20.

¹⁴ No. 42, ll. 10 ff.

¹⁵ No. 56, l. 25.

¹⁶ No. 97, ll. 16-18.

Siddhanta. At the royal court, there was sometimes a competition among astronomers about the prediction of the correct time of an eclipse. The successful astronomer was rewarded with a grant of land.¹ Some Brāhmaṇas left the worldly life and took orders in some religious sect like the Śaiva and the Pāśupata.²

From very ancient times the Brāhmaṇas have been allowed to adopt the profession of a Kshatriya if they are unable to earn a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or acceptance of gifts.³ In our records there are some instances of the Brāhmaṇas occupying influential positions in the State. The castes of royal officers are rarely mentioned in land-grants. So the information is very meagre. Still we find that in two cases the Brāhmaṇas acted as *Dātakas* of land-grants.⁴ The office of the *Dātaka* was a very high one⁵ and was held by State functionaries of the rank of *Mahapilupati* and *Mahābalādhikṛita*. Some Brāhmaṇas are known to have filled with distinction the office of the Prime Minister also. Bhākamīśra, Sōmēśvara, Purushōttama and Gaṅgādhara were some of the learned and capable Prime Ministers of the Later Kalachuris.⁶ They are highly eulogised in our records. Some of them distinguished themselves on the battlefield also and won important victories for their masters. Others by their diplomacy saved the State in times of economic and political crises and restored peace and prosperity to the country. Some Brāhmaṇas are mentioned as the authors of royal *prasastis*.⁷ Their compositions reveal no mean poetic talent.

The Brāhmaṇas generally married within their caste, but marriages of the *anuloma* type, in which they took to wife a girl from a lower caste, were not unknown. Rājaśekhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Yāyāvara family, married Avantisundarī of the Chauhāṇa lineage. This was probably not a solitary instance.

The Kshatriyas, like the Brāhmaṇas, enjoyed a high social status. Many of the rulers in the earlier as well the later period belonged to this caste. The Chālukyas and the Kalachuris were known as Kshatriyas. The former claimed to have descended from Hārīti and mentioned their Mānayya *gōtra* in their land-grants.⁸ The Sēndrakas, who were matrimonially connected with them, also probably belonged to the same caste. The Kalachuris called themselves Haihayas, *i.e.*, descendants of Kārtavīrya Arjuna. The latter was born in the family of the Moon. The Kalachuris, therefore, claimed to be of the famous lunar race.⁹ They had matrimonial relations with all the principal Kshatriya families of the age, *viz.*,

¹ No. 83, ll. 23 ff.

² No. 64, l. 17; No. 38, l. 7.

³ *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, II, 2, 69-70.

⁴ No. 2, l. 8 mentions Nannabhāṭṭi, and No. 24, l. 49, *Bhaṭṭa śrī-Dēiyaka* as *Dātakas*.

⁵ The *Dātaka* communicated the royal order about a grant to the office of the *Sāndhivigrahika*. Cf. *rāj-ājñā-prada* used instead of the usual *dātaka* in the Pōnnuṭūru plates of Śāmantavarman; *Eip. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 220. The *Dātaka* of No. 12 was a *Mahapilupati*, and that of No. 14 was a *Mahābalādhikṛita*.

⁶ See No. 42, ll. 3 ff. and 6 ff.; No. 90, ll. 15 ff.; No. 100, ll. 17 ff.

⁷ No. 44, ll. 24-25.

⁸ No. 27, ll. 2-3.

⁹ D. R. Bhandarkar regarded the Kalachuris as of foreign extraction, because, in the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the Haihayas, when they seized the kingdom of the Indian king Bāhu, were assisted by the Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Khasas. The argument has no force; for, though the Haihayas may have taken the help of some foreign tribes, they do not thereby themselves become *Mlecchhas*. If they had invaded India from the North-west after the Kushāṇas as supposed by Bhandarkar, we would have found traces of their rule in the north-western parts of the country, where they may be supposed to have first established themselves. But we do not get any records of the Kalachuris in North India till the 8th century A.C. For further discussion of this subject, see my presidential address in Section II of *P. I. H. C.*, seventh session, pp. 157 ff.

the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chandēllas and the Pālas. The Saka king Śrīdhara-varman and the Gurjara, some of whom bore names ending in *bhata*,¹ were also probably regarded as Kshatriyas. The latter, in their later records, claim to have descended from Karna, the son of Kuntī by the Sun. They were, therefore, probably regarded as born of the race of the Sun. That they claimed to be Kshatriyas is also clear from the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, in which their ancestor Dadā I is spoken of as the son of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Kshatriya mother.²

Many of the important civil and military offices must have been held by the Kshatriyas. The State functionaries mentioned in early grants, whose names ended in *bhata*, probably belonged to the warrior caste.³ Some Kshatriyas followed peaceful vocations. Several records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur mention Kumārapala of the Haihaya lineage as a scribe. He was known for calligraphy, and out of curiosity wrote several *prastāvis*.⁴ He had made a deep study of politics, literature and poetics, and himself composed *prastāvis* of no mean literary merit.⁵

Next to the Kshatriyas came the Vaiśyas. They were doubtless engaged in trade and commerce, and exercised great influence at the royal court as well as in the *Pañchakulas*.⁶ Some towns which had predominantly a merchant population were known as *vaṇin-nagaras* (merchant-towns).⁷ All the affairs of such towns were managed by the *Pañchakulas* elected by them. Some merchants were appointed Mayors of towns⁸ and contributed liberally to the religious and charitable institutions in the State. Some Vaiśyas distinguished themselves in the military professions also. Several later records⁹ from Chhattisgarh give a glowing description of the victories won by Vallabharāja, a Vaiśya feudatory of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. He constructed several temples, excavated tanks and reared mango groves.¹⁰ He was specially favoured by Lāchchhalladēvi, the queen of Ratnadēva II, who treated him as her own son.¹¹

The Kāyasthas were another influential community. Their descent from a legendary sage named Kāchāra who practised penance at Kulāñchā in Gauḍa is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription of the reign of Karna.¹² Gōllāka *alias* Gauḍa, the *Amātya* of Yuvarājādēva I, probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste. He is known from several huge rock-cut images which he caused to be carved at Bāndhōgarh.¹³ Some of his descendants like Sōmēśvara served the Kalachuris of Tripurī by diplomacy as well as personal valour. Some Kāyasthas who settled in Chhattisgarh belonged to the Vāstavya family. Their ancestor Gōvinda had emigrated from the Chēdi *maṇḍala*. His grandson Ratnasimha and great-grandson Dēvagaṇa were learned persons who composed *prastāvis* of considerable merit.¹⁴ The Kāyasthas were generally employed as clerks and are mentioned as scribes in some

¹ No. 21, l. 7.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 91.

³ See No. 22, l. 38 which mentions Durgabhata and his son Sahabhata as military officers.

⁴ No. 93, l. 22; No. 96, l. 34; No. 97, ll. 27-28. The engravers of Nos. 34 and 120 belonged to the Kshatriya Caste.

⁵ No. 100, l. 27.

⁶ No. 72, l. 9.

⁷ No. 31, l. 47.

⁸ No. 77, l. 12.

⁹ Nos. 84, 85, 87 and 95.

¹⁰ No. 95, ll. 24 ff.

¹¹ No. 85, l. 14.

¹² No. 51, ll. 20 ff.

¹³ Nos. 38-41.

¹⁴ Nos. 93 and 97.

inscriptions.¹ The *Kamīkas* mentioned in some records² were not different from the *Kāyasthas*.

Some lower castes like *Sātradhāra* occasionally find a mention in our records.³ Of the untouchables, the *Māchi* or shoe-maker is mentioned in a late record.⁴ Dēvapāla, who belonged to this caste, was a religious-minded person. He was rich enough to construct a temple of Nārāyaṇa at Khalvāṭikā, modern Khalāri in the Raipur District.

Women were honoured and treated with respect. Polygamy was in vogue. Kings generally maintained a large seraglio. From inscriptions as well as from literature⁵ we know that Yuvantjadēva I married a large number of princesses from different countries. Gāṅgēyadēva is said to have had as many as a hundred wives.⁶ The custom of the *Satī* was in vogue. If the description in the Khairā and Jabalpur plates is correct, all the hundred wives of Gāṅgēyadēva immolated themselves on his funeral pyre near the banyan tree at Prayāga. Another instance of the *Satī* is recorded in the Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription of K. 919. When the prince Ulhanadēva died fighting with Jayasirīha of Tripurī, his three queens died as *Satīs*.⁷ The inscription describes vividly the grief which the people felt on that occasion. Such self-immolation was, however, not obligatory on women. Those who did not subject themselves to it led a restrained and pious life. We know of some queens who survived their husbands and helped their sons with advice in the administration of the State. The dowager queens Alhanadēvī and Gōsaladēvī are notable instances of this type mentioned in our records.⁸

That the joint family system was in vogue appears clear from the numbers of relatives mentioned in commemorative *prastāvis*. The Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207, for instance, mentions, besides the Kāyastha Ratnasirīha, his wife, one son, two daughters-in-law, two grandsons, one grand-daughter and two other persons whose relation to him is not stated explicitly.⁹ Another instance is that of Purushōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva II. He lived to a good old age. His four sons, all of whom distinguished themselves in statecraft, continued to live with him.¹⁰ On the other hand, we have an instance of the division of even State property. Sarvadēva, the brother of Prithvidēva I, we are told, obtained, as a share of patrimony, the territory round Sōṇṭhiva, where he later established himself. Such partitions were, however, rare.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

In India from very ancient times trade and commerce have been carried on through guilds (*śrēṇis*). The first inscription included in this Volume mentions four guilds, *viz.*, those of potters, makers of hydraulic engines, and oil-millers, and one more whose name is lost. These guilds acted also as banks and received deposits of money, on which they stipulated to pay a certain amount of interest in perpetuity. Pious persons deposited money

¹ Kirtidhara, his son Vatsarāja and grandson Dharmarāja, who wrote several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, belonged to the Vāstavya family and were evidently Kāyasthas.

² No. 45, l. 33; No. 50, l. 49.

³ No. 64 l. 26; No. 105, l. 20 *et*.

⁴ No. 108, l. 10.

⁵ See above, p. lxxvii.

⁶ No. 56, ll. 10-11; No. 57, l. 10.

⁷ No. 98, l. 20.

⁸ No. 60, l. 23 and No. 69, l. 1.

⁹ No. 95, ll. 10 *et*.

¹⁰ No. 90, l. 20.

in these guilds to make perpetual endowments for religious purposes.¹ Traders and artisans also had their own corporations called *gaṇas*. There were, besides, other corporate organisations of persons who followed the same avocation. The Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja mention a corporation of elephant-drivers (*mahāmātras*).² This corporation seems to have been an influential one. It had its own assembly called *saṃṭha*. Its President was called *Sthavira*, and members of the Executive Committee *Pramukhas*, among whom were included the *Pibapati* (Chief of the Elephant force) and the *Hastivaidya* (Physician of Elephants). The grant of land made by the corporation had to be approved by the reigning king, but it affixed its characteristic seal to the charter. This circumstance indicates how much power it wielded in the State.

There were, doubtless, several other guilds and corporations functioning in both the periods, but very few of them find a mention in our records. The Vāgūlikas and Pāyatis, who donated fifty leaves for each bundle sold in the market in favour of a temple at Kārī-talāi, were probably guilds of traders in betel-leaves.³ The Kārītalāi inscription speaks of the *Deśi* or foreman of the guild of five kinds of spirituous liquors (*kashāya-pañchaka*).⁴ These guilds and corporations had their own militia which could be called upon to serve the State when necessary.

There was a *mandapikā* or market pavilion in every town and village, where the various articles brought for sale were assessed and taxed.⁵ A voucher called *yugā* was issued for the small fee of half a *paura*, paid for permission to exhibit the articles for sale in the market.⁶ It was valid for a day. There were markets (*āpaṇas*)⁷ and shops (*vīthīs*)⁸ where articles were offered for sale in stalls (*āvāras*).⁹ Our records incidentally mention several articles which were brought and sold in the markets of towns and villages. They include, besides food-grains, areca-nuts, betel leaves, salt, pepper, and other commodities such as liquor, oil, grass and vegetables. Elephants and horses also were sold in the markets.¹⁰ Traders and merchants were required to pay excise and octroi duties as well as a sales tax on the things sold in the market.

Our records mention different kinds of weights and measures. They varied from district to district.¹¹ One grant mentions the larger measure (*bṛihan-māna*),¹² implying thereby that there was a smaller measure also in vogue there. The standard land-measure was the *nivartana*. Several varieties of it are mentioned in ancient works.¹³ The *nivartana*, current in the dominion of the Early Kalachuris, is described in the Ābhōṇa plates as *ubhaya-chatvāriṃśaka-nivartanin*, i.e., measuring forty *daṇḍas* in length and breadth, or 1600 square *daṇḍas*.¹⁴ It was, therefore, larger than the *nivartanas* mentioned in ancient works.

Sometimes land was measured in *balas*.¹⁵ A *bala* signified as much land as could be

¹ No. 1, ll. 8-13.

² No. 120, ll. 4 ff.

³ No. 42, l. 34. It is noteworthy that the inscription mentions the chief of the *Vāgūlikas*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 33.

⁵ No. 43, l. 30.

⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 31. See also p. 223, n. 6.

⁷ No. 31, l. 35.

⁸ No. 43, l. 31.

⁹ No. 31, l. 35.

¹⁰ No. 42, l. 33; No. 43, ll. 30-36.

¹¹ Cf. *tad-vishaya-māntna* in No. 19, l. 10.

¹² No. 20, ll. 9-10.

¹³ See below, p. 43, n. 6.

¹⁴ No. 14, l. 18. With this compare पञ्चविंशतिमिदं दैवस्योस्तु निवर्तनम् in *JNS. adhyāya I, v. 200*.

¹⁵ No. 90, l. v. 27.

ploughed by a single pair of bullocks. This is said to be equivalent to five acres. A third method of stating the intended extent of land was by mentioning the quantity of seed required for sowing it. The measures of capacity *lebāri*,¹ *piṭaka*² and *prastha*³ are mentioned in this connection. Other measures of the same kind were *khaṇḍi* or *khaṇḍikā*, *gōṇi* and *ghaṭi*.⁴ Of the weights used in that age, only one, viz., *bharaka*⁵ is found mentioned. It was used for weighing ginger, areca-nuts, pepper etc.

The records do not shed much light on the vexed question of the ownership of land. We can draw some inferences from the conditions and descriptions of the gifts in copper-plate charters. In most cases the gifts were of entire villages in favour of temples, monasteries and individuals. In such cases, what was transferred was evidently the royal prerogative of demanding land revenue and other dues in cash or kind. The donee plainly could not dispossess the individuals residing in the village of their homesteads and cultivated fields. The maxim of fallow land (*bhūmi-śchchhidra-nyāya*),⁶ usually mentioned in land-grants to describe the gifts, signified full proprietary right, i.e., a complete freedom from the payment of revenue and other dues to the reigning prince. It also transferred some other privileges usually claimed by the king, but it did not carry with it the right to oust all tenants. When fields and small plots of land were, however, donated, the case was different. The cultivators who were formerly in possession of the pieces of land are generally mentioned in such cases. The words signifying their possession used in early grants are *pratyaya*, *bhukta* and *satka*.⁷ None of these signifies absolute ownership. Besides, it is clearly stated in all these grants that the donee was free to cultivate the land himself or to get it cultivated by others as he pleased. The previous cultivators of these lands were evidently temporary tenants who had no proprietary right to them. The fields were probably a part of the crown land in the particular villages. On the other hand, those fields which the cultivators owned absolutely were known as *kantumba-śchētra*. Two such fields are mentioned in a grant for the demarcation of the boundaries of the donated piece of land.⁸ Such fields were evidently held by the particular families from generation to generation and could not, therefore, be taken away from them except for the non-payment of land-revenue etc.

The bulk of the population then, as now, lived in villages. The chief village of a *vishaya* was called *jyēshthikā-grāma*. Some of the villages had banks which received endowments and paid interest on them in perpetuity. The boundaries of the villages were properly marked. There used to be a village common and a pasture-land surrounding it for the grazing of the cattle.⁹ Sometimes, pasture-lands were donated by private individuals. Their boundaries were clearly marked by erecting pillars with the image of the goddess Durgā carved on them.¹⁰ Among other things which constituted the common property of the villagers were the tank which irrigated their fields, the jungle which supplied them

¹ No. 42, l. 32.

² No. 19, l. 10.

³ No. 20, l. 10.

⁴ No. 42, ll. 31 and 33.

⁵ No. 45, l. 31. The exact meaning of *bharaka* is uncertain. If derived from *bhri* to fill, it may signify a measure of capacity. Perhaps, the meaning of 'a weight' would suit the context better. Cf. *bhara* (Marathi), meaning 'a load'.

⁶ No. 7, l. 9; No. 11, l. 10. See also p. 21, n. 8.

⁷ No. 2, l. 4; No. 3, l. 4; No. 4, ll. 4-5; No. 6, l. 2; No. 22, l. 20.

⁸ No. 22, ll. 20 and 24.

⁹ Cf. *सुबलपुत्रमुक्तिचोदरपर्वतः* in No. 30, l. 39.

¹⁰ No. 31, ll. 36 ff.

with fuel, and the temple where they assembled for prayers. These are mentioned in some grants in connection with the boundaries of the donated fields. The king was, no doubt, the owner of all marshy and barren land, woodland and jungles, pasture-lands, tanks and watering places. When he donated a village, he transferred his rights to the donee;¹ but in practice, the village folk used these in common. The king was also the owner of the mines of minerals and salt, of the mango and *mahua* trees, and also of the treasure trove.² He had further the privileges of *ditya* and *vishti*.³ The former probably signified the obligations of the villagers to make customary presents on the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess, and the latter, that of rendering occasional service free of charge. There were other miscellaneous royal privileges designated as *prātibhēdikā*.⁴ Besides, the villagers were required to provide for the lodging and boarding of royal officers on tour.⁵ Sometimes a small cess was levied for the purpose. The donated villages were free from all these obligations. They could also adjudicate their own law-suits and levy fines for the commission of the ten crimes (*daś-āparādhas*).⁶ They could not also be entered by soldiers and policemen except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.

The towns were in a flourishing condition. In the *Bālarāmāyana* Rājasekhara ascribes the origin of Tripuri, the capital of the Kalachuris, to the fall from the sky of a portion of the three cities of Tripurāsura burnt by Siva.⁷ The description suggests the great magnificence of the capital which justified such a fancy. It is borne out by numerous beautiful sculptures and extensive remains of buildings discovered at Tewar. Tummāna, the earlier capital of a branch of the same family in Chhattisgarh, is said to have been beautified by Ratnadēva I with magnificent buildings, lofty temples of gods and beautiful groves of mango trees. Ratnapura, the later capital founded by the same prince, is said to have resembled the city of Alakā.⁸ The existing extensive ruins of buildings and temples and large tanks at both the places testify to the past splendour of the towns. Mallāla, Jājallanagara and Vikarnapura were some of the other places in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, noted for their grandeur and prosperity.

As remarked in a private record at Mallār,⁹ the country was well governed, it was free from the infestation of troubles, and the people were happy under the rule of the Kalachuris.

LITERATURE

We have very meagre information about the literature of the earlier period. The only reference to a literary work occurring in the earlier inscriptions is that noticed in the Nasik plates of Dharaśraya-Jayasimha.¹⁰ His religious preceptor, who was an ascetic of the Saiva sect, but whose full name has, unfortunately, not been preserved, wrote a Sanskrit play called *Harapāravatīya*. This work has not come down to us, but its title indicates that it treated of some incident in the life of Hara and Pārvatī, probably their marriage. This is

¹ See, e.g., No. 50, ll. 38-39.

² *Lac. cit.*

³ No. 16, l. 34.

⁴ *Lac. cit.*

⁵ Some villages were exempted from these. See No. 32, ll. 33-34. See p. 156, n. 2.

⁶ No. 21, l. 27; No. 22, l. 28. See also p. 89, n. 3.

⁷ *Bālarāmāyana*, Act III, v. 38.

⁸ No. 77, ll. 9-12.

⁹ No. 97, ll. 9-10.

¹⁰ No. 28, ll. 10-11.

one of the rare instances in which a member of an ascetic order is seen busying himself with the composition of a dramatic work.

We have comparatively more information about the literature of the later period. After the Kalachuris established themselves at the fort of Kālāñjara, some of them took to literary activities. Māyūrāja, whom Rājasekhara calls a Kalachuri poet,¹ wrote a Sanskrit play named *Udāttarāghava*. This play also is not extant, but some references to and extracts from it occur in several Sanskrit works.² As the name indicates, its theme was the life of Rāma. There are some incidents in Rāma's career, as described in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, which are open to criticism. Māyūrāja seems to have altered or omitted them in order to present the hero as absolutely free from blemish. This object of the author is indicated also by the title of the play, *Udāttarāghava*, 'The Noble Rāghava'. From some references and extracts in later Sanskrit works, it appears that Māyūrāja omitted the incident of *Vālī-vadha* (the killing of Vālī). The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that while Vālī and Sugrīva were engaged in a deadly combat, Rāma concealed himself behind some trees and discharged an arrow which fatally wounded Vālī.³ The monkey chief reproached Rāma severely for this unprovoked wrong and the latter was hard put to it in justifying his action. Some earlier playwrights like Bhāsa⁴ had followed Vālmiki⁵ in stating Rāma's defence. Others like Bhavabhūti had given a different turn to the incident. Māyūrāja seems to have cut the Gordian knot by omitting the incident altogether. In one more respect, Māyūrāja is known to have deviated from the original story of Vālmiki.⁶ He sends Lakshmana first to kill the *māyāmṛiga* (pseudo-deer). A Rākshasa, who had disguised himself as a sage, plaintively beseeches Rāma to go to the rescue of his brother who was in danger. Rāma hesitates at first to leave Sītā alone in the hermitage, but ultimately departs to save Lakshmana. In his absence, Sītā is carried away by Rāvaṇa. By this manipulation of the original story, Māyūrāja has cleverly avoided the occasion for Sītā's unmerited reproach of Lakshmana.⁷ Judging by the available extracts,⁸ Māyūrāja seems to have adopted the Vaidarbhī *śīti* for the composition of his play. His style is lucid and charming, being unloaded with long compounds. Jalhana's *Sāketimuktāvalī* cites two verses of Māyūrāja without referring them to the *Udāttarāghava*.⁹ They describe Rāvaṇa and are in the Gauḍī style. That Māyūrāja wrote also a *kāvya* is known from Hēmachandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*.¹⁰ Some of the verses cited in the anthologies may have been taken from that *kāvya*.

Another king of Kālāñjara, who also probably belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty, was Bhīmaṭa. According to Rājasekhara's account,¹¹ he composed five plays, of which the

¹ वायुपुत्रस्यो नामो यो कलचुरिः कविः । *SM.*, p. 46.

² *Dātārāṇaka*, II, 59; III, 24; IV, 13, 28; *Vakratilakam* (ed. by S. K. De, 1928), pp. 225 and 244; Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ch. XIX; *Nāṭyaśāstra*, pp. 66, 116, 194.

³ Cf. यथा कृतवा वालिवो वायुपुत्रोऽसत्परायणे परित्यक्तः । in the *Dātārāṇaka*, III, 24.

⁴ See Bhāsa's *Abhishekha*, I, 17-21.

⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 17, 33 ff.

⁶ *Dātārāṇaka*, IV, 28.

⁷ Bhattasvamin shows that the plot of the *Udāttarāghava* deviates much more from the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* than Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*. He, therefore, concludes that Māyūrāja flourished later than Bhavabhūti and earlier than Rājasekhara, somewhere between 750 and 880 A.C. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 145.

⁸ *Lac. cit.*, pp. 142-43.

⁹ *SM.*, pp. 314, 318.

¹⁰ *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (ed. by R. C. Parekh), Vol. I, p. 417. Māyūrāja inserted the word *dhairya* in the last verse of every canto.

¹¹ Cf. कालचुरप्रतिपदो नामः योऽसत्परायणे । यथा यथापरायणे तेषु स्वयंपरायणे ॥ *SM.*, p. 46. Two Kalachuri princes named Bhīmaṭa are mentioned in the Kasia inscription (No. 73, ll. 17 and 21), but they flourished much later.

Svapnadaśanana was judged to be the best. Anthologies contain some verses of Bhīmaṣa, which appear to be of the *subhāshita* type.¹

Another renowned author of the later period was Rājasekhara. In the prologues of his plays as well as in the stray verses collected in Sanskrit anthologies, Rājasekhara has given a considerable information about his ancestors who flourished in the Chēdi court. This Brāhmaṇa family hailed from Mahārāshṭra.² Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim (properly Vāṣim) in the Akola District of Madhya Pradesh, was probably its original place of habitation.³ This family bore the ancient name of Yāyāvara,⁴ and was noted for its learning as well as poetic ability. Rājasekhara mentions, as his ancestors, Akālalada, Surānanda, Tarala and Kavirāja, all of whom distinguished themselves by their poetic composition.⁵ Akālalada, the great-grandfather of Rājasekhara, probably flourished in *circa* 850 A.C. He may have been a court-poet of Kōkalla I (*circa* 850-890 A.C.), whose glorious reign must have attracted learned men, poets and artists from far-off lands. *Akālajalada* was not the poet's proper name. It was a sobriquet which he earned by composing an interesting verse containing the word *akāla-jalada* (an unseasonable cloud).⁶ According to Rājasekhara, his works were eagerly studied by later poets. Some of his verses were plagiarised by one Kādambarīrāma, who earned fame by inserting them in his play.⁷

¹ *SM.*, p. 157.

² M. M. Ghosh has questioned the identification of this Mahārāshṭra with the modern country of that name on the ground that Rājasekhara has mentioned it as distinct from Vidarbha and Kuntala. See his edition of the *Karpūramañjarī*, p. lxvi. It may be noted that there were three Mahārāshṭras known in ancient times, comprising modern Northern Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Kuntala (Southern Mahārāshṭra). Rājasekhara sometimes mentions Mahārāshṭra separately from Vidarbha and Kuntala (vide *KM.*, p. 93) and sometimes as including the latter two countries (vide *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act XI, v. 74 and 75). His other arguments that Rājasekhara does not mention Mahārāshṭra as the country of Prakrit, that he wrote in Śaurasēnī and that he has great praise for Pāñchāla, have little force; for, in the verse referred to, Rājasekhara is only quoting the opinion of others (vide *śat-sam* in *KM.*, p. 51); if he wrote in Śaurasēnī, that was because he was then at the court of the Pratihāras; and he has praised Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha also in as high terms. Ghosh comes to the strange conclusion that Rājasekhara was not a native of Mahārāshṭra, though his ancestors might have come to Madhyadēśa from some place in Mahārāshṭra! His attention is drawn to the passage in the *KM.*, p. 10, which glorifies Vatsagulma in Vidarbha as the pleasure-resort of the god of love. See also the next note.

³ Rājasekhara shows a special love for Vatsagulma. This city was formerly the prosperous capital of a branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It seems to have retained its importance down to the time of Rājasekhara; for, it gave its name to a particular style. In the *Karpūramañjarī*, Rājasekhara mentions *Vachchhōmi* (Sanskrit, Vatsagulmī) as a *rīti* together with Māgadhī and Pāñchālī. The poet again mentions this place as situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The heroine of the *Karpūramañjarī* was a princess of Vachchhōma. In the *KM.* (p. 10), Rājasekhara states that the mythical Kāvya-puruṣa married Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. All these references show the poet's special admiration for the place. It may, therefore, have been his ancestral home.

⁴ The Yāyāvaras are mentioned in the *MBH.*, Ādiparvan, adhyāya 11, v. 13, where the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha explains the term as meaning 'a householder living for only one night in a village'. Dēvala divides householders into Śālīna and Yāyāvara. The latter did not accumulate wealth and did not earn their living by teaching, officiating as a priest or accepting gifts as the former did. *H. D. L.*, Vol. II, pp. 641 ff.

⁵ *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I, 13.

⁶ The following verse is ascribed to him in the *Sarvagadharapadāvatī*: शेकैः कोटरशासिमिदं तमिव
स्मान्तर्गतं कञ्चवेः पाठीनेः पुष्पक्षपीठकुठान्वास्मिन्नुत्तुर्गुणितम् । तस्मिन् दुष्कसत्सकालजलदेनागत्य तन्वेष्टितं
यत्रा कुम्भनिग्नवन्यकरिणां यूयैः पयः पीयते ॥

The verse appears to be of the *anyākti* type, and suggests unexpected munificent gifts of a liberal donor which relieved a great distress.

⁷ Cf. *वकाळजलदेवकोटिनिग्नमालकुटीरिव । जलः कारम्भपीयसो नाडके प्रवृत्तः कविः ॥ SM.*, p. 46.

This Kādambarīrāma may be identical with Kādambarīrāmakrishṇa, the author of the *Aditi-kupḍalābharaṇa*, as suggested by J. B. Chaudhari. See *Paśyadvatī*, p. 83.

From a *subhāshita* of Rājasekhara, we learn that Surānanda was a contemporary of the Chēdi prince Raṇavighraha.¹ As shown before, Raṇavighraha was a *viruda* of Saṅkara-gaṇa II, son of Kōkalla I, who flourished in *circa* 890-910 A.C.² This prince is probably identical with the poet Saṅkaragaṇa, some of whose verses are included in the anthologies *Subhāshitāvalī* and *Sūktimuktāvalī*.³ One of them is also cited in Bhōja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*,⁴ which lends colour to the identification. The poet Surānanda, patronised by Saṅkaragaṇa, is described as an ornament of the Chēdi country. Unfortunately, none of his *kāvya*s has come down to us. The anthologies also do not contain any *subhāshitas* composed by him. About Tarala and Kavirāja, two other ancestors of Rājasekhara, we have no information. From a *subhāshita* of Rājasekhara we learn that Tarala's poetry was known for its excellent alliteration.⁵

About Rājasekhara himself, we know much more, thanks to his garrulity. His father was Durduka (or Duhika), who held the post of *Mahāmantrin* probably in the Chēdi court. His mother's name was Śilavatī. His wife Avantisundarī was born in the Chau-hāṇa lineage.⁶ She was a learned lady. Her views on rhetorical matters are cited in Rājasekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.⁷ In his early career Rājasekhara was attracted by the prosperous court of the Pratihāras in Kanauj. Before he went there, he had written six *prabandhas* and earned the title of *Bālakavi*.⁸ These juvenile compositions, not even known by their titles, have long been lost. At Kanauj he received a high honour and the title of *Kavirāja* from the illustrious Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla, who regarded him as his *guru*.⁹ Rājasekhara composed there three plays—the *Bālarāmāyana* during the reign of Mahēndrapāla, and the *Bālabbhārata* alias *Prachandapāṇḍava*¹⁰ and the *Karpūramāñjarī* during that of his son and successor Mahipāla. The first two of these, to which he has prefixed his title *Bāla*, are in Sanskrit, and the third, which was staged at the instance of his wife Avantisundarī, is in Prakrit.¹¹

During the reign of Mahipāla, the power of the Pratihāras declined owing to the invasion of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, who advanced up to Kanauj and devastated the Imperial capital. Just about this time, Yuvarājadēva I of Tripurī rose to power. He made extensive conquests in all parts of India and dealt a staggering blow to the Pratihāra Empire during the closing years of Mahipāla's reign. Rājasekhara then returned to Tripurī, where he composed the *Viddhaśālabhañjika* and other works. This Sanskrit play was staged in the Kalachuri capital to celebrate the victory of Yuvarājadēva I over a confederacy of southern kings headed by the reigning Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda IV.¹² The *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, which was planned to be a comprehensive work on poetics, has remained unfinished. This was evidently his last work, since it contains quotations from all his

¹ See above, p. lxxvi, n. 3.

² Above, p. lxxvi.

³ *S.A.*, vv. 1516 and 1985; *J.M.*, p. 169.

⁴ Nīlpaṇṇagar ed. (1934), pp. 464 and 723.

⁵ *CE*. वायावरकुलजेयुस्तावदेव मन्वन्त १ सुपर्णकण्ठविस्तारकस्तरो ज्वा ॥ *J.M.*, p. 47.

⁶ *Karpūramāñjarī*, Act I, v. 11.

⁷ *K.M.*, pp. 20, 46, 57.

⁸ *Bālarāmāyana*, Act I, v. 12.

⁹ *Karpūramāñjarī*, Act I, v. 9. According to Rājasekhara, a *Kavirāja* is higher than a *Mahākavi*. He is proficient in several languages, various kinds of poetic compositions and different sentiments.

¹⁰ This play has only two acts. The author did not probably complete it. As its *maṅgala-śloka* is cited in the *K.M.*, it was plainly not the last work of the poet.

¹¹ *Karpūramāñjarī*, Act I, v. 11.

¹² See above, p. lxxix.

Sanskrit plays.¹ Two other works—the *Haraviṇaya*, a *kāvya*, and the *Bhuvanakūṣha*, a work on general geography—are known only from quotations.

As the author of a Rāma-play, Rājasekhara traces his literary pedigree from the Adikavi Vālmiki. As a matter of fact, his enormous plays are more of the epic than of the dramatic type. He is conscious of this defect and asks the critic to *read* them if they contain any literary qualities. In the *Karpūramajjarī* also, he defines *kāvya* as 'a beauty of expression'.² Rājasekhara has shown some inventive power, but he has little skill in the arrangement of incidents and still less in characterisation. Some of the devices he employs such as the introduction, on the stage, of marionettes with parrots in their mouths are very crude.³ Above all, he knows no restraint, but goes on piling verse on verse, regardless of monotony and hindrance to action. It cannot, however, be denied that he has a considerable felicity of expression. The ease with which he handles long metres like the *Sārdūlavikīṛṇita* and the *Sragdhara* is truly remarkable. He had an inexhaustible stock of legends about old writers and their works. It cannot be gainsaid that several Sanskrit authors would have remained unknown to us, if he had not written his commemorative verses about them. His *Kavyamīmāṃsā* is a veritable mine of information on a variety of subjects.

Rājasekhara's works continued to be studied in the Chēdi country and have considerably influenced the composition of later poets of the Chēdi court.⁴ Some of them imitated his mannerisms.⁵ Again, some of his verses with suitable modifications are found inserted in Kalachuri inscriptions.

The reign of the illustrious king Karmā saw a rare outburst of poetic activity. Several great poets of the age flocked to his court. According to a well-known *subhāṣita*,⁶ Karmā's court-poet was Vidyāpati. Several Sanskrit verses of this poet, in some of which he praises Karmā in a clever manner,⁷ are cited in Sanskrit anthologies. Another poet of Karmā's court was Gaṅgādhara. From the *Vikramāṅkadīvyaśarita* we learn that he was challenged and defeated, evidently in a poetic contest, by the celebrated Kāshmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who visited Karmā's court at Banaras in the course of his itineracy.⁸ While at Banaras, Bilhaṇa delighted the great king of Dāhala with his sweet poetry.⁹ He also composed a *kāvya* in glorification of Rāma on the occasion of his visit to Ayōdhya.¹⁰ That work also is unfortunately not extant.

Other poets of Karmā's court were Vallāṇa (or Vallana), Karpūra and Nāchirāja. Vallāṇa was a great poet. Several *subhāṣitas* composed by him are found in old antho-

¹ For the chronological order of Rājasekhara's works, see my article in the *K. A. Pathekar Commemorative Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

² Cf. उत्तिविसेसो कव्यं in the *Karpūramajjarī*, Act I, v. 7.

³ *Balarāmpapa*, Act V, v. 5.

⁴ For instance, the hemistich, यदेतवनेसरमम्बरस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः, occurring in the beginning of several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur (vide Nos. 76, 83, 86 etc.), is taken from the *Balarāmpapa*, Act I, v. 22. Similarly the verse यः सत्यस्य निधिः निदां च सपतिः etc. in the Banaras plates of Karmā (No. 48, ll. 19-20) is taken from the *Balarāmpapa*, Act I, v. 62.

⁵ Below, p. 208.

⁶ Cf. कर्णोऽपि विद्यापतेः । *J.A.*, v. 186. See also *PCH.*, p. 30.

⁷ Cf. (i) त्वं द्विजादि पदानि गच्छसि महीमुखद्वयं गच्छिष्यसि द्विजस्त्वं बाणान्धक पञ्च मुखसि बहुमुखस्य मुखसि ते । ते देवीपतयस्तवादिनिहतास्त्वं मानुषीणां पतिस्ते निहतास्तव सर्वेण कथयिषि जीकर्णं निर्वीयताम् ॥ विद्यापतेः । *SKM.*, III, 13, 4

(ii) कर्णं चक्षुरजीगणतव पितुस्तताः पिता ते पुनः सप्तबाह्वरकुमारमप्यजगत् कतरत्वेन तः । देवीर्वा महिषीति पश्यति कतरत्वं विदेवसु पुनः प्राणसर्वं प्रकथयति वस्तवपि च प्रज्ञापनाः साधवः ॥ विद्यापतेः । *SKM.*, III, 14, 2.

⁸ *VDC.*, XVIII, 95.

⁹ *Lac. cit.*, v. 93.

¹⁰ *Lac. cit.*, v. 94.

logies like the *Kavindrachamasamacharya* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*. In one of these, he praises Karṇa.¹ The other two poets are known from Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.² Nāchirāja also was a renowned poet. In a tribute which the poet Karpūra pays to him, he is said to be the only support of Bhārati after the death of Muñja and Bhōja, the famous poet-kings of Dhārī.³ Both Karpūra⁴ and Nāchirāja⁵ have left us beautiful verses in praise of Karṇa.

It seems that there were competitions in *samasyāpūraṇa* (completion of incomplete verses) at the court of Karṇa. Those who completed the *samasyās* successfully were liberally rewarded. Several years ago, Sir G. A. Grierson published, under the heading 'Curiosities of Indian Literature', a strange story about 'King Dhārīā Karṇa and the Paṇḍit's promise'.⁶ In this story a Paṇḍit composes extempore five verses—one about the queen of Karṇa Dhārīā, who, being attracted by his melody, goes to him at dead of night, and four more which he recites next day before the king. The latter being pleased with them makes up his mind to give him his kingdom in all the four directions. He even allows the Paṇḍit to take him as a prisoner before his mother in fulfilment of a promise made to her. The story is absurd as it stands, but some of the stanzas mentioned in it may have been recited at Karṇa's court. Two of them, which end in *kṛitakam manyō bhayam yōshītum*, are of the *samasyāpūraṇa* type.⁷ They specifically refer to Karṇa and describe his fame as roaming about fearlessly. They were evidently composed by different poets. This is also shown by the remark *kayōr=api* 'of some two poets', with which they are cited in the *Subhashitāvalī*. The first of them, which does not explicitly refer to the king's fame, but apparently describes a lady coming out of the king's seraglio in pitchy darkness, seems to have given rise to the fantastic story mentioned above.

Karṇa gave a liberal patronage to Prakrit poets also. Some Mahārāshṭri and Apabhraṁśa verses, describing the king and his victories, occur in the *Prākṛita Paṅgala*.⁸ They were first brought to notice by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts*.⁹ Unfortunately the authors of these verses are not named in the commentaries. Again, Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhraṁśa work *Karakandacharita*, tells us that he delighted the mind of the king Karṇa, who was probably none other than the homonymous Kalachuri king.¹⁰

¹ लक्ष्मीसप्तसरोजरेणुसुहृदः देवावनम्रीमवद्भूमीपालकिरीटरत्नकिरणव्योत्स्नानवीचालुकाः ।

जीवायुः कलिकाल कर्णनृपते वरिष्ठदाक्षरव्याधूर्णदुष्पुणन्दलङ्घनमुषस्त्वत्पादयोः पांशवः ॥

वत्सलण्डस्य । SKM., III, 10, 2.

² PCH., p. 30.

³ Op. cit.

⁴ मुखे हारावाप्तिर्नयनयुगले कङ्कणमरो नितम्बे पद्माली सतिलकममूत्पाणियुगलम् । जरण्ये श्रीकर्णं त्वदरिपुवतीनां विविधशास्त्रपूर्वोऽयं भूषाविधिरहह जातः किमधुना ॥ Ibid., p. 30.

⁵ कुलेः कोटर एव कैटरिपुर्वते त्रिलोकीमिमामन्तमूर्तिभरं विभति त्वयि प्रीतो मुजङ्गाधिपः ।

श्रीकण्ठस्य स कण्ठसूत्रमभवद्देव त्वया तं हृदा विभागेन परेषु विक्रमकथा श्रीकर्णं निर्णाशिता ॥ SM., Introd.,

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

p. 39.

⁷ (i) उवाचाम्बुदवर्षितान्वतमसप्रभ्रष्टदिकृमण्डले यामे यामिकवासदुष्प्रसूयटव्याकीर्णकोलाहले ।

कर्णस्यारिमहाणं बाम्बुवडबाबल्लेयवन्तः पुरादायातासि तवम्बुजासि कृतकं मन्वे भवं योषिताम् ॥

(ii) उवाचाम्बुदवन्वति जलमसिकामत्यनालम्बिनि व्योम्नि भ्राम्यति दुर्गमक्षितिकृतां मूर्धनिमारोहति ।

व्याप्तं याति विषाकुलैरहिदुलैः पातालमेकाकिनी कीर्तिस्ते मदनाभिराम कृतकं मन्वे भवं योषिताम् ॥

⁸ *Prākṛita Paṅgala* (Bibliotheca Indica Series), I, 69, 96, 126 and 185.

⁹ C. W. B., Vol. II, pp. 334 ff.

¹⁰ Above, p. cil.

The Kalachuris of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala also patronised Sanskrit and Prakrit poets.¹ One of them, Nārāyaṇa who composed the Pujātipālī stone inscription of Gōpāladēva, tells us that he composed a *kāvya* named *Rāmābhyudaya*, which greatly delighted the Goddess of speech. Several Sanskrit works of this name, *kāvyas* as well as *nāṭakas*, are known, and some of them have come down to us; but this work of Nārāyaṇa seems to be different from all of them.²

Some of the authors of the *prastāvis* included here were poets of no mean order. Dhāmsaṭa, the author of the Chandrēhē inscription,³ Śrīnivāsa who composed the eulogy of the first three kings in the Bilhāri inscription,⁴ the unknown author of the fragmentary Rewa inscription of Kaṃa,⁵ Dēvapāṇi, the author of the Akaltarā inscription,⁶ and Kāśala who composed the Kōṇi inscription,⁷ to name only a few, had a considerable poetic talent. They have composed their respective *prastāvis* in an ornate *kāvya* style, embellishing them with numerous *arthālaṅkāras*. As the power and patronage of the Kalachuri courts declined, they ceased to attract poets of eminence. Many of the later inscriptions in this Volume are consequently written in a barbarous style.

COINS

The Nasik cave inscription of the Ābhīra king Iśvarasēna records the investment of certain amounts of Kārshāpaṇas with the guilds of Gōvardhana, but no coins of that king or his descendants have come down to us. Perhaps the Ābhīras, like some other dynasties⁸ of ancient times, did not value highly the prerogative of minting coins for currency in their own dominion, and were content to use the issues of other contemporary or past kings. This is also indicated by the find of a hoard of Kshatrapa silver coins at Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State. The hoard contained several coins, but those of the following Kshatrapas only could be recovered—Vijayasēna (240-250 A.C.), Dāmajada-śrī (250-255 A.C.), Rudrasēna II (255-277 A.C.), Viśvasimha (277-279 A.C.), Bhartṛidāman (279-295 A.C.) and Viśvasēna (295-305 A.C.). It will be noticed that the last five of these Kshatrapas were contemporaries of the Ābhīras. The Karhad hoard, therefore, plainly indicates that the Kshatrapa silver coins were current in Maharashtra and probably also in Gujarat and Konkan, during the rule of the Ābhīras. The silver coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi, which were of similar fabric and weight,⁹ may also have continued in circulation. The potin coins struck by the Sātavāhanas perhaps supplemented this silver coinage, though no finds of them have yet been reported from these parts of the country.¹⁰

That these silver coins were called *kārshāpaṇas* appears clear from the Nasik cave

¹ An inscription composed wholly in Prakrit was put up in the temple of Ekavīrā at Ratnapura. It is much abraded and has not yet been deciphered.

² Below, pp. 389 ff.

³ No. 44, ll. 24-25.

⁴ No. 45, l. 30.

⁵ No. 51, l. 30.

⁶ No. 84, ll. 18-19.

⁷ No. 90, ll. 26-27.

⁸ The Early Chālukyas and their feudatories such as the Harischandriyas seem to have used the *rūpakas* of the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja, who had flourished more than a century before. See No. 31, ll. 31 ff. and No. 32, ll. 34 ff.

⁹ C. A. D., p. 45, pl. VII.

¹⁰ They were current in Berar and the Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh. J. N. S. I., Vol. II, pp. 83 ff.

inscription of Išvarasēna. According to Manu,¹ the *kārshāpaṇa* was a copper coin, but some other Sanskrit and Pāli works² leave no doubt that it was a denomination of silver coins also. Prof. Rapson has shown that the references to gifts of *kārshāpaṇas* in the inscriptions of the Śāṭavāhanas and the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas must be understood as referring to the silver coins of those dynasties which circulated in Maharashtra and Konkan. The Kārshāpaṇas referred to in the Nasik inscription of Išvarasēna must, therefore, have been silver coins, probably of the Western Kshatrapas. These coins have the head of the Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa with the date in the Śaka era on the obverse, and the chaitya (or hill), the sun and the crescent with a legend along the edge inside a circle of dots on the reverse. Their average weight is about 34 grains. These silver coins, though called *kārshāpaṇas*, were not, therefore, struck to the standard weight of 32 *ratīs* mentioned in Sanskrit works.³ They were evidently copied from the hemidrachmas of Apollodotus and Menander, which, according to the *Periplus*,⁴ were current in Barygaza (modern Broach).

The Coins of the Traikūṭakas

The Traikūṭakas, who succeeded the Abhīras in Maharashtra and Gujarat, had their own silver coinage. The first notice of this coinage can be traced back to 1862. In that year Mr. Justice Newton described, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 11 ff., a coin of Dahrasēna which had been found at Karhad. He noticed on it the title *Mahārāja* of both Dahrasēna and his father Indradatta, but could not read the names of these princes completely as the letters were only partially preserved. Thereafter in 1886, in an article entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' published in the *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, p. 222, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji described a coin of this dynasty which he had obtained from Daman in Gujarat.⁵ He deciphered the legend on it as *Mahārāj-Endravarmma-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Rudragana*.⁶ He thought that Rudragana was the first king after the revival of the Traikūṭaka power on the downfall of the Kshatrapas. Afterwards in 1905, Prof. Rapson showed that the correct reading of the legend on this coin and on those acquired by the British Museum was *Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna*. He identified this Dahrasēna with the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna, whose Pārṣṇī plates dated in the (Kalachuri) year 207 had already been published.⁷ Prof. Rapson also described another silver coin of this dynasty which had been acquired by the British Museum in 1904 from the collection of Dr. Gerson da Cunha⁸. He correctly read the legend on it as *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna* and thus showed that it was issued by the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna, the son of Dahrasēna.

In 1905 a hoard of Traikūṭaka coins was discovered at Kāzad in the Indāpur *tāluka* of the Poona district. Only 359 coins were recovered from it. They were examined by Rev. H. R. Scott, who published an account of them in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. Of these, 353 coins were of Dahrasēna. On 25

¹ MSM., adhyāya VIII, v. 136.

² Cf. *Kārshāpaṇaśaṅkṣā* diśi saṃpāda pravarṇaṇa, Nārada cited in the *Vāśarpatyam*. See also C. A. D., Introd., pp. clxxix ff., and D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 76 ff.

³ Cf. MSM., adhyāya VIII, v. 136.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

⁵ A hoard of 500 such coins was discovered in 1887.

⁶ In a foot-note Bhagvanlal admitted the possibility of the reading *Jendradatta* or *-datta*.

⁷ J. R. A. S. (1905), pp. 201 ff.

⁸ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff.

many as 350 of them the name of the Traikūṭaka king appeared as Dahragana, and only on three, as Dahrasēna. Rev. Scott thought that Dahrasēna started his career as a feudatory of the Western Kshatrapas whose names usually ended in *sēna*, and later on, when he emancipated himself from the yoke of the Kshatrapas, he altered the termination of his name from *sēna* to *gana*. The Kāzad hoard contained four coins of Vyāghrasēna also, but the royal name on all of them appeared as Vyāghragana.

In a note which Mr. A. M. T. Jackson appended to Rev. Scott's article, he announced that he had obtained a Traikūṭaka copper-plate grant from Surat, in which the king's name was clearly given as Vyāghrasēna.

Finally, in the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc.*, (p. clxiii) published in 1908 Prof. Rapson admitted that *gana* (perhaps intended for *gana*) would be a more natural reading than *sēna* on most of the known coins of Dahrasēna and on all of those of Vyāghrasēna, but he contended that what appeared as *ga* might quite possibly be a conventionalised form of *sa*. This view seems to be the correct one in view of the undoubted readings *Dahrasēna* and *Vyāghrasēna* of the royal names in the Pārḍi and the Surat plates respectively. If Dahrasēna had purposely changed his name to Dahragana, he would not have named his son Vyāghrasēna.

A Coin of Dahrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 1. AR. Size in diameter—.5". Weight—34.4 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the left, and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots—

Mahārāj-Andradatta-putra-parama-vashṇava-śra-Mahārāja-Dabra[sana] representing *Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaiṣṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dabrasēna*.

On some coins the sun appears to the right of the chaitya.

A Coin of Vyāghrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 2. AR. Size in diameter—.5". Weight—32 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the right and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots, viz., *Mahārāja-Dabra[sana]-putra-paramavashṇava-śra-Mahārāja-Vyāghra[sana]*, representing *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaiṣṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna*.

As stated before, these coins were found in Southern Gujarat, and the Poona and Satara Districts of the Bombay State. They were evidently imitated from the Kshatrapa coins which had been current in Maharashtra and Gujarat during the rule of the Ābhīras. We have no means of knowing their denomination, as they are nowhere referred to in the inscriptions of the Traikūṭakas. Perhaps, like Kshatrapa coins, they also were known as *kārshāpanas*.

The Coins of the Kalachuris.

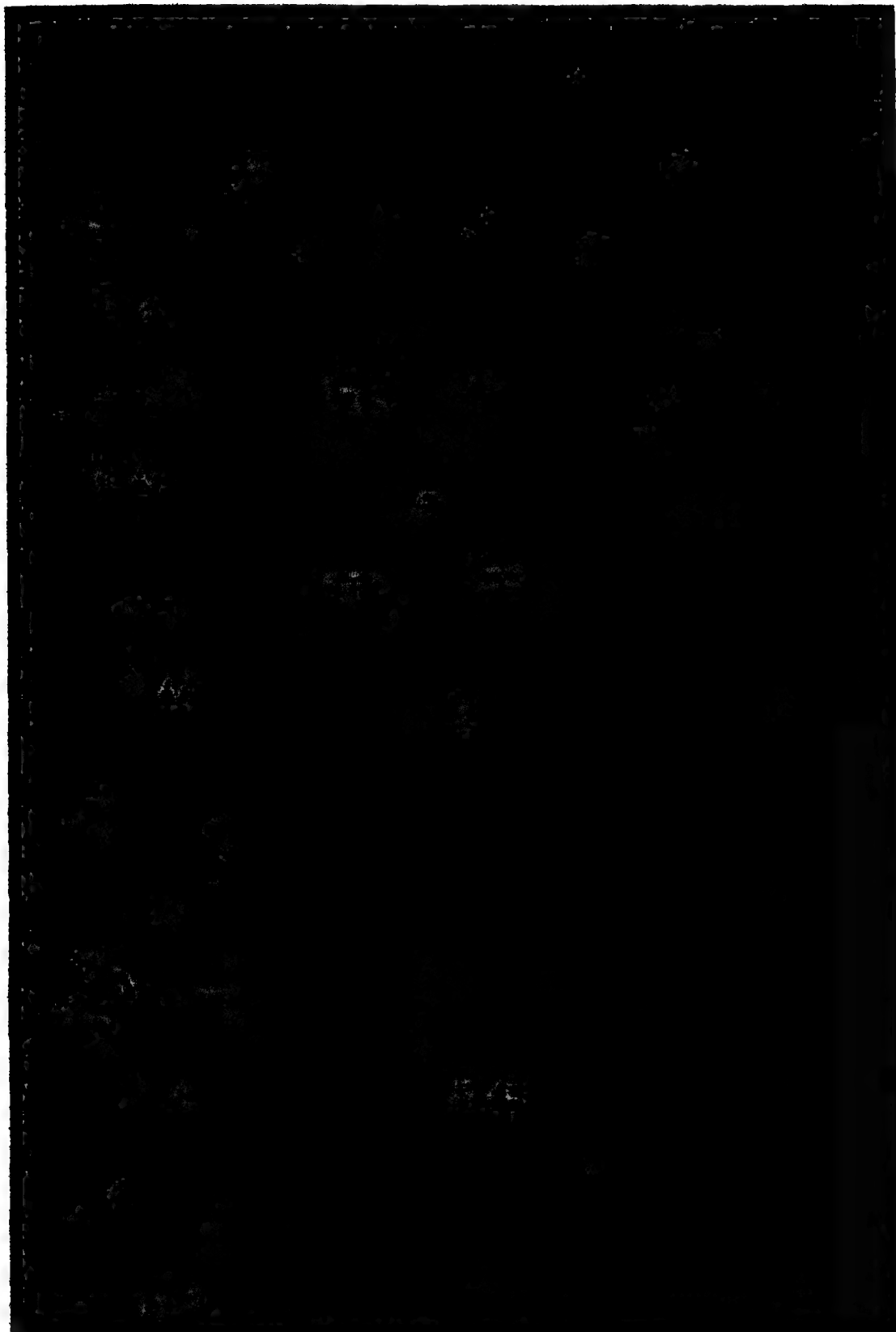
The Coins of Kṛishṇarāja.

The coins of this king were first discovered about 1870 in the village Dēvlānā in the Bāglān *tālukā* of the Nasik District. The hoard comprised 82 coins, which were sent to Dr. Bhau Daji for examination. He published his account of the hoard together with facsimiles of five of the coins in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI (1876), pp. 213-14. All the coins were of silver and round in shape. They varied in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

In his article Dr. Bhau Daji drew attention to the similarity that the coins bore to the silver coins of Kumāragupta and especially to those of Skandagupta, but he read the legend

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

COINS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS AND THE KALACHURIS.



(From a Photograph)

on the reverse as *Rājā Parama Mahēśvara Mānasa Nṛipa-Deva Dhyāna-śrī-kasa (?)*, and interpreted it as 'Mānasa king, the great devotee of Mahēśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God'. He conjecturally placed this Mānasa king about the end of the fourth century A. C.

The coins were next considered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX (1879), pp. 29 ff. He read the legend on them as *Parama-mahēśvara-Mahāditya-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇa Rājā*. He admitted that some of the coins in his cabinet had possibly the word *Mahākshatra* in place of *Mahāditya*, in which case, he said, the translation would be 'the reverencer of the great king.' Cunningham agreed with Bhatu Daji's view that the coins belonged to about the end of the fourth century A.C., but he identified the king who struck them with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa whom he placed in the period 375-400 A.C.

In 1885 Dr. Fleet published his account of two silver coins of Kṛishṇarāja from Cunningham's collection in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 68. He for the first time read the legend correctly as *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*, which means 'the glorious Kṛishṇarāja, who is a devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents.' In the second edition of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (1896), Fleet suggested that in all probability the Dēvlānā coins were coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the Kalachuri king, who was the father of Saṅkaragaṇa.

Prof. Rapson also discussed these coins in his *Indian coins* (1897), p. 27, Pl. IV, No. 17. He doubtfully read the legend on them as *Parama-Māhēśvara-mahādēvyōḥ pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. As regards the date 375-400 A.C. proposed by Cunningham for this Kṛishṇarāja, Rapson pointed out that it was certainly incorrect, as it was too early for the style of the coins which were imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in the western provinces. For the same reason he could not also assign them to Kṛishṇarāja Rāshtrakūṭa, c. 756 A.C. Rapson was, however, unable to put forward any conjecture about the identification of this Kṛishṇarāja.

During his excavations at Besnagar in 1913-14, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar found seven coins of Kṛishṇarāja. He supported Fleet's view that this Kṛishṇarāja belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty. As stated before, this Kṛishṇarāja flourished from *circa* 550 A.C. to 575 A.C.

Pl. A, No. 3. AR. Size in diameter—.45". Wt.—29 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, the legend *Parama-mahēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja* representing *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. In the centre, the figure of a couchant humped bull to right.

These coins of Kṛishṇarāja resemble the silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas, which were struck to the Graeco-Bactrian weight-standard of the hemidrachma. Their fabric is also similar. But while the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins have the symbols of a Chaitya (or a hill), the sun and the moon, these coins of Kṛishṇarāja have, like some western issues of Skandagupta, the figure of a couchant bull (Śiva's Nandi) facing right, in the centre of the reverse side. The coins of Skandagupta were evidently in circulation in the Anūpa country, the home province of the Kalachuris before the rise of Kṛishṇarāja.

In the legend on his coins Kṛishṇarāja, like Skandagupta, refers to his religious faith. He calls himself *paramamāhēśvara*, 'a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara'. He dropped all reference to the patronymic and the royal title which invariably appear on the coins of the Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He substituted instead an expression denoting his devotion to his parents, the like of which is noticed nowhere else in Indian numismatics.

contemporary of Yaśaḥkaṇa, mentions *kumara-gadyāṇaka*¹ which shows that the *gadyāṇakas*, were current in the north as they were in the south.² According to the *Lilāvati* of Bhāskarāchārya (I, 3), a *gadyāṇaka* weighed 48 *ratīs*. The large gold coins of the Gāhaḍavālas weigh from 59 to 68 grains. They may be taken to be *gadyāṇakas*, making allowance for the variation in the weight of the *ratīs* and for the usual deviation from the standard type. The large gold coins of Gāṅgēya which were the proto-type of the Gāhaḍavāla coinage seem, therefore, to have been known also as *gadyāṇakas*.³

Smaller denominations of half, quarter and one-eighth *ṭanka* (or *gadyāṇaka*), struck by Gāṅgēya, are also known. The half-*ṭanka* was probably known as *dharaṇa*.⁴ Whether the lower denominations had any special names is not known.

Gāṅgēya's gold *ṭankas* are frequently met with in the southern and eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and some have been found in Madhya Pradesh also.⁵ Of the lower denominations the quarter-*ṭanka* is sometimes found, but the half-*ṭanka* and one-eighth *ṭanka* described by Cunningham are believed to be rare.⁶ Silver coins were called *drammas* as they were struck to the weight-standard of the Attic *drachma* or 67.5 grains, though they rarely reach that standard. The silver coins of Gāṅgēya are very rare. Vincent Smith says that all pieces which seem at first sight to be silver were perhaps regarded officially as gold.⁷ The Bēsāni stone inscription of K. 958 mentions certain contributions in *drammas*.⁸ From the Siyaḍōṇī inscription we learn that a quarter-*dramma* was known as *pañchīyaka-dramma*, because it was equal in value to five *vimśōpakas*.⁹ In the same inscription a half-*dramma* is called *drammārdha* and a three-quarter *dramma* *dramma-tri-bhāga*. Copper coins were known as *paṇas*. This name also is not noticed in the records edited here, but the Kāman stone inscription mentions *drammas* and *paṇas*, of which the former were of silver and the latter of copper.¹⁰ The standard weight of the *paṇa* was a *karṣa* or 80 *raktikās* (146.4 grains), but the recorded copper coins of Gāṅgēyadēva do not weigh more than 60 grains. Perhaps they were half-*paṇas*. The lower denominations of silver *drammas* and copper *paṇas* are wanting.

In the Numismatic Supplement, No. XVII (*J.A.S.B.* for 1912, p. 123, Pl. VI), Mr. Nelson Wright has described 8 gold coins of Gāṅgēyadēva which had been found in the village Isurpur in *ṭabsil* Rehli of the Saugor District. These coins differed in fabric from the usual coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. They were thick and in diameter half an inch. It is, therefore, suggested that they were struck by Kaṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. Except for these, no coins struck by Gāṅgēya's successors are known.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 305.

² The Khārepātan plates of the Śīlāhāra Raṭṭarāja mention the levy of gold *gadyāṇas* on ships coming from foreign countries. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

³ According to an interpolated verse in the *Lilāvati* a *ṭanka* was equal to 2 *gadyāṇakas*, i.e., was 63 grains in weight.

⁴ According to the *Lilāvati*, two *dharaṇas* make one *gadyāṇaka*. Gold *dharaṇas* also are mentioned in the Khārepātan plates of Raṭṭarāja. *Loc. cit.*

⁵ The legend on these coins found in Madhya Pradesh was read as *Śrīmad-Udayādēva* by R. D. Banerji, who ascribed the coins to the Paramāra Udayāditya. See *J. A. S. B.* for 1920, p. 84. But the type and the legend (which is somewhat crudely executed) are like those of the coins of Gāṅgēyadēva.

⁶ Cunningham has described one gold coin of Gāṅgēya weighing 7 grains, and V. Smith another which weighs only 5.6 grains.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVI (1897), Part I, p. 306.

⁸ No. 71, ll. 2. ff.

⁹ The Siyaḍōṇī inscription lays down in line 37 a cess of a quarter-*Adinarātha-dramma* and then in the next line expresses the same cess as *pañc dra 1*, i.e., one *pañchīyaka-dramma*. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-177.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 331.

As stated before, the coins of Kṛishṇarāja circulated over a very wide territory from Rajputana in the north to Maharashtra in the south and from Konkan in the west to Vidarbha in the east. They continued to be current long after the time of Kṛishṇarāja; for, they are mentioned in the Anjanēri plates dated K. 461 (710-11 A.C.) of Bhōgaśakti. They were, therefore, in circulation for at least 150 years after the time of Kṛishṇarāja. As might be expected, there were several issues of them; for, the inscription on the reverse does not always commence at the same place and differences in the shapes of some letters are also noticeable.

As stated before, the silver coins of the Kshatrapas which were struck to the same weight-standard as the coins of Kṛishṇarāja were called *kārshūpaṇas*. Later on, however, this denomination seems to have given place to *rūpaka*. The Anjanēri plates show that the coins of Kṛishṇarāja, which were then in general circulation were called *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas*, evidently to distinguish them from the *rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, the Sāta-vāhanas and the Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric.

The Coins of Gāṅgēyadēva

The first coin of this king to be recorded was that figured in Pl. L, No. 1, facing page 668 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV (1835). Prinsep, who published the coin, read the legend on the obverse as *Srimad-Jādījēyadēva*, and described the figure on the other side as 'a rudely executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which), seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head and some incomprehensible objects in the hands'. The legend was correctly read as *Srimad-Gāṅgēyadēva* by E. Thomas¹ in 1858, but he could not identify the king.

In his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. X (1880), p. 21 and *Coins of Medieval India* (1894), p. 72, Cunningham described, with illustrations, gold, silver and copper coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. He identified the goddess on the reverse as Pārvatī and ascribed the coins to the Kalachuri king Gāṅgēyadēva, mentioned by Albērūnī as the contemporary ruler of Dāhala. The coins were next described by Rapson in his *Indian Coins* (1897), p. 33, and by Vincent Smith, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (1897) pp. 305-6, and then in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (1906), pp. 251 ff.

Pl. A, No. 4. AV. Size in diameter—.7" Wt.—61 grs.

Obverse—Inside a circle of dots, the legend in Nāgarī characters in three lines (1) [*Sri-mad*]-*G[ā]*-(2) *ṅgēyadē*-(3) [*va*].

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots the figure of four-armed Lakshmī, nimbate, sitting cross-legged, with lotuses in her two upper hands.²

Gāṅgēya's coins exist in all the three metals: gold, silver and copper. Gold coins generally weigh 61 or 62 grains, but Dr. V. S. Agrawala informs me that the top weight of Gāṅgēya's gold coin in the Lucknow Museum is 65 grains. Gold coins were called *ṭankas*. The Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasinhā mentions *ṭankakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (or rather Bhagavatī, i.e., Lakshmī³). They were probably the gold coins of Gāṅgēya. Another term denoting gold coins which seems to have been current in that period, though it does not occur in any record edited here, was *gadyāṇaka*. The Chandrāvati plate dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.) of the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradēva, who was a

¹ See his edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, p. 291.

² The Kalachuri kings were no doubt Śaivas, but the device on the seals of their copper-plate grants is a figure of Lakshmī with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head. The lotuses in the hands of the female deity on the coins of Gāṅgēya plainly indicate that she was intended to represent Lakshmī.

³ No. 67, ll. 20-21.

The Lakshmī type introduced by Gāṅgēyadēva became popular in North India. It was imitated by the Chandēllas of Jajjhauti, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and the Tōmars of Delhi. It was also introduced in distant Kashmir. See, for instance, No. 7 in Pl. XXXV, *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937. This coin has on the reverse the figure of the four-armed seated Lakshmī as on the coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. Allan ascribes it to Śrī-Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.C.).

The Coins of the Kalachuris of South Kosala

The first coin of these kings to be published was that in Pl. XXXIX, facing p. 634 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V (1836). It was a copper coin of Pṛithvīdēva from the collection of Cunningham. It had the king's name on the obverse and 'the figure of a four-armed god¹ crushing a demon' on the reverse. Prinsep read the legend correctly, but ascribed the coin to the king whose name occurs 'in the Dihli list as having reigned at Lahore in A.D. 1176-1192'. A hoard of 56 gold coins² was next discovered in 1892 in the former State of Sāraṅgarh, and some time later, three coins³ of the same type were found in the bed of the river Āṅg in the State of Paṭnā. All these coins were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where they were examined by Dr. Hoernle. His report on them appears in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1893, pp. 92 ff. and 141 ff. The coins were of three kings, Jājalladēva, Pṛithvīdēva and Ratnadēva. All the coins were round in shape. They had the particular king's name on the obverse and the same device on the reverse. Hoernle at first took the device to be the standing figure of Hanumān, but later on changed his opinion and thought that it represented an elephant, a horse or a bull. As more than one king bore each of these names, Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvīdēva II.

The coinage of this Kalachuri branch was next noticed by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India* (1894), pp. 73 ff. In this work Cunningham described the gold coins⁴ of the three kings mentioned above, as well as two unique copper coins which he had acquired in 1835 and 1885. He identified the figure on the copper coins as that of Hanumān, but he was not certain about the device on the gold coins which he described as a number of shapeless objects surrounded by a circle of dots. Prof. Rapson, who edited Cunningham's work published posthumously, thought that the confused type on the reverse might perhaps be intended to represent a lion, facing right, rampant.⁵ In his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 254 ff., Vincent Smith has described only the gold coins of the aforementioned three kings. He follows Rapson in taking the device on the reverse to be the figure of a rampant lion. Since then some hoards of gold coins of these kings have been discovered from time to time in Chhattisgarh. The largest of them was of 600 gold coins discovered in 1921-22 at Sonsari in the *tahsil* and District of Bilaspur. It contained the coins of both the large and the small size of all the three kings together with

¹ This god is of course Hanumān, though Prinsep did not identify him at the time.

² This hoard contained 26 coins (9 large and 17 small) of Jājalladēva, 29 coins (all small) of Ratnadēva, and one coin (large size) of Pṛithvīdēva. Coins of the large size weigh about 60 grains, and those of the small size about 15 grains.

³ All the three coins (two large and one small) were of Jājalladēva.

⁴ In his descriptive table on p. 76 and in Pl. VIII, in *C. M. I.*, Cunningham labels three of these coins (Nos. 9-11) as those of copper. But this is incorrect; for, as he has himself stated, the coins were from the British Museum and were found in 1893. Cunningham has also quoted Hoernle's opinion about the device on them. They were, therefore, identical with the coins discovered in 1892, which were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for examination. Some of them were apparently presented to the British Museum later on. As stated above, all these coins were of gold.

⁵ *C. M. I.*, pp. 75-76, n. 45.

two coins of the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvīndachandra.¹ In nearly all the hoards of gold coins discovered so far, the coins of Prīthvīdēva are seen to preponderate, which seems to indicate that he was the last of the three kings.

Copper coins also of the aforementioned three kings and of one more, *viz.*, Pratāpamalla, have been discovered at several places in Chhattisgarh. The credit of preserving them and of bringing them to the notice of scholars belongs to Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary of the Mahākōshal Historical Society. The gold coins described below are from the Nagpur Museum, and the copper coins from the collection of Pandit Pandeya.

The Coins of Jājalladēva I.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size-dia- meter in inches	Wt. in grains	Obverse	Reverse
5	AV.	.8	61	Three-line Nāgarī legend written inside a circle of dots (1) <i>Śrīmaj-J[ā]-</i> (2) <i>jalladē</i> -(3) <i>va</i> .	Lion with tail upraised to right jumping on an elephant lying prostrate below.
6	AV.	.47	15½	Legend as above (1) <i>Śrīmaj-J[ā]</i> (2) <i>jalladē</i> .	As above.
7	AE.	.7	43½	Legend as above (1) <i>Śrīmaj-J[ā]</i> (2) <i>[ja*][lladē]</i> .	Two-armed Hanumān to left trampling a demon.

Only gold and copper coins of this king have been discovered. About the identity of the figure on the reverse of the gold coins there has been a great divergence of opinion. Hoernle thought at first that like the figure on the copper coin of Prīthvīdēva which had been published before, the figure on the gold coins also was that of Hanumān. But on none of the gold coins examined by me does the figure appear like that of Hanumān. Hoernle himself changed his opinion later on and took the figure to be that of an elephant, a bull, a horse or a lion. As stated before, Rapson thought it might be that of a rampant lion. Vincent Smith has followed Rapson's view.

The figure on these coins is indeed crudely executed, and hence it has caused such a divergence of opinion among scholars. A close examination of coin No. 5 shows that its reverse has the figure of a lion with the tail upraised, facing right and jumping on an elephant which lies prostrate below.²

On the copper coins, the figure of Hanumān is, of course, quite clear. In the coin figured in Pl. A, No. 7, the god is turned to the left. The demon on the left, on whom he must be trampling, is cut out on this coin.

¹ Twenty-seven coins were discovered in the former State of Sonpur, some of which have been published in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

² The device was correctly interpreted for the first time by Mr. B. N. Nath in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff. His view that this coinage was first introduced by Ratnadēva II does not, however, appear to be correct; for, it would relegate all coins with the legend *Śrīmaj-Jājalladēva* to Jājalladēva II. This is precluded by the palaeographic evidence detailed below.

The Coins of Ratnadēva II.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size- diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
8	AV	.7	62 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend: (1) <i>Śrīmad-Ra-</i> (2) <i>tnadē- va</i> .	Lion to right attacking an elephant.
9	AV	.45	15½ „	As above.	As above.
10	AE	.9	100 „	As above.	Lion to right, with tail upraised.
11	AE	.6	23½ „	As above: (1) [<i>Śrī</i>] <i>mad-Ra-</i> (2) [<i>tna*</i>] <i>dēva</i> .	A sheathed dagger below some indistinct object (debased figure of a lion?).

Of this king also, only gold and copper coins are known. I have not seen any copper coins of this king with the Hanumān device. The seal of the Pāragaon plates of this king (No. 122) has a sheathed dagger as on some of his copper coins.

The Coins of Prithvidēva II.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size- diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
12	AV	.77	61 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend: (1) <i>Śrīmat-Pri-</i> (2) <i>thvī- dēva</i> .	Lion with tail upraised to right with elephant lying prostrate below.
13	AV	.5	15 „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-[Pri]-</i> (2) [<i>thvīdē</i>] [<i>va*</i>].	As above.
14	AR	.35	6 „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-[Pri]-</i> (2) [<i>thvīdē</i>] [<i>va*</i>].	Some shapeless objects perhaps representing a lion.
15	AE	.85	99½ „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-Pri-</i> (2) <i>thvīdē[ra]</i> .	Four-armed Hanumān to left. He carries a mace in his upper left hand and something (a hill?) in his upper right hand. His other two hands are engaged in seizing two demons, one on right (cut out) and the other on left, whom he tramples under his right foot.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
16	AE	.75	68 grs.	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-Pri-</i> (2) <i>[tbi]dē[va]</i> .	Hanumān to right, with a demon on left.
17	AE	.85	99½ "	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-[Pri]-</i> (2) <i>thvidē[va]</i> .	Hanumān to left. He tramples a demon on left and has an attendant on right.
18	AE	.8	73 "	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-[Pri]-</i> (2) <i>thvidē[va]</i> .	Lion with tail raised to right.

Of this king, coins in all the three metals are known, but his silver coins are very rare. Pandit L. P. Pandeya has so far been able to secure only three silver coins. All these are very small in size and resemble the one-eighth *dramma* pieces of Gāṅgēyadēva. This king's copper coins have both the devices of the lion and Hanumān (facing right or left).

The Coins of Pratāpamalla.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
19	AE	.8	38 grs.	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>[Sri]mat-Pra-</i> (2) <i>tā-</i> <i>pama-</i> (3) <i>[lla]dēva</i> .	Lion to left, looking backward.
20	AE	.75	29 "	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>Srīmat-Pra-</i> (2) <i>tāpa-</i> <i>ma-</i> (3) <i>[lla]dēva</i> , with a sheathed dagger below.	Some indistinct device, perhaps a lion.

No gold and silver coins of this king have been reported till now. His copper coins were found for the first time in 1924. Pandit L. P. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king has been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the Penḍrābandh plates.¹ The seal of these plates has a sheathed dagger below the legend as on some coins of this king.

As the name Ratnadēva is repeated thrice and the names Pṛithvidēva and Jājalladēva twice in the genealogical list of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the question of the attribution of these coins becomes very difficult. While describing the hoard from the Sāraṅgarh, Dr. Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and of Pṛithvidēva II,² but he gave no reason to support his view. Cunningham, on the other hand, assigned the same coins to Pṛithvidēva I, Jājalladēva I and Ratnadēva II.³ Vincent

¹ No. 101.

² P. A. S. B. for 1898, p. 93.

³ C. M. I., p. 76.

Smith was not certain about the matter. He doubtfully referred them to Prithvidēva II, Jājalladēva II and Ratnadēva III, but did not deny the possibility of their being assigned to earlier homonymous kings.¹ No satisfactory reasons have, however, been given for any of these identifications. Mr. Allan has recently pointed out² that in view of the probability that Prithvidēva I was still a feudatory³ and that the dynasty became completely independent in the reign of Jājalladēva I, it is not improbable that some at least of the coins should be attributed to Prithvidēva II. He thinks that the same is true of the distribution of coins between Jājalladēva I and II and Ratnadēva II and III.

An important clue to the identification of the kings who struck these coins is afforded by the form of the palatal *ś* in the legends on these coins. On the gold coins of Jājalladēva the left member of this letter is either joined to the vertical on the right, or resembles the English letter S, which shows that this prince must be identified with Jājalladēva I.⁴ There is another piece of evidence which points in the same direction. Jājalladēva I was a powerful prince. The Ratanpur stone inscription of his reign states that the ruling chiefs of the neighbouring territories, *viz.*, South Kōsala, Andhra, Khimiḍi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvali and Kukkuṭa, paid him annual tributes, and that as he was valiant, his alliance was sought by the lords of Chēdi, Kānyakubja and Jējābhuktika.⁵ Jājalladēva I's alliance with the contemporary Chandēlla king, who is evidently meant here by the lord of Jējābhuktika, is reflected in his coinage. It is well known that Chandēlla coinage begins in the reign of Kīrtivarman (*circa* 1060-1100 A.C.). Only gold coins of this king are known. Copper coins appear for the first time during the reign of Sallakshaṇavarman, the son and successor of Kīrtivarman, who was a contemporary of Jājalladēva. Sallakshaṇavarman's copper coins are extremely rare. Cunningham had only one in his cabinet, which is figured as No. 16 in Plate VIII of his *Coins of Medieval India*. It has the king's name in three lines on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing right on the reverse. The Hanumān type was apparently evolved in the Chandēlla kingdom⁶ where we find the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey-god in a stone inscription, dated in the Harsha year 316 (922 A.C.)⁷ This type seems to have been copied with a slight variation⁸ by Jājalladēva I after he formed an alliance with the Chandēlla king Sallakshaṇavarman.

The type 'Lion attacking an elephant' seen on the gold coins of this dynasty seems also to have been introduced for the first time by Jājalladēva I. It probably symbolises his victory over the contemporary Gaṅga king. The Ratanpur inscription of his reign mentions his conquest of Khimiḍi which lay in the kingdom of the Gaṅgas. The latter were known as *Gajapati*s or *Gajādhīśa*s, 'lords of elephants'. Jājalladēva's victory over the Gaṅga king was, therefore, fittingly represented by a lion attacking an elephant which lies prostrate below.

Some coins of debased gold with the legend *Śrīmaḥ-Jājalladēva* may have been struck by Jājalladēva II, whose reign does not appear to have been very prosperous.

¹ I. M. C., pp. 254-55, Pl. XXVI.

² *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937, pp. 298 ff.

³ In his Amōḍā plates dated K. 831, (No. 76, L. 25), Prithvidēva I describes himself as *Mahāmaṇḍaliśvara*, which indicates his feudatory rank.

⁴ This form of *ś* is no longer seen in grants of Jājalladēva II. See the facsimile of No. 99.

⁵ No. 77, ll. 22-23.

⁶ The Hanumān type was evidently suggested by the Ādivarāha type used by Bhōja I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.

⁷ This date was read by Cunningham as *Samvat* 940, and by Kielhorn as *Samvat* 215. D. R. Bhandarkar read it as *Samvat* 316, which he referred to the Harsha era. See P. R. A. S., IV. C., for 1903-4, p. 47.

⁸ On the coins of Jājalladēva, the god appears two-armed as on the Chandēlla coins, but is shown to be trampling on a demon. On those of his successors he appears four-armed.

On the coins of Ratnadēva and Prithvidēva, the left member of the palatal *ś* has a somewhat longer serif at the bottom¹ than in the Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II, but the letter has not yet assumed the form seen in later records.² These kings must, therefore, be identified with Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II. It is noteworthy that the Sonsari hoard mentioned above, which contained the coins of all these kings, had also two coins of Gōvindachandra-dēva. This Gāhaḍavala king of Kanauj had a long reign of nearly 45 years (circa 1110-1155 A.C.) and so was a contemporary of Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II. The Sonsari hoard seems to have been secreted some time during the reign of Prithvidēva II.

Besides *ṭankas* and *drammas*, some other coins are mentioned in the Kalachuri inscriptions, to which we shall now turn. The Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja, dated K. 965, mention 130 *Sarābhagadūm āchbu*³ which may mean 130 gold coins minted in Sarābhagaḍa⁴ (modern Sāraṅgarh). It is noteworthy that a similar Marathi word *āsu* occurs in inscriptions⁵ found in Maharashtra and in the Mahānubhāva literature of the 14th century A.C. From several passages in the *Lilācharitra*,⁶ the Marathi biography of Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, *āsu* appears to have been a gold coin current in Maharashtra in the 13th century A.C. The *Lilācharitra* speaks in one place of a *pāṇa āsu* or three-quarter *āsu*, which shows that lower denominations of one-quarter, one-half and three-quarter *āsus* were also current.

The Bilhāri stone inscription mentions *śoḍaśikā*, which seems to have denoted a copper coin equal in value to one-sixteenth of a *dramma* just as *vimśōpaka* denoted one-twentieth of a *dramma*.⁷ Another coin mentioned in the same inscription is *paura*, which was probably a small coin of silver. A tax of four *pauras* was levied on every elephant, and that of two *pauras* on every horse, sold in the local market.⁸ *Kaparda* and *dyūta-kaparda* were other coins current at the time. Kautīlya also mentions *kaparda* as a copper coin.⁹ It was probably identical with *kākiṇī* mentioned by Bhāskarāchārya as equivalent to twenty cowries. Four *kākiṇīs* made one *paṇa*.¹⁰ *Dyūtakaparda* was probably so called because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling.¹¹ Some of these coins may be represented by the smaller Kalachuri coins which are often found in Chhattisgarh. But they are so much worn and so irregular in weight that it is often difficult to say what denominations they represent.¹²

¹ V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, pp. 254 ff., Pl. XXVI.

² In the time of Prithvidēva II the earlier form of *ś* had no doubt gone out of use, but it seems to have continued on his coins; for, conservatism in regard to forms of letters is a characteristic of Indian coinage.

³ No. 116, l. 6.

⁴ The Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāla mentions this place as *Sarabarāgaḍa*. No. 88, l. 10.

⁵ See, e.g., the Pāṭan inscription of the time of Yādava Siṅghaṇa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 343), which mentions *āru*, *dāma* and *viśvā*. These appear to be coins of gold, silver and copper respectively.

⁶ See *Lilācharitra* (Marathi) ed. by H. N. Nene, part III, pp. 50-51.

⁷ *Viśvā* mentioned in the aforementioned Pāṭan inscription is derived from Sanskrit *vimśōpaka*. The *vimśōpakas* were so called because they were equal in value to one-twentieth of a *dramma*. This appears quite clear from l. 20 of the Śīyaḍḍṇī inscription which first mentions in words a monthly tax of half a *Vigrahastungīya-dramma* and then states the same as *vi 10* (i.e., 10 *vimśōpakas*). One *dramma* was, therefore, equal to 20 *vimśōpakas*. Similarly, it may have been equal to 16 *śoḍaśikās*. It is noteworthy that Bhāskarāchārya's *Lilāvati* (I, 2) states that sixteen *paṇas* make one *dramma*. Perhaps *śoḍaśikā* was another name of the copper *paṇa*. According to the *Sārīgadhara-saṁhitā*, it was so called because it weighed sixteen *māśas*.

⁸ Similar taxes are laid down in other inscriptions of the period. See, e.g., the Bayānā stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 122 ff.), which in line 23 mentions the gift of one *dramma* per horse (sold locally) in favour of a god, installed at Bayānā.

⁹ *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12.

¹⁰ *Lilāvati*, I, 2.

¹¹ It is perhaps identical with the smallest copper coin *ardha-kākiṇī* mentioned in Kautīlya's *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12.

¹² The smallest of them may be *māśas*. According to Nārada cited in the *Mitāksharā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (II, 159), a *māśa* was one-twentieth of a copper *paṇa*.

INTRODUCTION

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¹ Where possible, approximate reign-periods are given in brackets. The known dates are given under the respective names of kings.

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Arjuna

Āmaṇadēva

Bālaharsha
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m. Nōhalā

Lakshmaṇarāja II (945-970 A.C.)
m. Rāhadā

Saṅkaragaṇa III (970-980 A.C.)

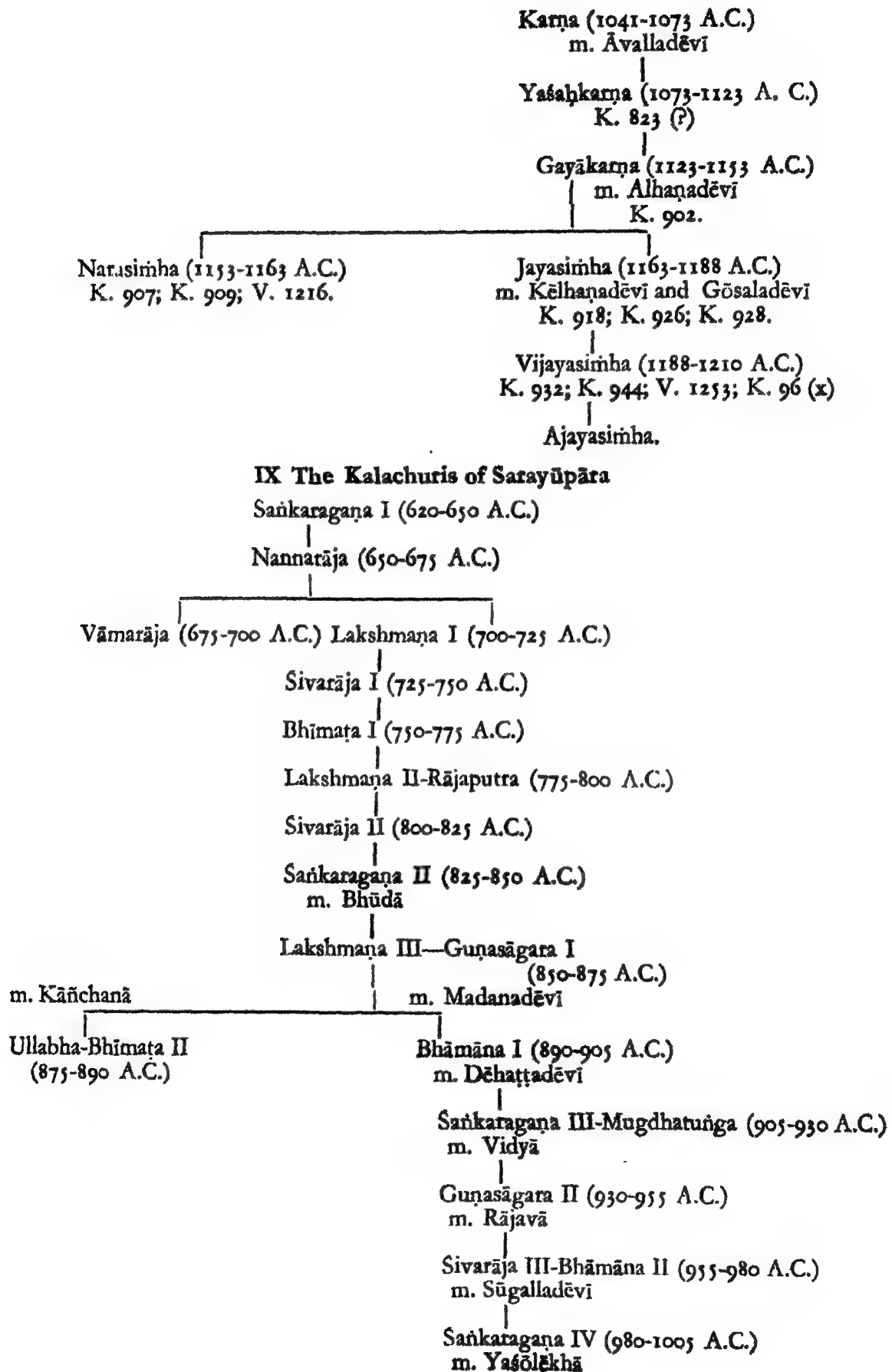
Yuvarājadēva II (980-990 A.C.)

Kōkalla II (990-1015 A.C.)

Gāṅgēyadēva (1015-1041 A.C.)
K. 772; K. 789.

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K. 793; K. 800; K. 810; K. 812.



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Vyāsa (1031-1055 A.C.)
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K. 965; K. 969.

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Simhāṇa (1355-1375 A.C.)

(Ratanpur Branch)

Daṅghīra (1375-1400 A.C.)

Madanabrahman (1400-1425 A.C.)

Rāmachandra (1425-1450 A.C.)

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Vāhara (1480-1525 A.C.)
V. 1552; V. 1570.

(Raipur Branch)

Rāmachandra (1375-1400 A.C.)

Brahmadēva (1400-1425 A.C.)
V. 1458; V. 1470.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

INSCRIPTION OF THE ABHIRAS

No. 1; PLATE I

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 9

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Messrs. Edward W. West and Arthur A. West in their article entitled 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII (1864), pp. 37 ff. They published a fairly correct eye-copy of the record and, though they gave no transcript of it, they noticed correctly the date which occurs in lines 2-3. The record was first transcribed, with notes and an English translation, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Notices* published in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1874, pp. 341 ff. It was next copied by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. Though the Pandit did the work with his wonted skill, his facsimile published in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, Plate LIII, No. 12, is considerably worked up by hand. In 1883 Pandit Bhagvanlal published a transcript of the inscription together with a Sanskrit rendering and an English translation in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI (Nasik District), pp. 579 ff. In the same year Dr. Bühler also, working on Pandit Bhagvanlal's facsimile, published a transcript and an English translation of the epigraph in the aforementioned volume of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*. The inscription was finally edited with a purely mechanical facsimile by Prof. E. Senart in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 88 ff. and Plate VII (15). Prof. Senart's edition has remained the standard one to the present day. The record is edited here from the Plate accompanying Prof. Senart's article as well as a fresh stampage supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle.

The epigraph is incised on the left wall of the court in Cave No. X on the so-called Pāṇḍu-lēṇa hill, 5 miles south-west from Nasik, the head-quarters of the Nasik District in the Bombay State. It seems to have originally consisted of 15 lines, but only the first thirteen of them can now be read. Even in this part, the record has suffered considerably on the right-hand side by exposure to weather, and three or four *akṣaras* at the end of almost every line have now become almost illegible. In several cases they can, however, be read from the traces left behind, or restored conjecturally. The average size of the letters is 1.2".

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of a slightly later age than in the inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas. In some respects, however, as in the subscript tripartite *y*, they show archaic forms; see *Māḍbarīputrasya*, l. 1; *-vāstavyasya*, l. 7, etc. Notice also *p* in *gaṇapaka-*, l. 4, which has a long vertical on the left. As Dr. Bühler has already noticed,¹ some of the letters are cursive; see, e. g., the forms of *t* and *n*, derived from looped types, in *parvata-*, l. 7 and *Isvarasēnasya*, l. 2, as well as the form of *jīṇa* in *rājīṇaḥ*, l. 1. Some of the other peculiarities worthy of notice are as follows:—*u* in *apāsikāyā*, l. 6, has a horizontal stroke at the top; the rare *ō* occurs in *ōḍayanītrika-*, l. 10; the medial *u* in *dubitrā*, l. 4, is formed by a curve open on the right, like the medial *ri* of later times. *Kb* has a loop on the right; see *sukh-ārtīḥaṇi*, l. 7; *y* is generally flat as in Kushāṇa records, but the

¹ I.P., p. 43.

round form also occurs sporadically; see *upāsikāyā*-, l. 6 and *odayamtrika*-, l. 10; *l* is bent towards the left; see *tilapisbaka*-, l. 11. Finally, the palatal *ṣ* has two forms, the earlier one with a vertical middle stroke occurs in *viśvavarmasya*, l. 5, while the later one in which the stroke is placed horizontally is noticed in other places; see e.g. *Sak-Agnivarmmaṇaḥ*, l. 4. The numerical symbol for 1000 occurs in l. 10, that for 500 in l. 11, those for 10, 4 and 3 in l. 3 and that for 2 in l. 10. A symbol denoting 9 seems to have occurred at the end of line 2, but it is now rather indistinct.

The language is Sanskrit with some admixture of Prakrit forms. See, e.g., *Gimha-pake* and *chothe* in l. 3, [*eta*] *yā purvayā* in ll. 3-4; *gilāna*-, l. 8, etc. As for orthography, the only point which calls for notice is the reduplication of *m* after *r* in *Sak-Agnivarmmaṇaḥ*, l. 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king (Rājan) *Īśvarasēna*, the son of the Ābhīra *Śivadatta* and *Māḍharī*. The object of it is to record the foundation, by an *upāsikā* or lay devotee named *Vishṇudattā*, of a perpetual endowment to provide medicines for the sick among the community of Buddhist monks from the four quarters, dwelling in the monastery on the *Triraśmi* mountain. *Vishṇudattā* belonged to the Śaka race. She was the daughter of the Śaka *Agnivarmaṇa*, wife of the *Gaṇapaka* (Accountant) *Rēbhila* and mother of the *Gaṇapaka* *Viśvavarman*. For the aforementioned perpetual endowment, the following amounts in *kārshāpāṇas*¹ were invested with the various guilds evidently of *Gōvardhana*, viz., a thousand *kārshāpāṇas* with the guild of *kularikas* (potters), two thousand with the guild of manufacturers of hydraulic machines, five hundred with another guild whose name is lost, and some more with the guild of oil-millers.

The record is dated on the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the season *Grishma* in the ninth (regnal) year of the Ābhīra king *Īśvarasēna*. As shown in the Introduction, *Īśvarasēna* was probably the founder of the so-called *Kalachuri-Chēdi* era. This date must, therefore, be referred to that era. Later dates of the era cite some lunar month, fortnight, *tithi* and week-day, but this first known date of the reckoning is recorded in season, fortnight and day in accordance with the prevailing custom of the time.² According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. with the year commencing on *Kārttika* śu. di. 1, the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of *Grishma* would fall in 258 A. C. if the year 9 was current, and in 259 A. C. if it was expired. The date does not admit of verification.

Of the geographical names which occur in the present record, *Triraśmi-parvata* (or the three-rayed hill) is plainly identical with the *Pāṇḍu-lēṇa* hill where the epigraph is incised. Pandit Bhagvanlal has suggested that its pyramidal or triple fire-tongue shape was the origin of its name *Triraśmi*³. *Gōvardhana* which was probably mentioned in line 8 is identical with the modern village *Gōvardhan-Gaṅgāpur*⁴ on the right bank of the *Gōdāvarī*, about 6 miles west of *Nasik*. It is mentioned in four other inscriptions on the cave-hill and was, in ancient times, the head-quarters of a territorial division (*ābhāra*) named after it.

¹ *Kārshāpāṇa* was a silver coin weighing about 34 grains. The *kārshāpāṇas* mentioned here were probably those of the Western Kshatrapas which appear to have circulated in Maharashtra during the time of the Ābhīras.

² Most of the Kshatrapa and Sātavāhana inscriptions in the Nasik caves contain similar season dates, but two records, viz., Nos. 12 and 14, mention the lunar months *Vaiśākha*, *Kārttika* and *Chaitra*. Season dates survived down to the time of the *Vākāṭakas*. See the date of the *Dudia* plates of the *Vākāṭaka* *Pravarasēna* II. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 541.

⁴ The village is in two parts, *Gōvardhan* or *Gōrdhan* above and *Gaṅgāpur* below; *loc. cit.*, p. 538.

TRANSLATION

Success ! In the ninth—9—year of the king, the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta (and) son of Mādharī, on the thirteenth—10 (and) 3—day in the fourth—4—fortnight of summer, on this aforementioned (day) the lay devotee Viṣṇudattā of the Śaka race¹, mother of the Gaṇapaka² Viśvavarman, wife of the Gaṇapaka Rēbhila (and) daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, has invested the (following) perpetual endowment in the present and future guilds,³ dwelling at Gōvardhana, in order to provide medicines for the sick among the community of monks from the four quarters dwelling in (this) monastery on Mount Triraśmi, for the well-being and happiness of all creatures, viz., a thousand—1000—*kārshāpaṇas* in the hands of the guild of *Kularikas*⁴, two thousand—2000—*kārshāpaṇas* in the guild of the manufacturers of hydraulic machines⁵, five hundred—500—in the guild of (and) in the guild of oil-millers.

(Line 12) All these four⁶ (investments of) *kārshāpaṇas* by the monthly interest of⁷

¹ *Sakamikā* seems to be used here in the sense of a woman of the Śaka race. *Nikā* was added as a suffix in the sense of a woman, like the later *ambā*. Cf. *Vijayā* and *Vijayanikā* in inscriptions Nos. 1, 9 and 19 at Kuṇḍa. I.C.T.W.I., pp. 4 ff.

² Bühler took *Gaṇapaka* to mean 'the protector or leader of a *gaṇa*'. A *gaṇa*, according to him, consists of three *gūlmas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of 'a colonel' or 'a brigadier-general.' Senart derived the word from *gaṇāpayati* (irregular for *gaṇayati*) and understood it to mean 'an accountant' or 'an astrologer'. Mr. Bakhle, on the other hand, thinks that it means the President of a *gaṇa* or republican state. J.B.R.B.A.S. (N.S.), Vol. IV, p. 78.

³ Bühler, who read *Sugatāgatāsu*, translated, 'with the Buddha (?) companies dwelling in (Gōvardhana)'. The expression *āgatānāgatāsu* is intended to commit the specified guilds existing at the time and their successors to the payment of the perpetual interest.

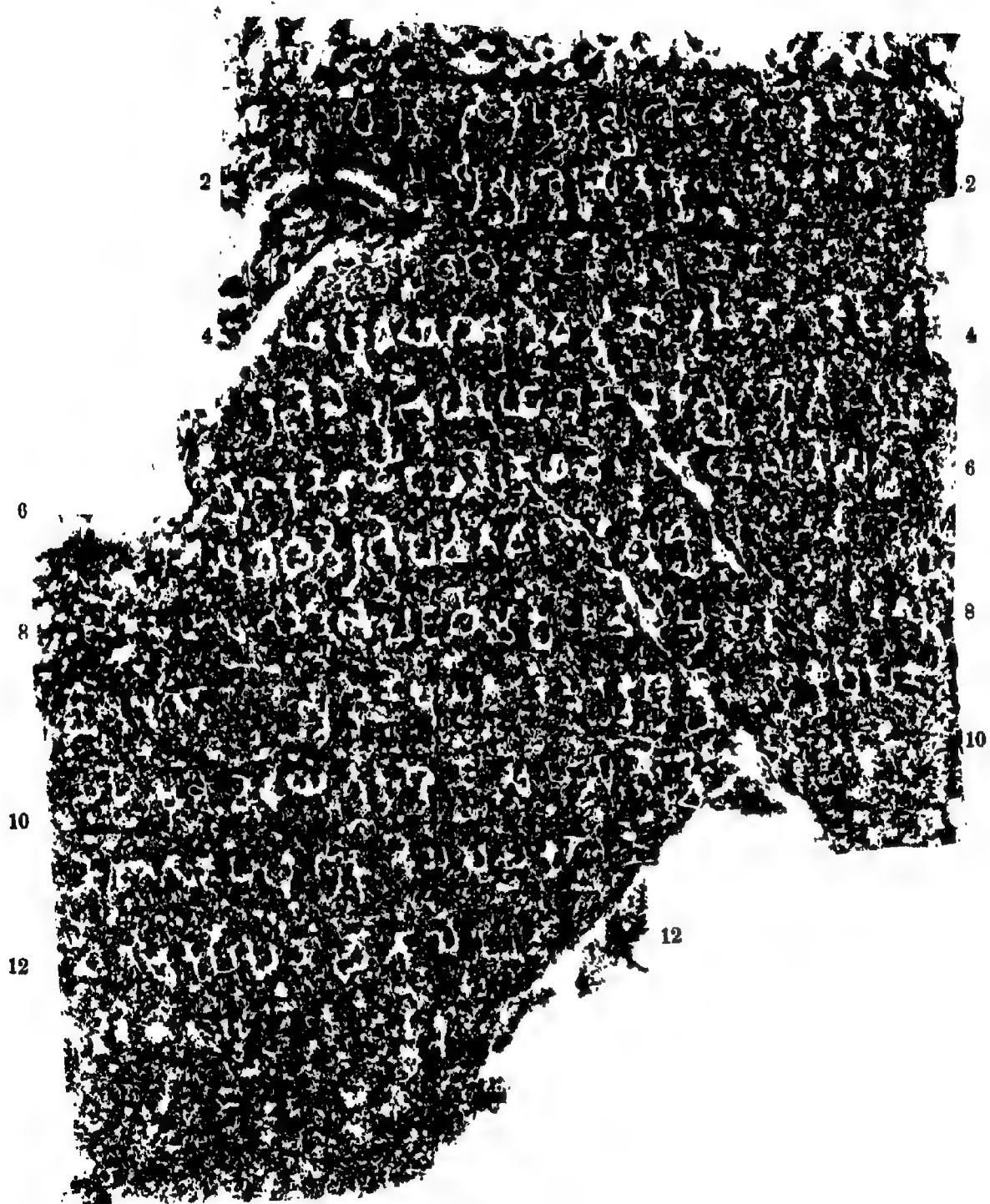
⁴ *Kularika* may be identical with *kulāla*, a potter, as conjectured by Bühler, or with *kaulika*, a weaver, as suggested by Bhandarkar. The guild of the *kaulikas* (*kālika-nikāya*) is mentioned in l. 2 of the Nasik cave inscription No. 12.

⁵ *Ōdayantrika* is properly *andayantrika*. It probably signified 'a worker fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others' (Senart).

⁶ Previous editors, who read *chatālūpa* or *chatālepa*, failed to understand it and omitted it in their translations. The correct reading appears to be *chatālo-pi* and signifies 'all the four'. *Chatālo* is plainly to be equated with *chattāro* meaning 'four'. Cf. *SHC.*, VIII, 3, 122. The reference is evidently to the investment of the four amounts of *kārshāpaṇas* in the four guilds named in the epigraph.

⁷ The last two lines of the record, now completely effaced, may have stated how the interest was to be utilised. Compare ll. 3 ff. of Nasik cave inscription No. 12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82.

NABIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 9.



INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAHARAJAS OF VALKHA

No. 2; PLATE II A

INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67

THIS was one of the two copper-plates obtained by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar from Pandit Varnanasastrī Islampurkar of Indore¹. Dr. Bhandarkar handed them over to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who edited them together in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286 f. and plates. Their contents and dates were discussed by me in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f. The inscription on the present plate is edited here from the facsimile accompanying Dr. Majumdar's article.

The inscription is incised on one side only of a single copper-plate measuring 7.6" broad and 4.1" high. It has no ring-hole and shows no sign of a seal having ever been attached to it. The plate has nine lines of writing, of which the last, containing the sign-manual of the reigning king, is incised in the margin on the left. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with knobs at the top. They show considerable development over those of the Nasik cave inscription of Išvarasēna,² which was incised only about sixty years before. The letters *a*, *k*, *ñ* and *r*, for instance, have developed curves at the lower end of their verticals, distinctive of the southern alphabet; *tb* is shown by a curling curve open to the right; see *-pathakō*, l. 3; *n* has developed a loop, while the vertical of *l* curves to the left; see *-pād-ānuddhyātō*, l. 1 and *Sāṇḍīya-*, l. 3; the subscript *y* has assumed a bipartite form; see *Āryya-*, l. 4. As regards medial vowels, *i* now forms a complete curve; its long form is indicated by a curling curve turned to the left; the *mātrās* for *ā*, *ē*, *ai* and *ō* appear in some cases above the line; and the medial *au* is bipartite in *-pastra-*, l. 5. The symbols for 60, 7 and 5 occur in l. 8.

The language is Sanskrit. There is now little admixture of Prakrit forms, the only cases occurring in this epigraph being *santaka*, l. 2 and *kṛishāpayatub*, l. 7, which however persisted for a long time. As regards orthography, the only peculiarity which calls for notice is the reduplication of the consonant before *y* and after *r*; see *pād-ānuddhyātō*, l. 1 and *sarvān-*, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Svāmidāsa*. The object of it is to record confirmation,³ by Svāmidāsa, of the gift of a field in the village *Dakṣiṇa-Valmika-tallavātaka* (South Valmika-tallavātaka) which was situated in the territorial subdivision *Nagarikā-pathaka*. The plate was issued from Valkha, which was evidently then the royal capital. The *Dūtaka* was Nannabhaṭṭi. The record is dated on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha in the year 67 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era. It may be noted that the year in this case is introduced with the

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XV, p. 286 and XXIV, p. 52. The other copper-plate was issued by Bhulūṇḍa. See below, No. 3.

² Above, No. 1.

³ The use of the words *samamjātyā* (समं) in ll. 2-3 and *kṛit-ānūjātya* in l. 6 as well as the absence of any statement that it was a royal grant indicate that *Mahārāja Svāmidāsa* only confirmed the gift. Who the donor was is not known. The plate of Bhulūṇḍa (No. 3, below), which bears close resemblance to the present record, mentions a person named *Āśādhanaṇḍin* at whose request the gift was confirmed.

word *varsha* in stead of the usual *samvat*. The plate is signed by the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Svāmidāsa.

Svāmidāsa who issued the present plate was only a feudatory chief; for he describes himself as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyūta* 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', though he does not name his suzerain. The latter probably belonged to the Imperial family which started the era in which the date of the present inscription is recorded. The date does not admit of verification in the absence of such details as a week-day or a *nakshatra*. We must therefore identify the era to which it refers, on other evidence. Unfortunately, the provenance of the plate has not been recorded, but there is one circumstance which affords a clue. The present grant bears close resemblance to the Sirpur grant¹ of Rudradāsa, dated in the year 107, in several respects, *viz.*, (i) the names of the princes in both the cases end in *dāsa*; (ii) both the princes bear the title *Mahārāja* and acknowledge their feudatory status in the same words; (iii) the characters and phraseology of the two grants are strikingly similar; (iv) the date is similarly worded and the year is introduced with the word *varsha* in both the grants. These similarities² leave no doubt that the two grants belong to the same royal family and came originally from the same part of the country. As the grant of Rudradāsa is known to have been found at Sirpur in the Khandesh District, that of Svāmidāsa also must, in all probability, have originally belonged to the same district of Northern Maharashtra. Pandit Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting manuscripts and ancient historical records in different parts of the country, seems to have obtained the plate somewhere in Khandesh and taken it to Indore.

Dr. Majumdar referred the date of the present plate to the Gupta era on the ground that its characters resemble those of the Sāंची inscription of Chandragupta II. This view cannot now be upheld; for we have no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era to Northern Maharashtra where, as we have seen, the plate was probably found.³ The use of the word *varsha* in recording the year of the grant may perhaps be taken to point to the Śaka era⁴, but that era is out of the question here, as the characters of the present grant are far more developed than those current in the second century A. C. The only other era to which the date can be referred is the so-called Kalachuri era founded in 249 A. C. by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. Accordingly, the date would correspond, for the expired year 67, to the 2nd May 317 A. C.⁵ It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Valkha, which was probably the

¹ No. 4, below.

² The place of issue is not named in the extant portion of the Sirpur grant, but it must have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line where two or three letters have been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece of the plate on the left. The sign-manual of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, which must have been incised in the margin on the left, is also lost.

³ In fact there is no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era south of the Narmadā except the solitary grant of Bhīmasēna II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. and Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff.) That grant, however, belongs to Kōsalā or modern Chhattisgarh, the ruler of which had submitted to Samudragupta. Khandesh, on the other hand, was never under the direct or indirect rule of the Guptas. The old identification of Ēraṇḍapalli mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Ēraṇḍōl in Khandesh, proposed by Fleet, is now held to be untenable. See Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 59 f.

⁴ Dr. Kielhorn has shown that the word *varsha* is characteristic of the Śaka era. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 150. The use of that word in the present grant seems to be in imitation of the older grants dated in the Śaka era which was previously current in Maharashtra.

⁵ In the case of early records of the Kalachuri era (Nos. 1—34), the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 249-50 A. C. for an expired year.

royal capital at the time, may be identical with Vāghlī, about 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District, on the Bombay-Bhusawal line of the G.I.P. Railway. It is an old place as it contains some ancient temples and old Sanskrit inscriptions.¹ One of these inscriptions² in three parts, edited by Dr. Kielhorn, shows that Vāghlī became afterwards the capital of a feudatory royal family which originally hailed from Valabhi in Kathiawad, and later on owed allegiance to the Yādavas of Khandesh.³ Nagarikā, the head-quarters of the territorial division (*pathaka*) named after it, may be identical with Nagar Dēvlā, about 10 miles north-east of Vāghlī, which also contains an old *Hāmādpanti* temple of Mahādēva.⁴ Finally, Valmika-tallavāṭaka may be Talwāḍ khurd, about 15 miles north by west of Nagar Dēvlā.⁵

TEXT*

- 1 वल्खा[त्*] परममहाराकपादानुदधातो महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासः समाज्ञा-
- 2 पयति सर्वनिवास्मत्सन्तकानां युक्तकाद्विज्ञातमस्तु व[*] समनुजा-
- 3 नीयोस्मि* शाण्डिल्यसगोत्रमुण्डब्राह्मण(ण)स्य नगरिकापथके दक्षिणव-
- 4 लिप्तकतल्लवाटके आर्य्यवानि(णि)जकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपदं ब्रह्मदेयमाचन्द्रा-
- 5 कन्तारककालीयं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य¹⁰ भोगायैव¹¹मिदानि(नी)मस्य(स्या)स्मा-
- 6 भिक्कृतः नमस्यो¹²चितया ब्रह्मदेयमुक्त्या मुञ्जत[*] कृषतः कृषा-
- 7 पयतश्च¹³ सर्वैरेवा[स्म]पक्षतक्तुल्यादिभि¹⁴स्समनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम् ।)
- 8 नमभट्टि दूतकः¹⁵ [1*] वर्षे ६० ७ ज्येष्ठ शु ५ [1*]
- 9 (In the margin) महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासस्य [1*]

TRANSLATION

From Valkha--the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Svāmīdāsa*, who meditates on the fee of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) order to all his¹⁶ officers--

"Be it known to you that We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, belonging to the merchant Ārya and situated in the southern Valmika-tallavāṭaka in the *pathaka* of Nagarikā, to this Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*, to be enjoyed

¹ K. D. G., p. 478.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.

³ Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit suggested that Valkha might be identical with Bāhaḷ in the Chalisgaon tālukā, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently found.

⁴ K. D. G., p. 457.

⁵ The place-name seems to have dropped *Valmika* in course of time. Dr. Majumdar's identification of Nagarikā with Nagar which lies 75 miles from the borders of the former Indore State, and of Tallavāṭaka either with Adalwār, 37 miles north-east from Nagar, or with Talōrā, 30 miles north-east from the same city, cannot be accepted as the plate did not come from North India.

⁶ From the facsimile facing p. 289, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV.

⁷ This should properly be स्वसन्तका--.

⁸ Read --मायुक्तकान्विज्ञात--.

⁹ Read समनुजानीभोज्य as in the plate of Bhulunḍa (No. 3).

¹⁰ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य.

¹¹ Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी--.

¹² Read --स्यामिः कृतानुमन्तो--.

¹³ Read कर्षयताश्च.

¹⁴ Read --स्मत्पक्षतक्तुल्यादिभि--.

¹⁵ Read नमभट्टिदूतकः

¹⁶ *Lit.*, Our.

(by him) (and) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 5) (*Wherefore*) all persons connected with Us, those born in their families and others should consent to this grant, (*since*) he has now been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys (*the field*), cultivates it and causes it to be cultivated according to the conditions for enjoying *brahmadēya* (*land*)."

(L. 8) The *Dātaka*¹ is Nannabhāṭṭi. In the year 60 (and) 7, (in the month of) Jyēṣṭha (and) the bright fortnight, (on the lunar day) 5.

(In the margin) Of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Svāmīdāsa.

No. 3; PLATE II B

INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 107

THIS copper-plate, like the preceding one of Svāmīdāsa,² was in the possession of Pandit Vamanasastri Islampurkar of Indore, from whom it was obtained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The two plates were edited together by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286 ff. and plates. I edit the record here from the facsimile accompanying Dr. Majumdar's article.

The present record also is on a single copper-plate and is incised only on one side of it, measuring 8.25" broad and 3.75" high. The plate has no ring-hole and does not appear to have ever had a seal attached to it. It has 9 lines of writing, of which the last one containing the royal sign-manual is incised in the margin on the left as in the case of Svāmīdāsa's plate. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .5".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, generally resembling those of the preceding plate, though more cursive in form. The only peculiarities worth noting are —(i) medial *ī* (long) is shown by two curves turned in opposite directions as also by a curve curling to the left; see *samanujñīmō*, l. 2; *-kālinam*, l. 5 etc.; (ii) *ḍ* and *d* are not clearly distinguished; see *Bhulunda*, l. 1 and *Skandō*, l. 8; (iii) the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 6 and numerical symbols for 100, 10, 7 and 2, in l. 8.

The language is Sanskrit. The wording of the grant closely resembles that of the grant of Svāmīdāsa. The orthography also shows the same peculiarities.

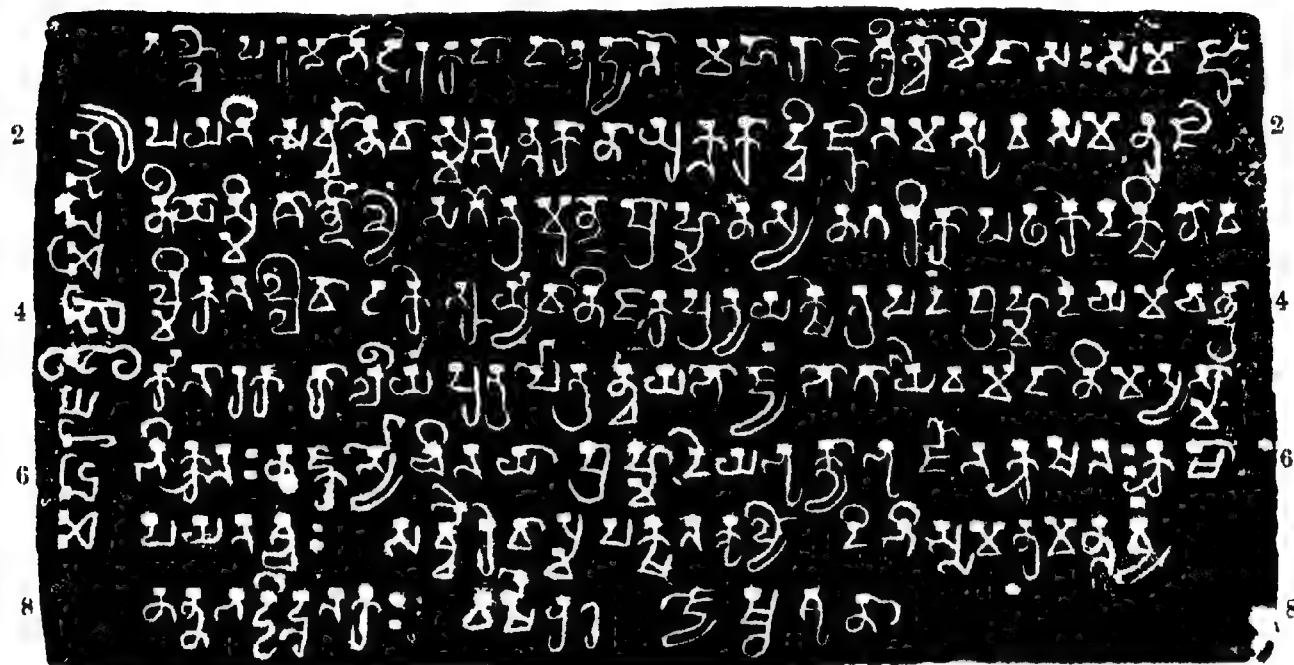
The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Bhulunda*. Like Svāmīdāsa, he also describes himself as *paramabhuṭtāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* and therefore seems to have owed allegiance to some lord paramount.³ The object of the inscription is to record the assent, by *Mahārāja Bhulunda*, to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field belonging to one Khuddataka together with the surrounding *kuchubba* (bank), to a Brāhmaṇa named Kusāraka, at the request of Āshādhanandin. The field was situated on the boundary of a place named Ulladana. Āshādhanandin seems to have purchased the field from the owner, donated it to the Brāhmaṇa, and applied to the king for the confirmation of the gift. The royal order was issued from Valkha. The record is dated in the year (*varsha*) 107 (expressed in numerical symbols only) on the 12th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna. The *Dātaka* of the grant was the *Pratibhāra* Skanda. The plate is signed by the *Mahārāja Bhulunda* in the margin on the left.

¹ *Dātaka*, also called *Ājñapti* in some grants, mentioned generally at the end of early copper-plate charters, was an officer charged with the execution of the royal order. Compare *kārṇavaka* used in the same sense in a grant of the Vākāpakas, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

² No. 2, above.

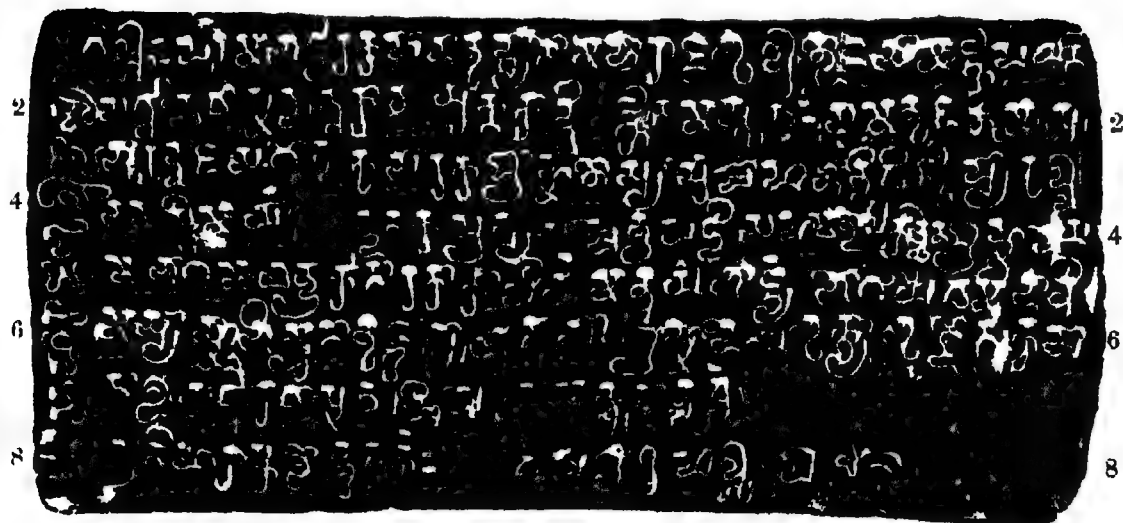
³ See above, p. 6.

A.—INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67.



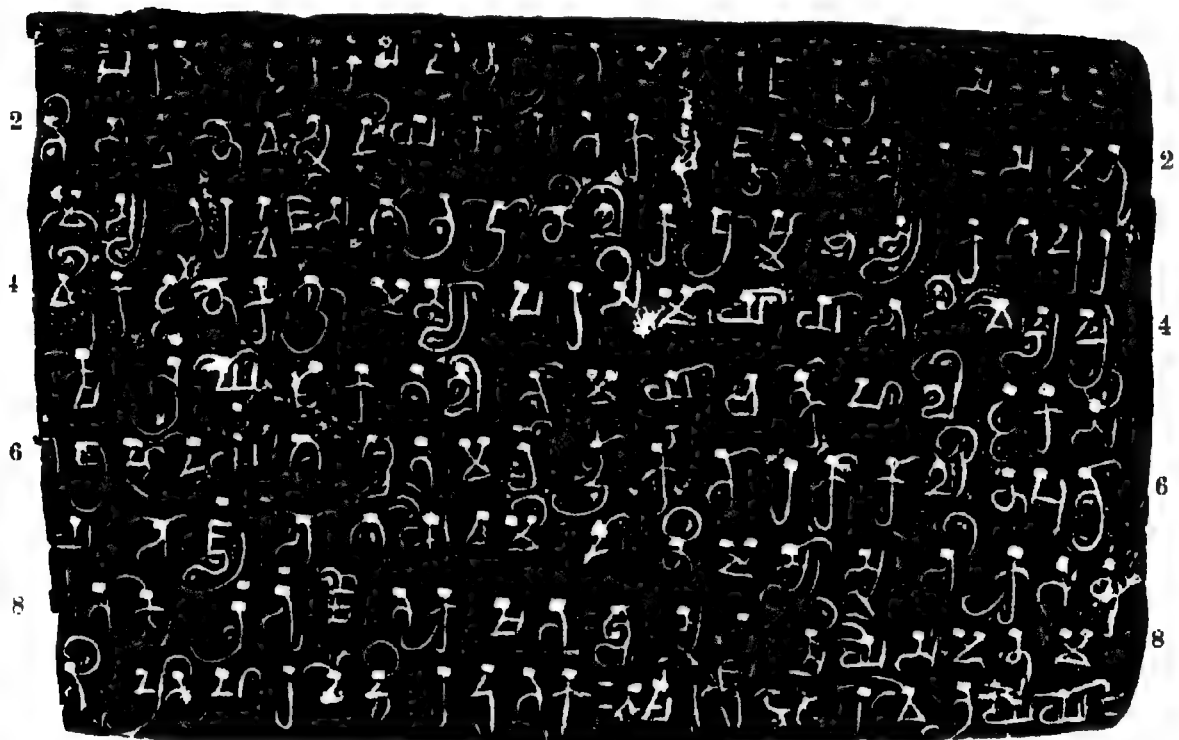
ACTUAL SIZE

B.—INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 107.



ii,c.

C.—SIRPUR PLATE OF RUHRADASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 117.



ACTUAL SIZE

The close similarity in the characters, phraseology, royal sign-manual and mode of dating of the plates of the *Mahārājas Svāmīdāsa* and *Bhulunda* leaves no doubt that they originally came from the same part of the country, which, as already stated, was probably the Khandesh District. The date of the present plate must therefore be referred to the same reckoning, *viz.*, the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., it corresponds, for the *amānta* Phālguna in the expired year 107, to the 4th March 357 A. C. The date does not admit of verification.

As for the places mentioned in the present record, *Valkha*, as shown before,¹ is probably identical with *Vāghli* near Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District. *Ulladana* may be the same as *Udhli*, about 9 miles east of Bhusawal. The description in the present plate that the field in *Ulladana* was granted together with the surrounding *kachebha* suits *Udhli* very well; for it is situated on the bank of the *Tāpi*.

TEXT²

- 1 वल्खाः (ल्खात् ।) परमभट्टारकपादानुदघातो महाराजभुलुण्डः समाज्ञापयति
- 2 सर्वनिवासस्मत्सन्तका³नायुक्तका⁴द्भिज्ञातमस्तु वः समनुजानीमोस्य
- 3 भारद्वाजसगोत्रकुसाराकब्राह्मणस्य आषाढण(न)न्दिविज्ञाप्या⁵ उल्ल—
- 4 दन⁶सीमायां खुदतकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपट्टि(ट्टि) सह मण्डलकच्छेन ब्रह्मदेय—
- 5 मभागमाचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीनमन्वयमोज्य⁷ भोगाय⁸वमिदानी—
- 6 मस्यास्मामि⁹कृतानुज्ञस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयमुक्त्या मुञ्जतः¹⁰ कृषा—
- 7 तारक¹⁰ स[र्व]रेवास्मत्पक्षीये¹⁰ समनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम्) [1*]
- 8 प्रतिहारस्कन्दो दूतकः [1*] वर्षे १०० ७ फल्गु¹¹ व १० २ [1*]
- 9 (*In the margin*) मा(म)हाराजभुलुण्डस्य [1*]

TRANSLATION

From *Valkha*—*Mahārāja Bhulunda*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) command to all his¹² officers:—

(Line 2) “Be it known to you that at the request of *Āshādhanandin*, We (*herely*) give Our assent to the entire *brahmadēya* gift of a strip of land consisting of the field belonging to *Khuddataka*, together with the surrounding *kachebha* (*bank*), on the boundary of *Ulladana*, to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Kusāraka* of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, to be enjoyed by (*him and*) his descendants as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(L. 5) (*Wherefore*), all persons connected with Us should consent to this grant, now

¹ Above, p. 6.

² From the facsimile facing page 289, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV.

³ This should properly be सर्वनिवासस्मत्सन्तका—.

⁴ Read —नायुक्तका—.

⁵ Read आषाढणन्दिविज्ञाप्या.

⁶ Dr. Majumdar read वल्खन, but the first *akshara* is clearly *u*. In *ru*, the curve should have been turned to the left, and another, turned downwards, added to the vertical stroke.

⁷ Read —कालीनमन्वयमोज्य.

⁸ Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी—.

⁹ Read कृषा—.

¹⁰ Read —स्मत्पक्षीये.

¹¹ Read फाल्गुन.

¹² *Lit.*, Our.

that he has thus been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys and cultivates the field according to the conditions for enjoying *brahmadāya* (land)."

The *Dātaka* is *Pratibāra Skanda*.

(L. 8) In the year 100 (and) 7, in the month *Phālguna* (and) the dark fortnight, (on the lunar day) 10 (and) 2.

(In the margin) Of the *Mahārāja Bhulunḍa*.

No. 4; PLATE II C

SIRPUR PLATE OF RUDRADASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 117

THIS copper-plate was discovered in 1884, in the possession of one Motiram Patil of Sirpur¹ in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI (1887), pp. 98 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is a fragmentary plate, the extant piece measuring 7" broad and 4.5" high. It is intact at the top, the bottom and the right side; but from the left side a narrow piece, about 1" broad, has been broken off the whole way down, so that about three *aksharas* have been lost at the beginning of each line. There is no hole in the extant piece; and from the close resemblance which the record on this plate bears to the last two grants, it does not seem likely that there was any hole in the lost piece also. In any case no ring or seal was discovered with the plate. The present inscription is incised only on one side of it, but on the other side, Pandit Bhagvanlal found seven faintly cut shell-characters.

The inscription consists of nine lines. The writing is in a state of good preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is .3". The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the plate of *Mahārāja Svāmidāsa*,² though they are somewhat more angular. Like the latter, they have knobs at the top of the letters. They include, in line 9, the symbols for 100, 10 and 7. In some cases we see an admixture of different forms; *ν*, for instance, has generally the triangular form as in the inscriptions of *Svāmidāsa* and *Bhulunḍa*; see *sarvāṇ-ēva* in line 2 and *bhōgāy-aiva* in line 7; but in *yāvat*, l. 5, it has the same shape as in the copper-plate inscriptions of the *Vākātaka Pravarasēna II*. Pandit Bhagvanlal referred the present record to the beginning of the sixth century A. C., but in view of the earlier forms of some letters like *d* and *m*, I would date it about the middle or end of the fourth century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose throughout. The wording of the grant resembles, *mutatis mutandis*, that of the preceding grants of *Svāmidāsa* and *Bhulunḍa*, but it is written very carelessly. The orthography also shows the same peculiarities.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Rudradāsa*. He describes himself as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', which clearly indicates his feudatory status. The object of the inscription is to record the assent, by *Mahārāja Rudradāsa*, to the gift of a field named *Ghōṭakatala* situated on the western boundary of the village *Vikaṭṭāṇaka*. This village seems to have been included in the *Kaśapura* sub-division(?). The boundary of the field extended as far as *Kōhalaṭṭaka*, which may have been the name of a field or a village. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*. The place of issue is not named in the extant portion. It must

¹ This place-name is spelt as Shirpur in the Degree Map No. 46 K.

² Above, No. 2.

have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line, where two or three letters have now been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece on the left, and was, in all probability, Valkha. It is noteworthy that the two dots which followed the name of the place of issue are still seen in the beginning of the first line, as on the plate of Bhulūṇḍa. The signature of *Mahārāja Rudradāsa*, which must have occurred in the margin on the left as on the plates of Svāmidāsa and Bhulūṇḍa, is also lost.

The inscription is dated in line 9 in numerical symbols which are carelessly incised. The intended date appears to be the third tithi of the month Vaiśākha in the year 117.¹ The fortnight has not been specified, but it may have been the bright one, as the tithi was probably *akṣaya-tritīyā* (Vaiśākha śukla tritīyā). The date is introduced with the word *varsha* as in the preceding two grants. In view of the close resemblance which the present grant bears to those of Svāmidāsa and Bhulūṇḍa, this date must be referred to the **Kalachuri era**.² According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early dates of the era, the present date would correspond, for the expired year 117, to the 18th April 367 A. C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, *Vikattānaka* may be Viṭṇērā, about 20 miles south by east of Sirpur. The other places cannot be traced in the vicinity of Sirpur.

TEXT³

- 1 [वल्खा*⁴]: परममहद्वारकपादानुद्धयतो⁵ महाराजश्रवसः⁶ समा—
- 2 [जापय*⁷]ति सञ्चनिवा⁸स्मदीयानयुतक⁹[न्वि]ज्ञातमस्तु वः समनु—
- 3 [जानी*]मोस्य भरद्वाज¹⁰सगोत्रद्रोणिलकणाहणस्य कशपुरा—
- 4 [न्तर्गत*]विकट्टाणकग्रामस्थापरसीमाया (यां) या¹¹ भट्टिवेद्यप्र—
- 5 [त्यय*] क्षेत्रं षोडशतलत्ताम¹² यावत्कोहलट्टकसी—
- 6 [मासन्वि¹³*] ब्रह्मदेयं शाश्वतमचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीन¹⁴ पुत्रा¹⁵—

¹ Pandit Bhagvanlal read the date as 118, but the unit figure is 7, not 8. See the figure in No. 12, line 34, below.

² It may be noted here that Dr. Fleet also has, though doubtfully, referred to the Kalachuri era the date of this record, which he, following Pandit Bhagvanlal, read as 118. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 294.

³ From the photo-lithograph accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 98 f.

⁴ As the beginning of the second line shows, two or three letters are lost here and at the commencement of each subsequent line. The initial *akṣaras* may have been *Valkhā* (for *Valkhāi*) as in the previous two grants. The horizontal stroke at the top of the second *akṣara* can be marked in the upper left corner.

⁵ Read परममहद्वारकपादानुद्धयतो.

⁶ Read महाराजश्रवसः.

⁷ The *akṣaras* marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets in the beginning of lines 2-9 are supplied conjecturally on the analogy of the previous two grants.

⁸ Read सञ्चनिवा—.

⁹ Read —नायुतकान्वि—.

¹⁰ Read भरद्वाज—.

¹¹ This *akṣara* is redundant.

¹² Read षोडशतल नाम.

¹³ Bhagvanlal suggested —मासान्वि here.

¹⁴ Read —मासन्वितारकाकालीन.

¹⁵ Read पुत्र—.

- 7 [पौत्रान्व*]यमोज्य¹ भोगायैवमिदानी²मस्यास्मामि[:*] कृतनु³—
 8 [मस्यै*]तक्षेत्रं भुञ्जत[:*] कृषतः दद्या⁴स्मत्पक्षीयै[:*] समनुम—
 9 [न्तव्यमि*]ति [।*] प्रतिहरदोदिरदुतकं⁵ ॥ वर्ष⁶ १०० १० ७⁷ वै तृयाया⁸ ॥

TRANSLATION

[From Valkha]⁹—*Mahārāja Rudradāsa*, who meditates on the feet of the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) order to all his¹⁰ officers—

“Be it known to you that We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, called Ghōṭakatala, which belonged (*formerly*) to Bhaṭṭi Vaidya, which is situated on the western boundary of the village *Vikaṭṭāpaka* included in the *Kaśapura* (sub-division?), extending as far as the boundary of *Kōhalapaka*, to the Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, to be enjoyed (*by him*) (*and*) by a succession of his sons and sons’ sons for all time as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 8) (*Wherefore*), all persons connected with Us should consent to it while he is enjoying and cultivating that field, (*since*) he has now been permitted by Us.

(*This charter has been issued*), the *Pratibara Dōddhira* being the *Dūtaka*, in the year 100 (*and*) 10 (*and*) 7, (*in the month of*) *Vaiśākha*, on the third (*lunar day*).

¹ Read —भोग्यं.

² Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी—.

³ Read कृतानुमस्यैतत्क्षेत्रं.

⁴ Read कृषतदद्या—

⁵ Read प्रतिहारदोदिरदुतकं. Some words like *स्मितमिदं* are required to be supplied here. See the concluding portion of Nos. 9, 11, 12, etc.

⁶ Read वर्षे. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁷ The unit symbol denotes 7, not 8 as supposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal; for it is exactly like the one used in l. 34 of the Ābhōṇa plates of Saṅkaragana (No. 12).

⁸ Read वैशाखतृतीयायाम्. Bhagvanlal suggested the reading *द्वितीयायां* which he thought was supported by the two dots at the end. But the latter may be a sign of punctuation like those after *दुतकं*.

⁹ See above, pp. 10 ff.

¹⁰ *Lit.* Our.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF MAHISHMATI

No. 5; PLATE III A

KANAKHERA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 102

THE inscription was discovered by one of the Assistants of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India at Kānākhērā, a village near Sāñchī in the Bhopal State, Central India.¹ It is now preserved in the Sāñchī Museum. The inscribed stone was found built into a well. The record was first briefly noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year 1917-18, p. 57, and later edited by him in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 230 ff. It was re-edited by Mr. N.G. Majumdar, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XIX (1923), pp. 337 ff., and later in the *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, pp. 392 ff. and Vol. III, Pl. CXXXIX. Mr. Majumdar corrected some mistakes in the transcript of Mr. Banerji and gave a different reading of the date at the end. The record is edited here from an excellent ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of six lines of writing, and covers a space, 6.75" broad and 2.5" high. It is in an imperfect state of preservation. Several *aksharas* towards the end of the first line have either become illegible or have been completely lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right edge of the stone. Besides, many more have been damaged in the middle of lines 4 and 5 by the flaking off of the surface of the stone. The size of the letters varies between 1.25" and .4".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. Their striking features are the elongated verticals of *k*, *r* and *l*, the beautiful superscript curves denoting medial *i* (short and long) and rarely medial *ā*, and the ornamental forms of the subscript *y* and *r*. The following peculiarities may be noted:—*ṇ* and *n* have a loop in the lower part; see *tridaśa-guṇa-* and *śaṇḍapātēr-*, both in l. 1; *dh* has generally an oval shape; see *dharmma-vijayinā*, l. 2, but its archaic form is also noticed; see *Sṛidharavarmmaṇā* in the same line; *y*, though still tripartite, has a hook for its left limb; see *-nāyaka-* l. 2; and *ś* has generally a short horizontal bar, but in ligatures it assumes a tripartite form; see *śrāddhaya*, l. 3 and *śāśvatī*, l. 4. On the evidence of palaeography, the inscription may be referred to the 4th century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit. The record begins in prose, but is rounded off with a verse in the *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre, composed in a good *kāvya* style. The influence of Prakrit is seen in the forms *trayōdaśamī* and *śaṇḍapita*. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following *r*; see *Sṛidharavarmmaṇā*, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śaka Śṛidharavarman* who was the son of the *Śaka Nanda*. Though *Śṛidharavarman* belonged to the *Śaka* race, he was a follower of the Hindu religion; for he was apparently described in the mutilated line 1 as a worshipper of Svāmi-Mahāsēna (Skanda or Kārttikēya), the commander of the celestial army. The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well by *Śṛidharavarman* for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the acquisition of religious merit and fame, and the everlasting attainment of heaven.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 230.

The inscription contains in lines 2 and 3 the following date, *viz.*, the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the victorious thirteenth year. This date is mentioned in close connection with the name of the *Mahādandanāyaka* Śrīdharavarman to whose reign it apparently refers, but Banerji thought that as Śrīdharavarman did not claim any royal title, it was extremely improbable that the year 13 was of his reign. He therefore referred the date to the reign of Jīvadāman, the father of Rudrasimha II and the founder of the third dynasty of the Satraps of Saurāshṭra, whose name, he thought, he could read in line 1.¹ But, as Majumdar has shown, this view is untenable;² for (i) the existing traces of letters in line 1 show that the correct reading of the passage where Banerji read the name of the Kshatrapa ruler is *vīryy-ārjita-vijaya*³; (ii) no title like *Śvāmin* is prefixed to the name of Jīvadāman even according to the reading of Banerji; and (iii) the victorious thirteenth year mentioned in line 2 is described as augmenting the reign evidently of Śrīdharavarman who is named immediately before in that line. It seems therefore that Śrīdharavarman, though he held only the military title of *Mahādandanāyaka*, was, to all intents and purposes, an independent ruler, since he does not mention any overlord in this epigraph⁴.

There is another date towards the close of the record which has been differently read by Banerji and Majumdar. The former called attention to the two symbols which immediately follow the aforementioned verse in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first of these, he thought, was 'the Western Kshatrapa symbol for 200 written at one stroke', while the second signified the unit. The date was thus 201 which Banerji referred to the Saka era and took as equivalent to 279 A. C. Mr. Majumdar, on the other hand, thought that the first sign had no resemblance to a 200 figure and that it was unlikely to be a numerical symbol since it was not introduced by a word like *varsha* or *samvatsara*. He, therefore, took it to be a sign of interpunction indicating the end of the verse. Mr. Majumdar, however, drew attention to the letter *sa* which occurs at some distance from this sign followed by 'apparently three numerical symbols'. He was not certain about the reading of the first of these, but took it tentatively as signifying 200. The other two signs he read as 40 and 1. The date of the epigraph was thus, according to Majumdar, 241. He referred this year to the Saka era and took it as equivalent to 319 A.C.⁵

Whatever may be the correct reading of this date, the attribution of it to the Saka era is not plausible;⁶ for there is no other early date of that era coming from either Eastern or Western Malwa. The Saka era was, no doubt, used by the Kshatrapas in Kathiawad, but no records of their rule have been found in Malwa. In fact Kshatrapa supremacy in Malwa seems to have terminated about the middle of the third century A.C.⁷ It seems therefore better to refer the date to the so-called Kalachuri-Chedi era which was undoubtedly current in the adjoining Anūpa country as evidenced by the inscriptions of Subandhu.⁸

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, 231.

² *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XIX (1923), pp. 340 ff.

³ Banerji read here *s-āditya-vīryya-jīvadāma*.

⁴ An analogous instance is that of the Śuṅga Emperor Pushyamitra, who retained his military title of *Sēnāpati* to the last. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57; Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act. V.

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XIX, p. 342.

⁶ Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar also gives this date doubtfully under the Śaka era. See *I.N.I.*, p. 144. The earliest date of the Śaka era found in Central India is the year 784 in a Jain inscription from Deogad in the Jhansi District. *I.N.I.*, No. 1085.

⁷ Kshatrapa copper coinage of the Malwa fabric ceases about 240 A.C. Rapson, *C.A.D.*, Introd., p. cxxxiii.

⁸ Nos. 6 and 7, below.

The first of the two signs, which immediately follows the completion of the verse in line 6, is definitely *not* a sign of interpunction as supposed by Majumdar; for, so far as I know, such a sign is not used for this purpose anywhere else. Banerji seems to be right in taking it to be a numerical symbol,¹ notwithstanding the unusual omission of an introductory word like *varsha* or *samvat*. The symbol, however, signifies 100, not 200; for the horizontal stroke which is generally attached to the top of its vertical in order to convert it into a symbol for 200² is not noticed in this case. This symbol is followed by two horizontal strokes, one below the other,³ signifying the unit figure 2. This is followed by some *aksharas* which are indistinct. The first appears to be *sa* and the last *stu*. They may be remnants of *Siddham=astu*.⁴

The date of the record is thus the year 102, which, being referred to the Kalachuri era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A. C. The tenth *tithi* of *amānta* Svāvaṇa va. di. 10 in the expired year 102 fell on the 22nd July 352 A. C. The date does not admit of verification, but it is supported by the palaeographical evidence stated above.

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [1*] भगवत्स्विदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामिमहासेनमहा [कुमारस्य*⁷] [दिव्य]—
वीर्यार्जितविज[य*].....
- 2 धर्मविजयिना शकनन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरवर्म्मणा व[र्ष*सह]स्राय स्वरा—
ग्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदश[मे*]⁸
- 3 आवणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वकमेतद्विषयं¹⁰ कल्याणाभ्युदयवृ[द्धयर्थम्] क्षयस्वर्गावाप्तिहेतोर्द्धर्म—
यशोर्त्थं धर्म्मसिंसंबुद्ध्या आ(म)द्व[या*]
- 4 शाश्वते¹¹ चन्द्रा[दित्य¹²] [कालि]कोयं..... (1*) — — — ०० —¹³
प्रसन्नसलिलः सर्वधिगम्यः सदा

¹ Majumdar's statement that this sign is not used as a numerical symbol is incorrect. As a matter of fact, it is the usual symbol denoting a hundred and is used in several records edited here. See, e.g. the dates of Nos. 3, 6, etc.

² See e.g. the symbol denoting hundreds in the plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8).

³ These strokes are rather indistinct in the plate accompanying Banerji's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, but they appear clear in Pl. cxxxix of the *Monuments of Sāñchi*, Vol. III, and also in the fresh estampage supplied to me.

⁴ D. C. Sircar has suggested the reading *svasty=astu*. *S.I.*, Vol. I, p. 181. It has, however, to be admitted that the first *akshara* shows no trace of the subscript *v*, and the second does not look like *sty*. Mr. Majumdar takes the last *akshara* *stu* as a numerical symbol denoting 40. But see the forms of the symbol for 40 in Plate IX in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*. The shape of that symbol is clearly different.

⁵ From an inked estampage.

⁶ This word is incised in the margin on the left, between lines 3 and 4.

⁷ These four *aksharas* are damaged but can be read from the traces left. The following two *aksharas* *divya* are fairly clear. Banerji reads *वेजयवित्त* which yields no good sense. Majumdar first read *s-āditīya-* and subsequently *-śhāp-prasādit*. See *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XIX and *M.S.*, Vol I, p. 393.

⁸ Majumdar read [*rsbsu*], but as the *akshara* is much defaced, it is difficult to say whether the consonant *sb* was reduplicated.

⁹ There are some traces of an *akshara* after *sa*, which may be of *sa* as supposed by Banerji and Majumdar. Read त्रयोदशे.

¹⁰ Read दशम्यामेतद्विषये.

¹¹ Read शाश्वतं.

¹² Banerji read चन्द्रादित्य— and Majumdar चन्द्रसूर्य—. But the reading चन्द्रा— is quite clear. Besides, there is no trace of the medial *d* of *ad*. The correct reading appears to be चन्द्रादित्य—, which was later adopted by Majumdar.

¹³ These six *aksharas* are illegible. I would restore चाकारेऽपत्तिः. The upper part of *ka*, the medial *i* of *ti* and the *ni* are clearly seen.

- 5 सत्त्वा(स्वा)नां प्रियदर्शनो जलनिषिद्धंमर्मा[भूतः¹] शासकतः (1*)----- [प्रणम्य मनसा
द्रव्यस्य²] [कृत्वा व्ययम्³]
6 [कू]पः श्रीधरवर्मणा गुणवता खानापितो[यं] शुभः⁴ (11*) १०० २⁴[1*] [स]..स्तु⁵ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! [This well], lasting for ever as long as the sun (*and*) the moon would endure, [has been excavated] by the *Mahādandanāyaka Śaka Śrīdharavarman*, the son of the *Śaka Nanda*, the righteous conqueror, [who meditates on the feet of] the Great [Kumāra], the divine Lord Mahāsēna (*Kārttikēya*), the Commander of the celestial hosts, whose army has never been vanquished and who, by his celestial prowess, attained victories on this day (*namely*) the **tenth day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa** in the victorious **thirteenth year** augmenting his dominion for a thousand years, [being actuated] by religious faith awakened by the sword of righteousness, for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the eternal attainment of heaven (*and*) the acquisition of religious merit and fame.

(Line 4) This excellent well containing clear water, [matchless in shape], which is always accessible to all, has an appearance pleasing to all living beings, and is a perennial store of water, has been caused to be excavated, for the acquisition of religious merit, by the meritorious Śrīdharavarman, having mentally paid obeisance to (*and*) spent (*a large sum of*) money.

(L. 6) (*The year*) 100 (*and*) 2. May there be success!

¹ Banerji and, following him, Majumdar read -द्वर्ममलः, but the third *akṣara* appears more like *bb* than *m*, and the following one has no resemblance to *l*. Besides, *dharmāmalaḥ* has a queer comparison.

² These nine *akṣaras*, read here for the first time, appear to be quite certain from the traces still-extant.

³ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ For the reading of these symbols, see above, pp. 14 ff.

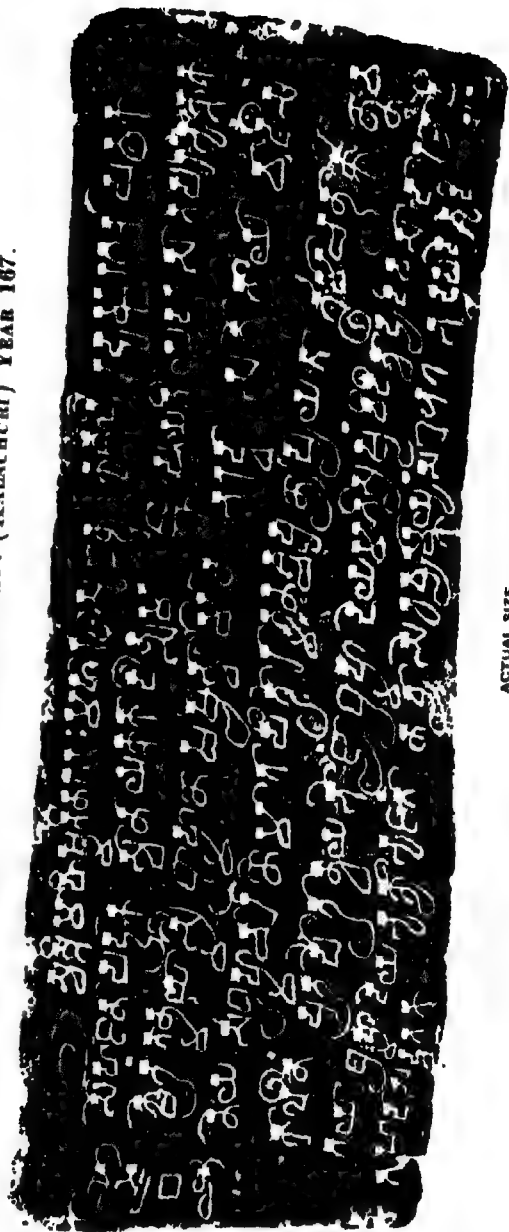
⁵ Read सिद्धमस्तु.

A.—KANHERA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN. (KALACHURI) YEAR 102.



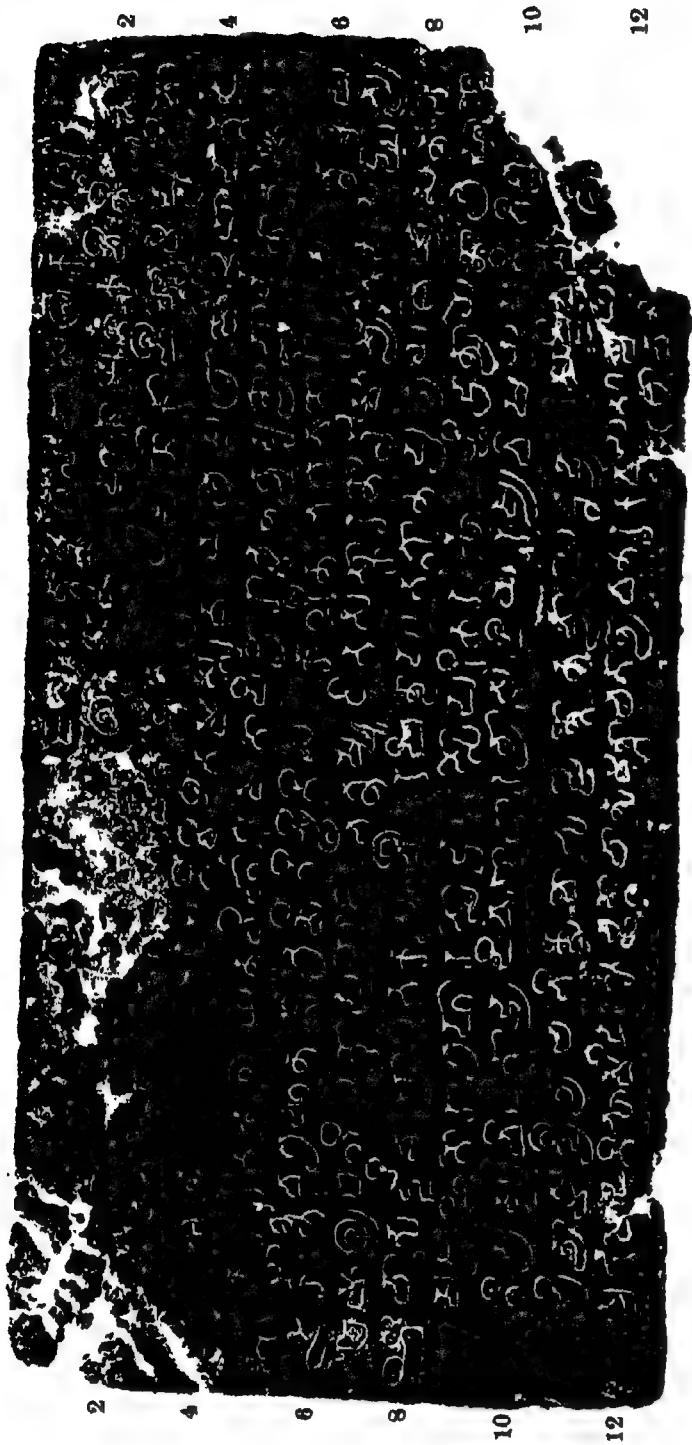
SCALE ONE-THIRD.

B.—BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU: (KALACHURI) YEAR 167.



ACTUAL SIZE

C.—BAGH CAVE PLATE OF SUBANDHU.



ACTUAL SIZE

No. 6; PLATE III B

BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU : (KALACHURI) YEAR 167

THIS Copper-plate was found in the Barwani District in Madhya Bhārat. Its exact findspot has not been recorded. The inscription on it was first noticed very briefly in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum* for 1924-25, and was later on edited, without any facsimile or translation, by Mr. R. R. Haldar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 261 f. Its contents and date were discussed by me in an article entitled 'The Age of the Bāgh Caves' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. The record is edited here from an excellent facsimile which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a single copper-plate and on one side of it, measuring 8" broad by 3.2" high. The plate has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of eight lines, of which the last, containing the sign manual of Subandhu, is incised in the margin on the left.

The characters resemble those of the so-called Indore plate of Svāmidāsa and have knobs or boxes at the top. The numerical symbols for 100, 60 and 7 occur in line 6. The language is Sanskrit. There is no admixture of Prakrit forms in the wording of the grant. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant preceding and following *r*, see *garttā-pathakaḥ*, 1.1 and *-paddrakā*, 1.2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Subandhu*. Unlike Svāmidāsa and other princes of Khandesh, he gives no indication that he acknowledged the suzerainty of any other ruler, though, as shown below, his grant is probably dated in the same reckoning as theirs. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by *Mahārāja Subandhu*, of a field owned by a person named Sāti in the village (*padraka*) Sōhajanā which was included in the *pathaka* of Udumbaragartā. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Shashṭhisvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The order was issued from the city of Māhishmatī. As no word like *vāsaka* is attached to the place-name, Māhishmatī was probably the royal capital at the time. The *Dūtaka* was Guhadāsa. The royal sign manual *Sri-Subandhōḥ* occurs in the margin on the left as in the case of the Khandesh plates.¹ The record is dated in the year 167 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era, on the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. The date does not admit of verification.

Mr. Haldar, who first edited the present inscription, referred its date to the Gupta era and took it as equivalent to 486 A.C.² He thought that *Mahārāja Subandhu* was a subordinate of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta whose Eran Stone inscription is dated in the Gupta year 165 (484-85 A.C.), *i.e.*, just two years before the date of the Barwani grant.

This view, however, presents several difficulties. If *Mahārāja Subandhu* was a feudatory of the Guptas, it looks strange that he does not name his liege-lord or even generally refer to the suzerainty of the Guptas as in the grants of the so-called Parivrājaka *Mahārājas*. As a matter of fact, Gupta suzerainty seems to have received a setback in Central India in the second half of the fifth century A.C.; for we have several records from Mandasor and the adjoining places in the ancient Daśārṇa country, which are dated not in the Gupta era, but in the Mālava *saṃvat*. Further, we learn from the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēṇa II (*circa* 470-90 A.C.) that the king of Mālava was one of the vassals of his father Narēndrasēṇa. If Daśārṇa and Mālava had broken away from the Gupta

¹ Above, Nos. 2 and 3.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 262.

Empire, it is not likely that Anūpa which lay further to the west continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy.¹ The year 167 is not, therefore, likely to be of the Gupta era.

The general resemblance that the present grant bears to the three preceding grants from Khandesh in respect of characters, phraseology, royal sign manual etc., indicates that it belongs to the same period as the latter. The era in which these four grants are dated must therefore be identical. As shown above, the three grants from Khandesh are dated in the so-called **Kalachuri-Chēdi** era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna in 249 A.C. The date of the present grant, if referred to the same era, would correspond to the 5th August 417 A.C. As stated above, it does not admit of verification.

Māhishmatī, from which the plate was issued, is generally identified with the holy place **Onkāra Māndhātā** on the Narmadā, in the Nēmāḍ District of the Madhya Pradesh. The description of the city given by the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* (VI, 43), namely, that it was surrounded by the river Narmadā like a girdle, suits **Onkāra Māndhātā** very well. **Udumbaragartā**, which was the chief town of a *pathaka* named after it, may be Umarbār, now a small village on the western border of the Barwani District. It lies on the Jharkhal, a small tributary of the Narmadā. **Sohajanā** may be Sejjwānik, about 4 miles south-east of Barwani.

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धम्³ [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] माहिष्मतिनगरः⁴ महार(रा)जसुबन्धुः कुसली उदुम्बर-
गर्तापथकः(के)
- 2 सोहजनापट्टके स्वनायकतादीन्समाज्ञापयति यदत्र सातिपरिभुक्तक-
- 3 क्षेत्रं तन्मयास्मै ब्राह्मणपण्डितस्वामिने भरद्वाजसगोत्राय⁵ वा[जि]स-
- 4 नेय⁶सब्रह्मचारिणे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायता(ना)र्त्यमाचन्द्राकर्षणा(र्ण)व-
- 5 कालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं⁷ ब्रह्मदेयमसिद्धं(ष्टम्) [1*]विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्योपि(त्रि)-
- 6 तया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुज(ञ्ज)तां न व्यासेषव्य⁸काव्य⁸(1*)सं १०० ६०७ भ(भा)द्रपदे [शु]दि
स[प्त] [1*]
- 7 गुहवासदूतकः [1*]
(In the margin) श्रीसुबन्धोः [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the city of **Māhishmatī**—*Mahārāja* Subandhu, being in good health, issues the (*following*) order to his (*officers*), *Ayuktakas* and others, at the village (*padraka*) of **Sohajanā** in the *pathaka* (district) of **Udumbaragartā**:—

The field, which is at present enjoyed by *Sāti* here (*i.e.*, at the village **Sohajanā**), has been granted by me as a *brahmadēya* gift to this *Brāhmaṇa* *Shashthisvāmin* of the *Bhara-*

¹ For a detailed discussion of this matter, see my aforementioned article on the age of the Bāgh Caves in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f.

² From an excellent photograph of an inked estampage of the plate supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read माहिष्मतीनगरात्.

⁵ Read सगोत्राय.

⁶ Read वाजसनेय.

⁷ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं.

⁸ Read व्यासेषकाव्यः ।

dvāja gātra who is a religious student of the Vājasanēya śākhā, (to be enjoyed by him) as long as the moon, the sun and the ocean would endure, for the increase of religious merit of my parents and myself.

(Line 3)—Having known (*this*), you should not cause from this day, (*any*) obstruction while he is enjoying it according to the condition of enjoying *brahmadēya* land.

(L. 6) (*In*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 7, in (*the month*) Bhādrapada (*and*) the bright (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) day seven. The Dūtaka is Guhadāsa.

(*In the margin*) Of the illustrious Subandhu.

No. 7; PLATE III C

BAGH CAVE PLATE OF SUBANDHU

THIS copper-plate was found in the debris of Cave No. II at Bāgh in Madhya Bhārat. The inscription on it was first brought to notice in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State* for 1928-29, pp. 15 and 28. Its date was discussed by me in an article on the age of the Bāgh Caves published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. It is edited here from an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of the Archaeological Department of Madhya Bhārat.

The record is on a single copper-plate and, like the preceding inscription of Subandhu, it is incised on only one face of it, measuring 8.3" broad by 4.5" high. It has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of fourteen lines, of which the last containing the royal sign manual is incised in the margin on the left. The record is in a good state of preservation except in the first three lines where a few *aksharas* in the upper left corner have now become illegible. Again, the plate has lost a small triangular piece with its two arms measuring 1.5" each in the lower right corner which has resulted in the unfortunate loss of an important portion of the grant mentioning its date. The size of letters varies from .15" to .3".

The characters are of the western variety of the South Indian alphabets resembling those of Svāmidāsa's plate¹ except that most of the letters have nail-heads instead of knob-heads. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the length of the medial *ī* is shown by a double curve as in the Vākāṭaka grants, see *chivara*, l. 8, and that *t*, which is generally unlooped, shows a loop in *āchchhetā* l. 12. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following *r*, see *chandr-ārke-ārṇava*, ll. 5-6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Subandhu. The object of it is to register the grant, by Subandhu, of a village situated in the *pathaka* of Dāsīlakapalli.² The grant was made for providing materials for the worship of the Buddha and maintaining an alms-house in the *vihāra* called Kalāyana,³ for repairing the broken and dilapidated portions of the *vihāra* and for supplying clothing, food, medicine, beds and

¹ Above, No. 2.

² The name of this *pathaka* was read at first as *Dasibhakupalli*. See *A.R.A.D.G.S.* for 1928-29, p. 28.

³ *Kalāyana* "the Abode of Art is a fitting name for the caves at Bāgh which, like those at Ajantā, are well known for their beautiful paintings. See *Bāgh Caves* published by the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State.

seats to the Community of Venerable Monks hailing from all the four directions. The order was issued by the king personally from Māhishmatī which was evidently his capital at the time. His sign manual *Mahārāja-Subandhō* occurs in the margin on the left as on the preceding Barwani plate.

The plate bore a date at the end of lines 12 and 13, but owing to the breaking off of a piece of it, only the name of the month Śrāvaṇa now remains. All other details are now lost. The date of the Barwani grant made by the same *Mahārāja Subandhu* shows, however, that the inscription can be referred to the early decades of the fifth century A.C. Māhishmatī, as stated before, is probably identical with Oṅkār Māndhātā in the Nēmāḍ District of the Madhya Pradesh. Dāsīlakapallī may be identical with Dēswālīā which lies about 14 miles almost due south of the Bāgh Caves.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्² (1*) [स्वस्ति] (1*) माहिष्मतीनगरान्महाराजसुबन्धुः³ कुशली दासिलकपल्लीप—
- 2 [यके*]³ प्रकाशच (स्थान?) लकदित्योद्ग्रहकायुक्तकविनियुक्तक—
- 3 चाटभट[गो]ष्ठिकगमागमिकदूतप्रेषणिकादीन्ग्रामप्रतिवा—
- 4 सिनश्च समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वः यथैष ग्रामो मया दत्त—
- 5 ककारितकला⁴यनविहारे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायनार्थमाचन्द्रा—
- 6 वर्कार्णवग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः⁵ भगवतो⁶ बुद्धाय गन्धधूप—
- 7 मात्यबलिसत्रोपयोज्यः⁷ भगवत्पु (स्फु) दितसंस्का (स्क) रणार्थमाय्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य
- 8 चातुर्दिशाभ्यागतकस्य जीवरपिण्डपातग्लानप्रत्ययशेय्यासनभै—
- 9 वज्रहेतोराग्रहार⁸स्सोद्वक्कस्सोपरिकरः⁹ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाग्रहारो¹⁰
- 10 तिसृष्टः¹¹ विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्यास्मदीयैरप्य (न्य) विषयपतिभिश्च . .¹²
- 11 प्रि (प्री) त्यास्मत्प्रीत्या च भिक्षवो भुञ्जन्तो न व्यासेद्व्याः [1*] षष्टिबर्षसह . .¹³
- 12 स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः (1*) आच्छत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक (के) वसत (वसेत्) ॥ स्वय—
[माज्ञा] [1*]¹⁴
- 13 श्रावण¹⁵
(In the margin) महाराजसुबन्धोः [1*]

¹ From an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bhārat.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ About four *aksharas* are illegible here. They must have contained the name of the village granted.

⁴ The stroke denoting medial *ā* of *lā* is rather faintly seen in the impression, but it is there.

⁵ Read कालीनो.

⁶ Read भगवते.

⁷ Read —त्रोपयोज्यो.

⁸ Read —रग्रहार.

⁹ Read —स्सोपरिकरो.

¹⁰ This word is redundant.

¹¹ Read वतिसृष्ट इति विदित्वा

¹² Two *aksharas* are lost here. They may have been चम्पे—

¹³ Two *aksharas* are lost here also. Read सहस्राणि.

¹⁴ Three or four *aksharas* appear to have been lost here. They must have been *Sam* followed by two or three numerical symbols denoting the year.

¹⁵ About four or five *aksharas* have been lost here. They must have contained the name of the fortnight followed by symbols denoting the *tithi*.

TRANSLATION

Om ! Hail ! From the city of Māhushmatī—Mahārāja Subandhu, being in good health issues the (following) order to *Sthānalakas*¹ (?), *Dityōdgrāhakas*,² *Āyuktakas*, *Viniyuktakas*, *Chāṭas*, *Bhāṭas*, *Gōshthikas*³, *Gamāgamikas*⁴, *Dūtapreshanikas*,⁵ and others as well as villagers at...in the *pathaka* of *Dāsīlakapalli*.

(Line 4) Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my parents and myself, this village has been granted by me together with *udraṅga*⁶ and *uparikara*,⁷ as an *agrahāra* according to the maxim of waste land,⁸ in order that it may be used for (defraying the expenses of) perfume, frankincense, flowers and offerings as well as for maintaining an alms-house, for repairing broken and rent portions (of the *vihāra*) and for providing the Community of Venerable Monks coming from (all) the four quarters, with clothing, food, nursing of the sick, beds, seats as well as medicine in the Monastery called *Kalāyana* (the Abode of Art) caused to be constructed by Dattaṭaka, as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, planets, constellations and the earth would endure.

(L. 10) Having known this, our officers and rulers of other countries should not cause obstruction out of their love [for religion] and regard for us, while the monks (of this *Vihāra*) are enjoying (the village).

(Here occurs a benedictive and imprecatory verse.)

(L. 12) My own command in (the month) *Srāvaṇa*

(In the margin) Of the Mahārāja Subandhu.

¹ I have not come across the name of this officer elsewhere. His name appears like that of the officer *Purillaka* mentioned in the recently discovered plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja.

² *Dityōdgrāhaka* was the collector of the royal cess called *ditya* which is mentioned in the records of the Gurjaras. For *chāṭa* and *bhāṭa* see below, p. 43, n. 12.

³ *Gōshthikas* were members of the Managing Committee. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 332 f.

⁴ *Gamāgamikas* were officers who issued passports for egress and ingress. See also No. 25, l. 19.

⁵ *Dūtapreshanikas* were officers who despatched *dūtas*.

⁶ The meaning of *Udraṅga* is still uncertain. Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *inter alia* the following meanings:—the place where anything is kept, a store-room or receptacle. *S-ōdraṅga* in this sense would correspond to *sa-sibaram* in l. 12 of No. 20, below; but it is noteworthy that it is mentioned there in addition to the latter. *S-ōdraṅga* and *s-ōparikara* are generally used together to qualify the village or the land granted. They correspond to *sa-klipta* and *s-ōpaklipta* which occur in a similar context in other records. In line 17 of the Hyderabad plates of the Western Chālukya king Pulakēśin II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73) the expression *sa-kliptaḥ s-ōparikarab* is used in place of *s-ōdraṅgab s-ōparikarab* which shows that *udraṅga* has the same meaning as *klipta*. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) mentions *klipta* as one of the sources of royal income. Its derivation from *kliṣ* to fix seems to point to the meaning of 'fixed assessment'. *Udraṅga* which, as shown above, is a synonym of *klipta*, has therefore probably the meaning of a land-tax.

⁷ *Uparikara* is the counterpart of *antab-kara* or *antar-āya*, which is mentioned in some southern records. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 27. It seems therefore to denote an external or additional tax, probably levied in kind such as is mentioned in the *MSM.*, *adhyāya* VII, vv. 130-32. It corresponds to *bhāga* mentioned in some early records. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 8.

⁸ *Bhūmi-chchhidra* is explained in the lexicon *Vaijayanī* as *kṛishy-nyāgyā bhūḥ i. e.*, land unfit for cultivation. The person, who brought such land under cultivation by cutting down trees etc., became the owner of it. Cf. *stbāṇa-chchchhidraya kādāram* in *MSM.*, *adh.* IX, v. 44. *Bhūmi-chchchhidra-nyāyina* therefore means 'with full proprietary rights'.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS

No. 8; PLATE IVA

PARDI PLATE OF DAHRASENA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 207

PĀRḌĪ is the headquarters of a *tāluka* of the same name, 30 miles south of Surat, in the Surat District of the Bombay State. The present plates, which were found in 1884 in the course of digging a tank at Pārḍī, were first brought to notice by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji who edited them with a translation, but without a lithograph, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff. They were subsequently published, with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 51 ff. I edit them here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article.

"The plates are two in number, each measuring about 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ " by 3". They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but, as may be seen from the facsimile, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. They are somewhat thin, so that the letters, though not very deep, show through on the backs of them, to such an extent that some of them can be read there. The interiors of the letters show the marks of the working of the engraver's tool.

"There is no ring of the ordinary kind, with a seal on it. But at each of the two ring-holes the plates were held together by a long copper wire, $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick in the thickest part, which, after being passed through the ring-holes, had its ends twisted over and round and round so as to form a kind of complicated tie, without the ends being soldered together. As the ring-holes are not much larger than the wires, and as the plates appear to have been secured as soon as they were discovered, it would seem that these wires are the means by which the plates were fastened together *ab initio*.

"The weight of the two plates is 31 tolas, and of the two wires 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ tolas; total, 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ tolas=12 $\frac{1}{4}$ oz."

The record consists of nine lines only, of which four are inscribed on the first and the remaining five on the second plate. The outer sides of the plates are blank. The engraver seems to have found the metal somewhat hard to work upon; his tool seems to have slipped occasionally (see e.g., *kh* of *Vaiśākha* 1.9) and his strokes and curves are not properly formed. The average size of letters is .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. Most of the letters have knobs at the top. The *mātrās* for the medial *ā*, *ī* and *ai* generally appear above the line (see e.g., *skandhāvārād-* and *Traikkutakānām* both in 1.1), while those for the medial *ō* appear as a horizontal stroke on either side, see *karmmakarō*, 1.2, *pitrōr-*, 1.4, *yafō-*, 1.5 etc. Medial *au*, which occurs only once, is bipartite as in *Vākātaka* records, see *pautr-*, 1.6. No distinction is made between the short and the long medial *i*. The signs for medial short and long *u* are added to the right of the vertical stroke in some cases and to its left in others. As instances of the former, see *suddha*, 1.9 and *bhūmidah*, 1.8 and for those of the latter, notice *pād-ānuddhyātō*, 1.1 and *dūtakam-*, 1.8. The curve for medial *ri* is curled in *pitrī* 1.1, but in other cases (as e.g. in *bhividdhayē*, 1.5, *samatisriṣṭō* and *kṛiṣṭō* in 1.6), it is exactly like that for *r*. The right hand hook of *ñ* is added to its subscript *ch* which is open on the left, see *uktañ=cha*, 1.7. The subscript

¹ From Dr. Fleet's description of the plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 51.

n appears in two forms, see *Nanna*, 1.3 and *-ārṇava*-, 1.3. The superscript *n* is unlooped in *-antarggata*, 1.4. The sign for *b* has a round top in *brāhmaṇa*-, 1.3. *Sh* generally appears with a notch in its left limb, see *shashṭi*-, 1.7, but notice its subscript form in *kshiti*, 1.5. The sign for the *jihvāmālīya* occurs in 11.6 and 7, and the numerical symbols for 200, 10, 7 and 3 in 1.9.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse towards the close, the record is in prose throughout. Attention may be drawn to the word *santaka* in 1.2 which is used here as in Vākātaka records in the sense of an official, and *bhōjya*, 1.6 which, contrary to Pāṇini VII, 3, 69, is employed in the sense of what is to be enjoyed.¹ The expression *Buddhagupta-dātaka* in 1.8, which is evidently copied from an earlier record where it must have qualified some word like *likhitam*, is here wrongly connected with *ājñā*. As regards orthography we may note that a consonant following *r*, with the exception of *sh*, is doubled in several cases, see *karmmakorō*, 1.2, *-ārṇava*, 1.3, etc. Similarly *dh* is doubled before *y* in *anuddhyāta*, 1.1. Rules of *sandhi* have either not been observed, or violated in a few cases, see *svāmīna atr*-, 1.3, *-bhividdhayā ā*-, 1.5, and *krishatō praviśata*-, 11.6-7.

The plates were issued from the victorious camp at Āmrakā by *Mahārāja Dahrasēna* (of the dynasty) of the *Traikūṭakas*. The object of the inscription is to record the donation, by Dahrasēna, of the village *Kaṇīyas-Taḍākāsārikā* in the *Antar-Maṇḍalī vishaya* to the *Brāhmaṇa Nannasvāmin*, a resident of *Kāpura*. The grant was made for the increase of religious merit and glory of the king and his parents. The *dātaka* was *Buddhagupta*.

The date of the grant is given in line 9 as the thirteenth tithi (expressed both in words and in numerical symbols) of the bright (fortnight) of *Vaiśākha* in the year 207 (expressed in numerical symbols only). The palaeography of the present inscription leaves no doubt that this date refers to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year² 207, to the 23rd April 457 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Dahrasēna calls himself *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. He was, therefore, a worshipper of Vishṇu. He is identical with Dahrasēna, the son of Indradatta, 'the most devout worshipper of Vishṇu', whose silver coins were discovered at Daman in the Surat District, Kāzad in the Indāpur *tālukā* of the Poona District, Karād near Sātārā and some other places.³ He was apparently an independent king, as he is said, in the present grant, to have performed an *Āśvamedha* sacrifice.

The localities mentioned here were identified by Dr. Fleet.⁴ According to him the *Antar-Maṇḍalī vishaya* denotes 'the district of the territory between' the rivers *Minḍhōlā* on the north and the *Pūrṇā* on the south. I would rather take the expression to mean the district on both the banks of the *Maṇḍalī* (modern *Minḍhōlā*) river on the

¹ *Santaka* and *bhōjya* occur in the earlier records also. See e.g. Nos. 2 and 3, l. 2.

² The date was first calculated by Dr. Fleet. It would correspond to the 4th April 456 A.C. if the year is taken to be current. In the case of the early records of the Kalachuri era, Nos. 1-34, the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C.

³ Rapson, C.A.D. Introd., p. clx, f. n. 2. On some coins the name appears as *Dabragana*, from which Rev. R. Scott conjectured that the king altered the termination of his name from *śna* to *gana* at an early period of his reign. But even in the later Surat plates of his son *Vyāghrasēna* his name appears as *Dahrasēna*. As Rapson has pointed out, some letters of the coin legends have assumed conventional forms, which has caused the confusion. See Rapson, C.A.D. Introd., pp. clxii f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 53

analogy of Antar- Narmadā *vishaya* mentioned in the Sunao Kalā plates of Saṅgamasīmha.¹ Kāpura² is a village of the same name, three miles south-south-west from Vyārā the head-quarters of the Vyārā subdivision of the Surat District. Kaniyas-Taḍākāsārikā means Smaller Taḍākāsārikā and may be represented by 'Tarsāri, fifteen miles almost due west of Kāpura and about half way between the Miṇdhōlā and the Pūmā'. Āmrakā, where the king's camp was fixed, cannot be definitely identified as there are several villages of the name Ambachh or Āmbāchh in the neighbourhood, but of them the nearest to Kāpura is Ambachh, about 2 miles towards the south-west.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [1*] विजयस्कन्धावारादासकावासकास्त्रैकूटकानां⁴ मातापितृपादानुद्धृतातो भग-
- 2 वत्पादकर्मकरोश्चमेघाहर्ता श्रीमहाराजदहसेनः सञ्चनिवास्मत्सन्तकानन्त-
- 3 र्मण्डलि⁵विषयवासिनस्समाज्ञापयति यथा कापुरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणनण्णस्वामिन⁶
- 4 अत्रैव विषयान्तर्गतकनि⁷यस्तडाकासारिकाग्रामो मा[ता]पि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुण्य-

Second Plate

- 5 यशोभिवृद्धये आचन्द्र(न्द्रा)कर्काण्व[क्षि]तिस्थितिकालिका⁸श्चोरराजापत्न्यकारिवर्ज⁹
- 6 सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहारेण पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य¹⁰स्समतिसृष्टो यतोस्य भुञ्जतः¹¹कृषतो¹¹
- 7 प्रविशतश्च न केनचित्¹²प्रतिषेधः¹³कार्य्य इत्युक्तञ्च¹³ भगवता व्यासेन [1*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्रानि¹⁴
- 8 स्वर्गो वसति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति¹⁵[11*] बुद्धगुप्त-
दूतकमाज्ञा¹⁶
- 9 सं २०० ७ वैशाखशुद्धत्रयोदश्या¹⁷ १० ३ [11*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Āmrakā, the illustrious *Mahārāja Dahrasēna* (of the family) of the Traikūtakas, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat and who has performed an *Aśvamēdha*, issues the following order to all his¹⁸ officials residing in the *vishaya* (district) of Antar-Maṇḍali.

¹ Below, No. 11.

² As Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, p. 346), this is identical with Kāpura mentioned as the chief town of an *ābūra* in two Nāsik cave inscriptions.

³ From the facsimile facing p. 53 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X.

⁴ Read स्त्रैकूटकानां.

⁵ Read -तन्तर्मण्डली-.

⁶ Read स्वामिनेत्रैव.

⁷ Read कनीय-.

⁸ Read कालिक-.

⁹ Some expression like अचाटमटप्रावेशः is omitted after चोरराजापत्न्य-. See text of No. 9, lines 10-11, p. 27, below.

¹⁰ Read भोग्यस्समतिसृष्टः । यतो-.

¹¹ Read कृषतः .

¹² Read प्रविशतश्च न केनचित्.

¹³ Read कार्य्य इति । उक्तञ्च.

¹⁴ Read सहस्राणि.

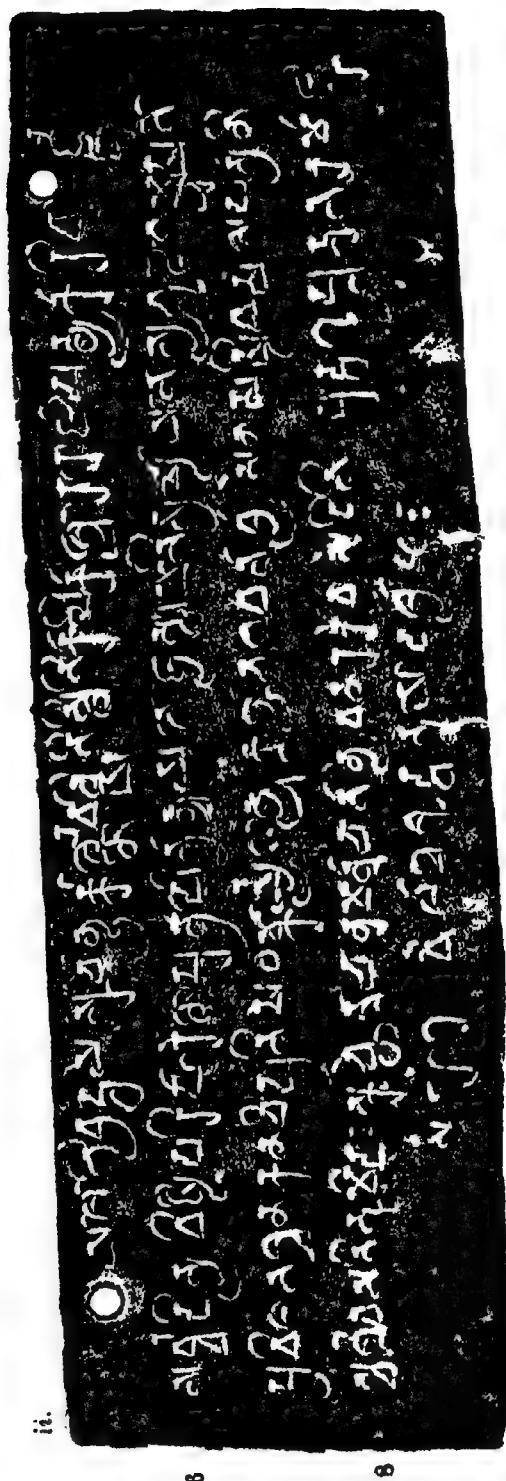
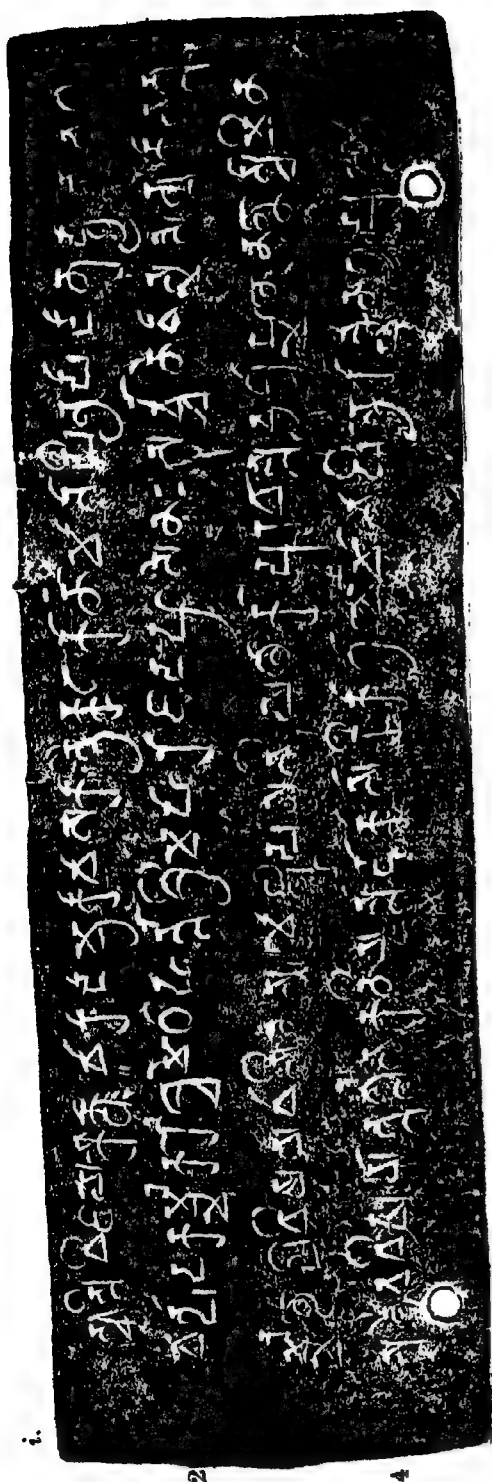
¹⁵ Read वसेत् । इति । Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁶ Read बुद्धगुप्तदूतकमाज्ञा.

¹⁷ Read त्रयोदश्या.

¹⁸ *Lit. our.*

A.—PARDI PLATES OF DAHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 207.



i, b.

2
 4
 6
 8

ii, 12.

10
12
14
16
18

(Line 5) For increasing the religious merit and fame of (*Ow*) mother and father and Ourselves, the village *Kanlyas-Tadākāsārikā* (Smaller *Tadākāsārikā*), situated in this very *vishaya*, has been conferred (*by Us*) on the Brāhmaṇa Nannasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura, for as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (*not to be entered by chāṭas and bhāṭas*¹) except (*to punish*) thieves and rebels, to be exempt from all taxes (*dirya*) and forced labour (*and*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons.

(L. 6) Wherefore, none shall cause obstruction while he enjoys, cultivates and assigns (*this village*).

(*Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse*).

(L. 8) (*This*) order (*is issued*), Buddhagupta being the *dātaka*, (*in*) the year 200 (*and*) 7, on the thirteenth, (*in figures*) 10 (*and*) 3, (*lunar day*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Vaiśākha.

NO. 9; PLATE IV B

SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 241

THE plates were first brought to notice by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I. C. S., in a note which he added to Rev. H. R. Scott's article entitled 'Traikūṭaka coins from the Poona District' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. They were subsequently edited with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff. I edit the inscription here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article.

The copper-plates were found at Surat. 'They are two in number, each measuring between 9½ and 9¾ inches in breadth and about 3½ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārḍī plates there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.²' The record consists of eighteen lines, nine being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is about .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Pārḍī plates³. Attention may be drawn here to the following additional peculiarities. The medial *ā* which is generally denoted by a horizontal stroke to the right is brought down like a vertical stroke in *-ārāti-*, l. 5, while in the case of *m* and *l* it is shown by a curve attached to the bottom of the letter, see *pramāṇī*, l. 14, *Hālāhala*, l. 18. Notice also the curve denoting the *mātrū* for medial *ī* and *ō* in the case of *m* and *n* in *śarmmaṣṭi*, l. 10 and *mōdati*, l. 16. The length of medial *ī* is in some cases (*e.g.*, in *śrī-Mahārāja*, l. 7) indicated by a dot and in others (*e.g.*, in *palikā-*, l. 14), it is indicated by two curves turned in opposite directions. The medial *ī* is generally denoted by curled curve, but in one case (*viz.* *pramāṇīkṛitya*, l. 14) the vowel is shown by a curve

¹ See above, p. 24, n. 9 *Chāṭas* and *bhāṭas* were charged with the maintenance of peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers. See below, p. 43, n. 12.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 219.

³ Above, No. 1.

turned downwards and added to the left of the vertical. The subscript *sh* is shown by a double curve open on the left, see *sthira*, l. 6 and *sthiti*, l. 12. The sign for the *jivāmālīya* occurs in l. 1, and that for the *upadhmāṇīya* occurs in ll. 4, 5, 6 and 14. The numerical symbols for 200, 40, 10, 5 and 1 occur in l. 18.

The language is Sanskrit and except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. In copying the formal part of the grant from previous records, the official draftsman has forgotten to change the genders of some adjectival expressions to make them conform to the feminine name of the donated village. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the *anusvāra* is in most cases correctly replaced by a class nasal, but in *vanśā*, l. 5 and *vanśya*, l. 12 it is wrongly changed to the guttural nasal. The consonant following *r* is doubled in such cases as *karmma*-, l. 1, *sarvva*-, l. 3 *dīrggha*, l. 13 and that preceding *y* is doubled in *-amuddhyātō*, l. 1 and *rāj-āpatthya*, l. 10.

The plates were issued by the illustrious *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* (of the dynasty) of the *Traikūṭakas* from the victorious *Aniruddhapura*. The king is described as the servant of the feet of Bhagavat (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) and the lord of the *Aparānta* and other countries. *Aparānta* is North Konkan, the strip of land between the sea and the Western Ghats. It is, therefore, interesting to read in line 6 that the king had stationed an army of many great warriors to guard the sea as well as forts and towns.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by *Vyāghrasēna*, of the village *Purōhitapallikā* in the *Iksharakī āhāra* to the *Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents. The writer of the grant was the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Karka* and the *dūtaka*, *Hālāhala*.

The date is expressed in numerical symbols only in l. 18 as the fifteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of *Kārttika* of the year 241. *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* of the present plates who was a devotee of Vishṇu is clearly identical with the *Paramavaishṇava Vyāghrasēna* whose silver coins have been found at *Kāzad* in the *Indāpur Taluka* of the *Poona District*¹ and other places² in Western India. From these coins which resemble those of *Dahrasēna*, we learn that he was the son of *Mahārāja Dahrasēna*. The date of the present plates, therefore, must, like that of the *Pārḍī* plates, be referred to the *Kalachuri* era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired³ year 249, to the 14th October 490 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, *Aparānta*, *Ariake* of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, is, as already remarked, identical with North Konkan. As the *Traikūṭakas* were ruling over *Aparānta*, *Trikūṭa*, their home land, must have been situated in the west. It is noteworthy in this connection that *Kālidāsa* places *Trikūṭa* in *Aparānta* and the lexicographer *Kēśava* gives *Sahyādri* as a synonym for *Trikūṭa*.⁴ The victorious *Aniruddhapura* was probably the *Traikūṭaka* capital as no word like *vāsaka* (camp) is attached to it. As Dr. Hultsch has pointed out, it is probably identical with

¹ J. B. B. R.A.S., Vol. XXIII, p. 2. For the latter part of the name which Rev. R. Scott read as *gaṇa*, see above, p. 23, n. 4.

² J.R.A.S. (1905), pp. 801 ff.

³ If the year 249 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 25th October 489 A.C. As the *Kalachuri* year began on *Kārttika* śu. di. 1, the date of the present plates (*Kārttika* śu. di. 15) cannot in any case fall in 491 A.C., as supposed by Hultsch.

⁴ Cf. *Sahyāśālas=tu Mūradhādri=Trikaṭas=Trikaṭach=śa sap. Kalpadrukāśa* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Vol. I, p. 342. For the exact location of *Trikūṭa*, see below, No. 31, l. 38.

the victorious Aniruddhapuri mentioned in the Bagumrā plates¹ of the Sēndrāka Allasakti. He identified it with Sūrpāraka, Sopārā in the Thāṇā District, on the authority of the lexicon *Vaijayanī*.² But the statement in the lexicon only places Sūrpāraka in the Aparānta country. It does not state that it was the capital of Aparānta at any time, much less at the time of the Traikūṭakas. Besides, the mention of Aniruddhapuri as the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donee of the Bagumrā grant indicates that it should be looked for not very far from the donated village which was near Bagumrā. It was, therefore, probably situated in South Gujarāt. I have not, however, been able to trace any place-name similar to it in that part of the country. Purōhitapallikā, the donated village, is probably identical with Pāl, two miles to the west of Surat.³ Iksharakī, the headquarters of the āhāra in which it was situated, is probably represented by Achchhāran, about 9 miles north of Surat.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [1*] विजयानिरुद्धपुरास्त्रैकूटका[नां] [म]तापितृपादानुदधातो भग[व]त्पादकर्मकर-
रकरयतक्रमागत-
- 2 स्कीर्तनवरान्तादिदेशपतिरूपरिमितनृपतिनतचरणकम[लस्व]भुजपरिपालन[प्र]ता-
- 3 पाविगतप्रभुद्रविणविश्राणनावान्तसर्वदिग्भ्यापिशुक्लयशाशा[रद]रजनिकरह[चिरवपु]-
- 4 रनक्षकालीनपुरुषविशेषसदृशोदारचरितस्सुचरितनिदर्शना[त्थमि]व [निर्मित]प्रति-
- 5 हृतसामन्तारातिरन्यनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्ववद्शा⁶लङ्कारभूत[प्रभूतप्रवी]रसाधना-
- 6 विष्टितवुर्गना[न]गर⁷सागरस्सागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृतिप्रकृ[तिजन]मनोहरप्रज्ञ-
- 7 संश्रितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणवनोभिजनसदृशयन्त्रणोपगृहीतस्पृहणीयश्रीश्रीमहा-
- 8 राजव्याघ्रसेनः सर्वानवे⁸क्षरक्याहारान्तर्गतपुरोहितपल्लीकाप्रतिवासीनो⁹-
- 9 स्समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिर्म्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

- 10 [भरद्वाज]सगोत्रब्राह्मणनागसम्मर्णे¹⁰ इयं पल्लिका चोरराजापत्यकारिवर्ज¹⁰ अचाटमट-
- 11 प्रा[वे]द्या सर्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणो¹¹ग्राहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या¹²आचन्द्रावकर्णव-
- 12 भित्तिस्थितिसमकालीनो¹³तिसृष्टा [1*] तदस्मद्वक्ष्य¹⁴राजभिरन्यैश्च विभवानभावानुबद्धा-
नायुष्वि-

¹ Below, No. 26, line 25.

² Cf. *Aparāntās=te pāschātyās=te cha Sūrpāraka=ādyaḥ* cited by Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV, v. 55.

³ From the name *Purōhitapallikā* of the donated village, Dr. Hultzach inferred that the donee Nāgaśarman was the king's family priest (*purōhita*). But the conjecture appears improbable, as the village bore the name even before the grant.

⁴ From the facsimiles facing page 221 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI.

⁵ Read वंशा-

⁶ Dr. Hultzach reads नगर but the sign of the medial ā is clear in his lithograph.

⁷ Read सर्वविशेष-

⁸ Read पल्लिकाप्रतिवासीन-. The length of *i* in *pallikā* is quite clear in the lithograph.

⁹ Read सम्मर्णे इयं.

¹⁰ Read वर्जमचाट-

¹¹ Read परिहीणाग्राहार-

¹² Read भोज्याचन्द्रा-

¹³ Read कालीनाति-

¹⁴ Read -वक्ष्य-

- 13 योगानुगतज्जुणाश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्निगम्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान—
 14 मिति प्रमाणीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुन्निरञ्जिराय यशश्चिवीषुभिरियं¹ पल्ली (ल्लि) कादायो-
 नुमन्तव्यं पा—
 15 लयितव्यश्च [1*] यस्मादुक्तम्भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] पूर्वदत्तान्निजातिभ्यो य[त्ता]—
 ब्रह्म युधि—
 16 [ष्ठिर][1*] महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्)² [11१॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
 स्वर्गं मोदति
 17 [भूमिदः] [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति (वसेत् ॥२॥ इति) प्रतिपृच्छ्य
 लिखितं मया महासान्धिविग्रह—
 18 [हिककक्के]ण हालाहलद्रुतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्तिक शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious Aniruddhapura,—the illustrious *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* (of the family) of the *Traikūṭakas*—who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father; who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat; who is the lord of the *Aparānta* and other prosperous countries acquired by his arms and (of those) inherited (by him); whose lotus-like feet are bowed to by countless kings; whose bright fame, acquired by bestowing (in charity) abundant wealth obtained by the protection (of his subjects) with his arm (as well as) by his prowess, has pervaded all quarters; whose body is lovely like the autumnal moon; whose noble actions resemble those of distinguished men of bygone times; who has been created as if to show an example of good conduct; who has overcome neighbouring foes; who is more distinguished than other kings; who is an ornament of his family; who, by his armies of many great warriors, has occupied forts, cities and seas; who by nature is as grave as the sea (is deep), and as firm as (*Himālaya*,) the chief of mountains; who is naturally attractive to people; whose wealth is shared by learned men, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons; whose enviable fortune is allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth—issues this order to all residents of *Purōhita-pallikā* included in the *Iksharakī āhāra*.

(Line 9)—“Be it known to you, that for augmenting the religious merit of (Our) mother and father and Ourselves, We have given this village, (which is) not to be entered by policemen and soldiers except for (arresting) thieves and rebels, which is exempt from all taxes and forced labour, (and is) to be enjoyed as an *agrahāra* by his descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, to the Brāhmaṇa *Nāgaśarman* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*.

(L. 12) “Therefore, considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (alone) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are noble deeds, kings born in our family and others, (who are) desirous of accumulating, for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this gift of the village.”

(L. 15) For, the holy Vyāsa, who arranged the *Vēdas*, has said—
 (Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses).

¹ Read —रयं.

² Metre of this and the next verse : *Anuṣṭubh*.

(L. 17) Having inquired again (*about the details of the grant*) I, the Mahāsāndhi-vigrahika Karka, have written (*this charter*), Hālāhala being the *dātaka*.

The year 200, 40 (*and*) 1, (*the month*) Kāttika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

NO. 10; PLATE V A

KANHERI PLATE OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS : (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

KANHERI is situated on the island of Salsette, about twenty miles from Bombay. It is well-known for its numerous Buddhist caves. The place was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian who has left us a description of a five-storeyed cave temple there. The present plate was discovered in 1839 by Dr. James Bird. He gives the following account of its discovery in his article entitled 'the opening of the Topes at the caves of Kānari and the relics found in them', which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. X, pp. 94 ff. 'Immediately in front of the large arched cave and on a ledge of the mountain, some thirty or forty feet below, there are several small Thopas or monumental receptacles for the bones of a Buddha or Rahat, built of cut stone at the base. They were once of a pyramidal shape, but are now much dilapidated, and appear like a heap of stones. Several years ago I thought of opening some of them, in expectation of obtaining coins or other relics; but found no favourable opportunity until lately, when several lengthened visits in company with Dr. Heddle gave me the desired means of doing so.

'The largest of the topes selected for examination appeared to have been one time between twelve and sixteen feet in height. It was much dilapidated, and was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stone. After digging to the level of the ground and clearing away the materials, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsum. This contained two small copper urns, in one of which were small ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold and a small gold box containing a piece of cloth; in the other a silver box and some ashes were found. Two copper-plates containing legible inscriptions in the Lath or cave character, accompanied the urns and these, as far as I have yet been able to decipher them, inform us that the persons buried here were of the Buddhist faith. The smaller of the copper-plates bears an inscription in two lines, the last part of which contains the Buddhist creed.'

Dr. Bird kept the plates with himself and published a small lithograph in his *Historical Researches*. He subsequently wrote the aforementioned article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* which was accompanied by an eye-copy of the record with an interlinear transcription in Dēvanāgarī and an English translation. Later on Rev. J. Stevenson, D.D., attempted a transcript and a translation from the same eye-copy, as the plate could not be traced after Dr. Bird's death. His article was published in July 1853 in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, pp. 10 ff. The work of both Dr. Bird and Dr. Stevenson was very imperfect, though the former recognised that it was a Buddhist inscription and the latter gave a correct reading of its date. The record was first correctly read by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji with his wonted ingenuity, from the eye-copy published in the *J.A.S.B.* His transcript, which was accompanied by an English translation and an enlarged facsimile of Dr. Bird's lithograph, was published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, pp. 56 ff. The plate is edited here from the same facsimile. It will be seen that the transcript given here differs from Pandit Bhagvanlal's text in very few places.

The record consists of nine lines written breadthwise on one side of the plate.¹ The latter does not seem to have been properly cleaned before Dr. Bird's facsimile was prepared; for several curves, *mātrās* and *anuvāras*, which were probably filled with verdigris on the original plate, do not appear at all in the lithograph. In making the transcript given below I have, however, taken the lithograph to be an accurate copy of the original plate, as it is now impossible to say which of the mistakes in the lithograph are due to the fault of the copyist.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and closely resemble those of the other Traikūṭaka plates. The only points worth noticing are that the length of the medial *ī* is denoted by a curve curling to the right in *kshirōḍaḥ*, l. 7 and to the left in *kshira-tōyō* in the same line; the medial *ū* is shown in a peculiar way in *ghūrṇat-*, l. 7; the sign for the *upadhmāniya* occurs in l. 2 and that for the *jihvāmūliya* in l. 7. The language is Sanskrit and except for a verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The only orthographical peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following *r* is reduplicated in many cases; see e.g., *pravarddhamāna-*, l. 1, *-antarggata-* l. 2, etc., and that *v* is doubled seemingly after an *anuvāra* in *sa[m*]vatsara*, l. 1.

The inscription refers itself to the prosperous regime of the Traikūṭakas and records that in the year two hundred and forty-five (expressed in words only) Buddharuchi, the son of Buddhaśrī and Pushyavarman and a devoted servant of the holy Śākya Sage (Buddha) and the venerable monk who heard his law, who hailed from the village Kāṇaka included in the Sindhu *vishaya*, erected at Kṛishṇagiri the Chaitya, in which the plate was found, and which he dedicated to the venerable Śāradvatīputra, the foremost disciple of the great sage (Buddha). After invoking the blessings of gods, Yakshas, Siddhas, Vidyādhara, Māṇibhadras, Pūrṇabhadra, Pañchika, Vajrapāṇi, etc., the record closes with the hope that the fame of Pushyamitra's son (*i.e.*, Buddharuchi) would last as long as the milky ocean, the Mēru mountain and rivers would endure. The last line contains only two letters which seem to read *dāḍhā* and perhaps refer to the tooth relic of Śāradvatīputra on which the *stūpa* was erected.

Pandit Bhagvanlal, who first read correctly the dynastic name Traikūṭaka, connected it with the expression containing the date, and understood it to mean the two hundred and forty-fifth year of the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas. He, therefore, thought that he had found in the present plate a clear statement that the era known as the Kalachuri or Chēdi era was founded by the Traikūṭakas, who, in later times, assumed the dynastic name of Haihaya or Kalachuri². This view was at first accepted by Fleet³, but later on⁴ he pointed out in his article on the era that the real meaning of the expression, in accordance with an early Hindu method of expressing dates, may just as well be 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 (of an unspecified era).' As a matter of fact, we find no dynastic or regional name associated with the era till the eleventh century A.C. The date of the present inscription would correspond to 493-94 A.C. or 494-95 A.C., according as the year 245 was current or expired. It does not contain any details for calculation.

¹ No details about the plate, e.g., its breadth, height and weight, have been recorded.

² See his article 'Two new grants of the Traikūṭaka dynasty' in the *P.V.O.C.*, pp. 212 ff.

³ *D.K.D. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II)*, pp. 294-95.

⁴ See his article 'Trikuṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi Era', *J.R.A.S.* (1905), pp. 566 ff.

As for the localities mentioned in this inscription, Kṛṣṇagiri is evidently Kanḥēri, and Sindhu *nishaya* the district of Sindh in North India. The village Kāṇaka, from which Buddharuchi hailed, I am unable to identify.

TEXT¹

- 1 नमस्तस्मै[श]ाय ॥ त्व[त्रै]कूटकाना[नां] प्रवर्द्धमानराज्य[ज्यै] स²वत्सरशतद्वये पञ्चचत्वारि[रि]शतसुतरे कृ[ण्ण]गिरिमहाविहारे
- 2 सि[न्धु]³विषया[स्तर्गा]तथा⁴मिकाणकवास्तव्य[ः*] सुप्रभायाः बुद्धभियाः पुण्यवर्मणश्च [पु?]नो दशबलबल[लि]—
- 3 नो भगवत्तथाक्यमुनेस्तस्मैस्तस्म[ु]दस्य तद्वर्म्म[श]ावकार्य⁵म[मि][को?][ः*] च[र]ण—परिचरणकुश[लो] बुद्धरुचिर—
- 4 दं तस्यैव परममुनेरप्रथमावकस्याय्यंशार[द्व⁶]तीपुत्रस्य चैत्य[त्यं] षट्तिपाषाणेषट्काभिराच—
- 5 [न्त्र⁷]ावकर्णवमि[सि]तिस्थितिसमकालीन[नं] प्रतिष्ठापितवा[वां]स्तदस्य देवय[क्ष]—सिद्धविद्याधरणमाणिभद्रपू—
- 6 णंभद्रपञ्चकार्यवज्रपाणिवाङ्मू[का?]दयः¹⁰ स्वस्ति दिशन्त्वपि च[1*] [म]ा[व]दीचि—(ची)सहस्रप्रचलि[त]मकरा—
- 7 बृ[र्ण]ावर्ण[णि]तावर्ततोय[ः*] क्षीरोदः क्षीरतोयो बृहदुपलब्धित⁸ककंशो वापि मेरुः [1*] यावद्व—(द्वा) यान्ति नद्य—
- 8 स्तुविमलसलिल[ला]स्सागरं तोयवत्यः तावत्कीर्ति¹¹ स्थिरेय[यं] भजतु शुभकरी सत्सुतं पुण्यनाम्न[ः*]॥१॥¹²
- 9 दाढा¹³(?) [1*]

¹ From the lithograph in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, A. S. W. I.

² Neither of the two *mātrās* on *tra* can be seen, but there is no uncertainty about the dynastic name which occurs in the two other records (Nos. 8 and 9). Pandit Bhagvanlal read त्रिकूटकानां.

³ There was evidently an *anusvāra* on *sa* which is responsible for the reduplication (wrong, of course,) of *s*. Pandit Bhagvanlal took the upper sign for *m*. Read संवत्सर—.

⁴ The vertical stroke joining what now looks like an *anusvāra* to the horizontal stroke of the superscript *n* has not come out in the lithograph.

⁵ Perhaps श्रामकार्य was intended. Bhagvanlal read शाने काणक.

⁶ The superscript *r* has been wrongly written like the medial *i*. The sign for the medial *i* on *bb* has not come out in the lithograph.

⁷ The superscript *k* of *kṣb* is cursive like that in *kṣhiti*, in line 5 of the Pārḍi plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8). Pandit Bhagvanlal proposed to read गण्यो, but the first *akṣhara* is probably *bba*. See *Supra-bhāṣā*.

⁸ The subscript letter appears like *sa*, but there is no uncertainty about the name.

⁹ The subscript curve appears like that of medial *ri*, but it is clearly a mistake of the scribe.

¹⁰ Pandit Bhagvanlal read बङ्गुणकादयः, but the first *akṣhara* has clearly the sign of medial *ā*. *Vāṇkaṇaka* may be a follower of *Vaṇkaṇa*. The latter is, perhaps, the prevailing diety of the *Vaṇka* mountain mentioned in some *Jātakas*. See, for instance, the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Eng. Tr. by Cowell and Rouse, Vol. VI, p. 266) The *Kaṭhāsaritāsāgara* mentions the *Vaṇkaṇaka* mountain.

¹¹ The *visarga* is dropped here by the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

¹² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹³ *D* is generally acute-angled in this record, but its rectangular form occurs in *pravarddhamāna*, l. 1. The second *akṣhara* of this word has the same form as *db* which occurs twice in l. 24 of the Sunao Kalā plates of Saṅgamasitha (No. 11). It can also be read as *phā* (See *spht* in l. 2 of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna, No. 9, above), but *dāphā* gives no sense.

TRANSLATION

Obeisance to the Omniscient (Buddha)! In the augmenting kingdom of the Traikūṭakas, in the year two hundred increased by forty-five, in the Great Monastery at Kṛishṇagiri, Buddharuchi, a resident of the village Kāṇaka included in the Sindhu *viśaya* (district), the son of the glorious Buddhaśrī and Pushyavarman, skilful in serving the feet of the holy Śākya sage who was mighty by the possession of the ten powers *and* attained complete enlightenment, (*and*) of the venerable monk who heard his law, has erected this *Chaitya* with dressed stones and bricks to last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (*which is*) dedicated to the venerable Śāradvatīputra the chief disciple of the same great sage (*i.e.*, Buddha).

(Line 5) Therefore, may gods, *yakṣas*,¹ *siddhas*,² *vidyādharas*,³ *gaṇas*, *Māṇibhadras*,⁴ Pūrṇabhadra,⁵ Pañchika,⁶ the venerable Vajrapāṇi,⁷ Vāṅkaṇaka⁸ and others bless it!

(L. 6) Moreover, as long as the milky ocean, the waters of the whirl-pools of which are whirled by the alligators tossed about by thousands of (*its*) waves, is an ocean of milk, as long as the rugged Mēru is piled with huge rocks, as long as rivers of very clear water flow with (*their*) water into the ocean — even so long may this lasting and auspicious fame resort to the excellent son of him (*who is*) named Pushya!

(L. 9). A canine tooth (?)

¹ A *Yakṣa* is a semi-divine being who is described as an attendant of Kubēra in Hindu mythology.

² A *Siddha* is a person possessed of eight supernatural powers, *aṣṭimā* and others.

³ A *Vidyādhara* is a supernatural being dwelling in the Himālayas.

⁴ A *Māṇibhadra* is a follower of Maṇibhadra, the brother of Kubēra, the prince of *yakṣas*. Perhaps the intended reading in the text is *Maṇibhadra*. Cf. *Pūrṇabhadra*.

⁵ *Pūrṇabhadra* is the name of a *yakṣa*, the father of Harikēśa.

⁶ *Pañchika* is the chief of the generals of Kubēra or Vaiśravaṇa. For his form, see the *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 156 ff.

⁷ *Vajrapāṇi* (Thunderbolt-bearer) is in Buddhist records sometimes identified with and sometimes differentiated from Śakra, the lord of gods. *Ibid.*, pp. 50 ff.

⁸ He is perhaps a follower of Vāṅkaṇa (the deity of the Vāṅka mountain?).

A.—KANHERI PLATE OF TRAIKUTAKAS: (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

*Copper Plate Inscription from Kanheri.
(Copied from Dr. J. Bird's "Historical Researches")*

[illegible]

INSCRIPTION OF SANGAMASIMHA

NO. 11; PLATE V B

SUNAO KALA PLATES OF SANGAMASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 292

THESE plates were discovered in November 1898. They were first published, with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Mr. A.M.T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, pp. 211 ff., and subsequently with a translation and photo-lithographs by Prof. Sten Konow in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 72 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs accompanying Prof. Sten Konow's article.

The copper-plates are two in number. They were found buried about two feet below the surface of a cart track in the village of Sunev Kulla in the Hansot Mahāl of the Broach District . . . The first plate is entire. The second has suffered damage (1) by the wrenching of the seal, which has destroyed a few *aksharas* in the first line and (2) by the breaking off of a piece of the left-hand edge, which has destroyed one *akshara* in line 4, two in line 5, two in line 6 and one in line 7 . . . The lower edge of the first plate was formerly attached to the upper edge of the second by two copper rings, one of which remains attached to each of the plates. The seal which was probably carried by the left-hand ring has been wrenched off and is lost. The letters are deeply cut and in many places show through on the back of the plates.¹ Each plate measures 12½" broad and 6½" high. The record consists of twenty-five lines, of which twelve are inscribed on the first, and the remaining thirteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is ¼".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Traikūṭaka grants. There is a triangular wedge at the top of letters except in the case of *b*, *p*, *ph* and sometimes of *l* and *r*. The initial *ṣ* which occurs in l. 12 shows a closed hook on the left. The medial *ō* and *au* are not clearly distinguished, compare e.g. *ō* in *yaśō-vāptayē* l. 11 and *au* in *Laukākeśhi* l. 6. *L* occurs in two forms: (1) with a short vertical as in *kulaputraka* and *kutala*, l. 3 and (2) with the vertical bent to the left as in *Gālava*, l. 5 and *phalaṇṭha*, l. 21. *Th* has the same form, whether it is independent or subscript, see e.g., *yathā*, l. 4 and *sthiti*, l. 9. A final consonant is indicated by a short horizontal stroke which takes the place of the wedge at the top; see *vasīt*, l. 20. The sign of the *Jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 15 and the symbols for 100, 90, 10, 5 and 2 in l. 25.

The language is Sanskrit and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 19-23, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases, see *sarvān*, l. 2, *Antar-Narmadā*, l. 4, etc.; so also *dh* preceding *y*, see *pād-ānuddhyāto*, l. 1. *Saṅgamasimha* for *Saṅgamasimha* and *karishayātām* for *karshayātām* are evidently due to the influence of the Prakrits.

The plates were issued by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious *Mahārāja*, *Saṅgamasimha* from *Bharukachcha*. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village *Śopavvā* in the *Antar-Narmadā vishaya* to five *Brāhmaṇas*, who were residents of *Bharukachchha*, on the occasion of the *Mahākārttikī*, i.e., the full-moon day of *Kārttika*. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices, *viṣ*, *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnikūtra* and *havana*. The grant was written by

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 211.

Vishṇushēṇa according to the order conveyed by the *Mahāpratihāra Gōpāḍhyaka*. The *dātaka*, was the *Sāndhivigrahika Rēvaḍhyaka*.

The inscription is dated, in the last line, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year 292 of an unspecified era. The *tithi* and the year are expressed in numerical symbols only. As the characters of the present record resemble those of Traikūṭaka grants, its date must likewise be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the date would correspond, for the expired year¹ 292, to the 20th October 541 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Saṅgamasimha calls himself *Mahāsāmanta*, which indicates his feudatory rank. Prof. Sten Konow called attention to the fact that 'the wording of our grant sometimes recalls the phraseology of the Sarsavṇī plates; compare ll. 18-19 with ll. 26-27 of the latter, and, especially, the end of the two grants, where we have, in both cases, first an instrumental (-*prāpit-ājñayā* and -*vijñāpanayā*, respectively), then a *bahuvrīhi* ending in -*dātakaṃ*, and followed by *likhitam* and finally the date expressed in the same way in numerical figures.'² From this he conjectured that Saṅgamasimha was a feudatory of the Kalachuris, who, down to the time of Buddharāja (609 or 610 A.C.), retained the command of the country round Broach. He thought that either Kṛṣṇarāja, the grandfather of Buddharāja, or his predecessor, must have been the overlord of Saṅgamasimha. A comparison of the wording of the present record with the phraseology of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna would, however, show that the former inscription bears a closer resemblance to the latter than to any record of the Kalachuris; for, besides the peculiarities noticed by Prof. Sten Konow, all of which are also found in the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna, our inscription has copied lines 16-19 *verbatim* from earlier records of the Traikūṭakas (see, e.g., lines 12-15 of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna), the only difference being the omission (evidently inadvertent) of *apadānam* after *avadātam*. Saṅgamasimha's present inscription was, therefore, drafted by a clerk, who had before him the earlier records of the Traikūṭakas. And this is not at all surprising, for Śōṇavvā, the village granted by the present charter, is only two miles to the north of the Kim which probably formed the northern boundary of the Traikūṭaka kingdom. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Saṅgamasimha had under his sway some territory which was previously ruled over by the Traikūṭakas. The similarity in the wording of the grants of Saṅgamasimha and Buddharāja is, therefore, due to the draftsmen of both having drawn upon earlier Traikūṭaka records.

The successors of Saṅgamasimha do not seem to have retained their hold over the Broach District for a long time; for within fifty years from the date of the present plates we find that the neighbouring country came under the rule of another feudatory, Niriḥulaka, of the Kalachuri Emperor, Saṅkaragana and soon after, we find Saṅkaragana's son Buddharāja himself, donating a village in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*.

As for the localities named in the present grant Bharukachchha, which was probably the capital of Saṅgamasimha, is modern Broach. The donees also were residents of this place. Śōṇavvā, the village granted, is probably Sunao Kalā, 18 m. west by south of Broach, where the plates were found. The Antar-Narmadā *vishaya*, in which it was situated, was, as its name indicates,³ a district comprising territory on both the sides of the Narmadā.

¹ If the year is taken to be current, the date would correspond to the 31st October 540 A.C.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 73.

³ The name *Antar-Narmadā* of the *vishaya* must be taken, as Dr. Fleet has shown (*Ind. Ans.*, XXXII, p. 56), to be a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, though the correct form in that case should be *Antar-Narmada*. It may be noted that the *Vāyuparāṇa* (*adhyāya* 45, ll. 130) speaks of *Antara-Narmada vishayas*. Cf. *Nāṣṭy-ādyaś=cha yā ch=ānyā yā ch=āiv=āntara-Narmadāḥ | Bhārukachchhāḥ (Bhārukachchhāḥ?) samābhyaḥ sahaśāśvatair=api* 11.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [स्वस्ति] [॥*] भद्रकण्ठान्मातापितृपादानु[अथा]तो म[हासामन्तश्री]महाराज-
संममसीहः³
- 2 सत्त्वनिव स्वान्नाजस्वादीयोपरिकुमारामात्मविषयपत्न्यारक्षिकप्रागिक-
- 3 कुलपुत्रकथाटभटादींस्तदावेशकारिणश्च कुशकमनुवर्ष्य समनुवर्ष-
- 4 यति [॥*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथास्माभिरन्तर्भर्म्मदाविषयान्तर्गतशोणव्याग्रामो भार-
- 5 कच्छकच्छन्मोयिसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणान्तदत्त⁴ तथा गालव-
- 6 सगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिप्रजापतिशर्म्म⁵ तथा लोकाक्षिसगोत्राध्युसब्रह्म-
- 7 चारिशिवदेव⁶ तथा लोहायनसगोत्राध्युसब्रह्मचारिभाणुदेव⁷ तथा पौ[र्ण]⁸स-
- 8 गोत्रबह्मचसब्रह्मचारिभवरुचिभ्यो¹⁰ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवन[प]ञ्च-
- 9 महायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्पणार्त्यमाचन्द्रार्ककर्णवग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः
- 10 सोमंस्सोपरिकरस्सभूतवातप्रत्यायोचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन
- 11 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोवाप्तयेच पृथ्यतमां
- 12 महाकासिकीतिथिमगीकृत्य¹¹ उदकातिसर्म्मय प्रतिपादितो(तः ।) यत एषां ब्राह्मणानां

Second Plate

- 13 उचितय[॥] ब्रह्म[देवाग्रहा*]रस्थित्या भुञ्ज[तां] कृषतां करिषयतां¹² प्रदिशतां च न केनचित¹³
- 14 निषेधे वतितव्य[मिति । एत*]द्व[॥][म]निवासिभिरप्यमीषां विधेयैर्भूत्वा समुचित-
- 15 मेयहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायोपनयः¹⁴कार्यः [॥*] भविष्यद्वाजमिश्वास्मद्वैश्वैरन्यैर्वा सा-
- 16 [मा*]न्यं भूमिदानपुण्यफलमभिवाञ्छन्निष्पन्नमवानभावानुबद्धानायुर्व्वियोगा-
- 17 [नुग*]तं गुणाश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानं च मुणवतामवदात¹⁵मिति
- 18 [प्रमा*]णीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः
- 19 [पा*]लयितव्यश्चेति ॥ उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति
- 20 [भू]मिदः [॥*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁶॥ [१*॥] बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्ता
राजभिस्स-

¹ From the lithograph facing p. 74 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read संममसीहः.

⁴ Read दत्तस्वया.

⁵ Read -शर्म्मा.

⁶ Prof. Stan Konow proposes to read गोत्राक्षि [*Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 75], but the *Gōtraspravarāṇibandha-kadamba* gives the *Laukīkīśi gōtra* under the *Āngirasa*.

⁷ Read शिवदेवस्तथा.

⁸ Read भानुदेवस्तथा.

⁹ Mr. Jackson doubtfully read षोड्धि, and Prof. Konow षोड्धि, but the aforementioned work on *gōtras* and *pravaras* does not give any *gōtras* of these names. Perhaps षीर्ण was intended for which see *ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰ Read भवरुचिरिष्येतेभ्यो.

¹¹ Read -मगीकृत्योक्ता-. Prof. Konow suggested -मगीकृत्यो-

¹² Read कर्षयतां.

¹³ Read केनचित्.

¹⁴ Some word like उपनय is omitted here. Compare 1. 13 of the *Sūrat Plates of Vyāghrasaṇa* (No. 9, above).

¹⁵ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anuṣṭup.*

- 21 गरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [2॥*] पूर्वदत्ता विजा-
तिभ्यो य—
22 त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) ॥ [३*॥] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतो—
23 यासु [शु]ष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयोभिजायन्ते पूर्वदायान्हरन्ति ये ॥ [४*]
24 महाप्रतीहारगोपाद्वचकप्रापिताज्ञया सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवावचकद्रुतकं
25 लि[लि]तं विष्णु(ष्णु)षेणेनेति ॥ सं २०० ९० २ कार्तिक शु १० ५ [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Bharukachchha—the *Mahāsāmānta*, the illustrious *Mahārāja*, Saṅgamasimha, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, having stated his good health,¹ informs all (his subordinates, such as) *Rājasthānīyas*,² *Uparikas*,³ *Kumārāmātyas*,⁴ heads of *vishayas*, *Arakshikas*,⁵ *Drāṅgikas*,⁶ *Kulaputrakas*,⁷ *chāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and others, as well as those who execute their orders (as follows):—

(Line 4). “Be it known to you that for obtaining religious merit and fame for Our mother and father and for Ourselves, We, availing Ourselves of the holiest *Mahākārttikī*⁸ *tīthi* today, have granted with a libation of water, the village *Śōṇavvā* situated in the Antar-Narmadā *vishaya* together with the *udraṅga*⁹ and the *uparikara*,¹⁰ as well as excise and octroi duties, (which is) not to be entered by *Chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, (and is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons, according to the maxim of uncultivated land—to the (following) residents of Bharukachchha, (*viṣ.*) the Brāhmaṇa Anantadatta of the *Chhandōgi gōtra* (who is) a student of the *Chhandōga* (i.e., *Śāmvēda*) (and) *Prajāpatīśarman* of the *Gālava gōtra*, (who is) a student of the *Chhandōga*, and *Sivadēva* of the *Laukākshī gōtra*,

¹ Prof. Sten Konow translates *kulalam=anuvarya* as ‘having greeted’. In the *Rāshtrakūṭa* and other records, the word *kulali* occurs in the same context, which shows that here also the king refers to his own good health.

² *Rājasthānīya*, lit., one who occupies the position of a king, probably in the administration of justice. Bühler calls attention to the definition of the term in Kshēmendra’s *Lōkaprakāśa*, *viṣ.*, *prajā-pālan-ārtham=udvabati rakshayati cha sa Rājasthānīyaḥ*, ‘he who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them is a *Rājasthānīya*’. In line 17 of the Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśō-varman (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 154) Abhayadatta is said to have protected some territory after the manner of a *Rājasthānīya*. So the term seems to indicate also the governor of a province. Kalhaṇa also mentions the office *rājasthāna* or *rājasthānādbikāra*. Stein, and following him, Vogel hold that the *Rājasthānīya* was an officer of justice. (See *A.C.S.* Part I, p. 122). Fleet was inclined to think that ‘Viceroy’ was too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent, because the *Rājasthānīya* is, in some records, mentioned ‘rather low down in the list of officials’. (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 157). It is noteworthy that in the present record the *Rājasthānīya* heads the list of officials.

³ *Uparika* is mentioned in some Gupta records as the head of a *bhukti* or Commissioner. The title *Mahārāja* is sometimes added to the term. The *Uparika Mahārāja*s recommended the appointment of *Vishayapatis* (heads of districts) who were subordinate to them. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 133). According to the definition given by Bṛihaspati, *Uparika* appears to have been a Magistrate. *Ibid.* XXIV, p. 134.

⁴ *Kumārāmātya*, lit. the councillor of a prince, was a title borne by several grades of officials such as ministers, provincial governors and heads of districts. (See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 71)

⁵ *Arakshika*, lit. a protector, was probably a police-officer.

⁶ *Drāṅgika*, derived from *draṅga* a town, is probably identical with the *Nāgarika* (the Mayor of a town) mentioned in Kauṭilya’s *Arthasāstra*, pp. 143 ff.

⁷ I. e. noblemen.

⁸ I. e. the full-moon day in Kārttika.

⁹ See above p. 21, n. 1.

¹⁰ See above, p. 21, n. 2.

(who is) a student of the *Adhvaryu* (*vīda* i.e., *Yajurveda*) and Bhānudēva of the Lōhāyana *gōtra*, (who is) a student of the *Adhvaryu* (*vīda*), (and) Bhavaruchi of the Paurṇa *gōtra*, (who is) a student of the *Rigvīda*, for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* (and) offerings to fire.

(L. 12) "Wherefore, none should cause any obstruction while these Brāhmaṇas are enjoying, cultivating, getting cultivated and directing (*others to cultivate the land in the donated village*) according to the customary rules of *agrahāras* granted to Brāhmaṇas. The residents of this village also, submitting to these (*Brāhmaṇas*), should make over to them the customary (*share*) of measurable (*things*), gold and other taxes. And kings of the future whether born in our family or others, desiring to share in the reward of the religious merit of (*this gift of*) land and considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are excellent, and wishing to accumulate for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift."

(L. 19) Moreover, the holy Vyāsa has said—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 24) (*This charter*), the *dātaka* of which is the *Sāndhivigrahika Rēvāḍhyaka*, has been written by Viśṇuśeṇa according to the (*royal*) order communicated by the *Mahāpratīkāra Gōpāḍhyaka*.

The year 200 (and) 30 (and) 2, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (and) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY KALACHURIS

No. 12; PLATE VI

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 347

THESE plates were found in the possession of a Rajput family of Ābhōṇa, a village in Kalvan *tāluka* of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof. K. B. Pathak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on one side only, each one measuring 9.7" broad and 7" high. Except for a mistake here and there, the writing on them has been well executed and is in a state of good preservation. Each plate has two holes, about .5" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally connected it with the other plate of the set, but no ring or seal was apparently discovered. The weight of the plates is 132 *tolas*¹. The record consists of thirty-four lines, seventeen being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is .25".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets.² The letters have, in most cases, a knob at the top, and show, as usual, some admixture of northern peculiarities. The *mātrās*, for instance, for the medial *ē*, *ai* and *au* are placed above the line, see *-vipulē*, 1.1, *guṇair-*, 1.6, *Kṛishṇarājō*, 1.5. The medial *au* is indicated by three *mātrās*, only the middle one of which rises above the line; see *pauṭr-*, 1.20 and *Gautama-*, 1.21; *kh* in *likhitam-*, 1.34 has a loop larger than its hook; *n* appears with a loop, while *t* is without it; see *gagana-tala*, 1.1; *n* generally appears in its southern form, its upper portion being undivided, see e.g., *guṇa-*, 1.2, but the northern form also occurs in a few places, see *keri-ōtsarppanāya*, and *puṇya*, 1.22; the vertical stroke of *l* is either shortened as in *tala*, 1.1, or is sharply turned to the left as in *vimala*, 1.1. Besides these northern characteristics, the following peculiarities of other individual letters may also be noticed:—the initial *i* is indicated by a curve with a notch in the centre over two dots, see *iva*, 1.5; the sign for initial *ē* in *ēva*, 1.4, is open on the left; the stroke for medial *ā* is generally bent down, and in some cases it is brought down lower than in the Traikūṭaka inscriptions,³ thus showing a later palaeographic stage, see *vicharatā-*, 1.8, *par-ābhimāna*, and *vinayāya*, 1.9; in a few cases (e.g., *nā* and *jñā*) it is turned upwards, see e.g., *Kaṣachchurī-ṇām-*, 1.3, *-ājñāna-*, 1.26, while in the case of *jā* it encircles the letter on the left, see *jāyantē*, 1.29; in medial *ī*, the length is denoted by a curve in the circle for short *i*, see *Ujjayani-*, 1.1; the medial *u* is marked in three ways (1) by lengthening the vertical stroke to end in a small curve as in *vipulē* 1.1; (2) in the case of letters whose vertical stroke already ends in a curve (e.g. *k*, *r*, etc.) by adding another curve to the vertical and turning it downwards, see *kumuda-*, 1.4; and (3) by turning the vertical stroke of the letter upwards to the right, see *pād-ānuddhyātāḥ*, 1.16; the medial *ṣ* also appears in two ways as in *bhūri-*, 1.13, and *yūthapa*, 1.7; *ḍ* is distinguished from *d* by its tail, see *-āpīḍita* 1.12; the subscript *ṇ* consists only of a loop cf. *-ārṇṇava* 1.20; *th* is shown either with a notch in the base as in *yūthapēna*, 1.7, or with a ringlet as in *-apratiratha-*, 1.10; in its subscript form, it is indicated by a curve curling to the right, see *sthiti*, 1.20

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 270.

² See *I. P.*, pp. 62 ff.

³ Nos. 8-10, above.

and *stbhyataś-*, ll. 24-25; *b* shows a notch on the left, see *vibhāḥana-*, l. 5, and *y* is tripartite, see *Ujjayani*, l. 1. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke on the top in ll. 19 and 30 and by its small size, in l. 28. Punctuation is indicated by double vertical strokes in ll. 29-31, 33 and 34. The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice in l. 4 and that of the *upadhmanīya* thrice, in ll. 8, 11 and 26. The numerical symbols for 300, 40, 10, 7 and 5 occur in l. 34. Of these the symbol for 7 deserves special notice, its upper curve being here separated from the vertical by a knob as in the Sirpur plate of the Mahārāja Rudrasēna.¹

The language is Sanskrit. Except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. Its eulogistic portion is composed in an ornate style which recalls that of Valabhi grants.² Again, as stated below, the present plates were issued from Ujjayani, which was for some time, a second capital of the Gupta Empire. The draftsman who composed the present record was probably well acquainted with Gupta inscriptions, from which he has evidently borrowed certain epithets which are employed here to eulogize the donor Saṅkaragana.³ It may, again, be noted that both in its eulogistic and formal parts, this record has several expressions which are either imitated or copied *verbatim* from the earlier Traikūṭaka grants.⁴ This shows that the Kaṭachchuri empire comprised some provinces which were previously under the rule of the Traikūṭakas. As regards orthography, the only peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many places, see, e.g., *durllaghē* l. 2, and *dharm-ārtha-*, l. 12, and that a class-nasal is often used instead of *anusvāra*, as in *kalanka*, l. 4.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Saṅkaragana of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty from his camp at Ujjayani. He was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and was the son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja 'who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati'. Saṅkaragana is described as the lord of the country extending from the eastern to the western ocean and of other lands.

¹ Line 9 of No. 4 above. Pandit Bhagvanlal read this symbol doubtfully as 8, but in view of the clear mention of the date in words in l. 34 of the present record, it will have to be taken as a sign of 7.

² Compare, for instance, the *utprākṣā* in *yas=saṁtraya-viśṣa-lōbbād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itaraiś=cha gṇair=apṣṭaś* in lines 5-6 with that in *rūp-lōbbād=iv=āśritāś sarasam=ābhigāmikair=gṇaiś* which occurs in connection with the description of Dharmasēna I in many Valabhi grants.

³ In his translation of the Sarsavati plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 300), Dr. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the epithets *prithivyām=apratirathāś*, *chatur=udadhi-sali-lāvādita-yasāś* and *Dharmada-Varna-Endr-Antaka-sama-prabhūvaś* which closely resemble (the last with a slightly different reading) those in Gupta records, see C. I. I., Vol. III, Text, pp. 8 and 53). Again, the expressions *pranati-mātra-superiśṣa-gambhīr-annata-bhīdayaś* and *chir-ōsamānāś nripati-nanīdānāś prātibhāpayitā* in this and other early Kalachuri grants recall *bhakti-avenati-mātra-grāhya-mrīdu-bhīdayatya* and *anika-bhrashṭa-rājy-ōsanna-rāja-vanika-prātibhāpama-* in the Allahabad stone inscription of Samudragupta (*Ibid.*, p. 8.)

⁴ Thus the epithet *sanyak-prajā-pālana-ābhigata-bhūri-draviṇa-vitrāṇa-dvāpta-dharma-kriyāś* and *puruṣa-para-samudr-ant-ādī-dīśa-svāmī* in lines 13 and 15 respectively of the present record are obviously suggested by *iva-bhūja-paripālana-pratāp-ābhigata-prachara-draviṇa-vitrāṇa-dvāpta-sarva-dig-vyāpi-sukla-yasāś* and *Aparant-ādī-dīśa-pati* in the earlier Traikūṭaka records like the Surat grant of Vyāghrasēna (See lines 2-3 of No. 9 above). The expression *sarva-dītya-viśṣi-parihīṇaś* in line 11 of the latter record was adopted by the official draftsman of the Early Kalachuris, who only inserted *prātibhāḍika* in it. Again, the expressions *ś-chandr-ārka-ārṇava-kṣiti-sthiti-sama-hāṁināś* (l. 20), *abbhū-ānugatān=asārān=vibhavan=dirgha-kāla-stbhyataś=cha gṇaiś=ākalayya* and *śaśi-kara-ruchirāś chīrṇya yasāś=chīchir(chā)śubhīr=ayam=śamud-dītya-namantayāś pālāyitayāś=cha* in lines 24-5 of the present grant are plainly borrowed, with some changes like the inversion of the order of words, from Traikūṭaka records (See e.g., lines 11-14 of No. 9 above). The same can be said of the manner of inserting the name of the *Dātaka* in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound qualifying the word *likhitam*.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Śaṅkaragaṇa, of a hundred *nivartanas* of land, measuring forty *nivartanas* on either side, in the village Vallisikā which was situated in the *viśaya* (district) of Bhōgavardhana. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa¹ of the Taittiriya *sākhā* and Gautama *gōtra* residing at Kallivana. The purpose of the grant, which was made at the request of Gōggā,² is stated to be to provide for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites.

The grant is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa of the year 347. Though no era is specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. It does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details, but according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. which suits other verifiable early dates of the era, the date of the present grant would correspond, for the expired year³ 347, to the 3rd August 597 A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Ujjayanī is, of course, modern Ujjain in Central India. Kallivana, where the donee was residing is modern Kalvan, the chief town of the Kalvan *tāluka* of the Nāsik District. It may be noted in this connection that the present plates were found at Ābhōṇa which lies only seven miles west of Kalvan. Bhōgavardhana, the headquarters of the district in which the donated village was situated, is probably Bhōkardhan (20° 16' N. and 75° 46' 36" E.) in the Hyderabad State, where a large Brahmanical cave temple of about 8th century A.D. has been recently excavated.⁴ Vallisikā is modern Valsā, 7 miles south of Bhōkardhan.⁵

¹ Prof. Pathak read the name of the Brāhmaṇa in line 21 as *Ābmaṇasvāmin*. The first *akṣara* of this word is certainly not *ā*, the form of which may be seen in *āchchhāṭṭā*, l. 28. I read it as *prā* which, I think, is incorrectly written for *brā*. The scribe has confused *p* and *b* in another place also, see *prastāb-āṭi-saya* for *pratāp-āṭi-saya* in line 11. Strange as it may appear, the proper name of the donee, which ought to have been inserted between *brāhmaṇa* and *svāmin*, has been inadvertently omitted here. Compare the names of the donees *Brāhmaṇa-Bōdhasvāmin* and *Brāhmaṇa-Bappasvāmin* in other Kalachuri grants Nos. 14 and 16, below). Similar names of donees with the prefix *Brāhmaṇa* occur in the records of the Traikūṭakas and Maitrakas also.

² This lady may have been the queen of Śaṅkaragaṇa. As for the absence of any title like *Mahārājñī* in connection with her name, it may be pointed out that neither Kṛishṇarāja, nor Śaṅkaragaṇa is called *Mahārāja* in this or any other grant of the Early Kalachuris.

³ The usual practice is to cite expired years. Current years are cited only exceptionally. If the year 347 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 15th July 596 A. C. Prof. Pathak gives the 27th July 595 A. C. as the corresponding Christian date, evidently taking the year 347 as current and applying the epoch A. D. 247-48 which Dr. Kielhorn finally fixed on the evidence of later Kalachuri dates. But this epoch does not suit early dates of the Kalachuri era as admitted by Kielhorn himself. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, n. 6 and 7.

⁴ *A. B. I. A.*, (1935), pp. 31-32. Bhōgavardhana is mentioned in several inscriptions at Sānchi. See e.g. Nos. 156, 162, 163, etc. *M. S.* Vol. I, pp. 315 ff.

⁵ Mr. Gupte has suggested the identification of Vallisikā with Vārasi, about 8 miles south of Kalvan (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 270); but as the Vaḍṇēr grant of Buddharāja (No. 14 below) shows, the country round Vaḍṇēr, which is only about 16 miles south of Kalvan, was included in the *bhāga* of Vāṇanagara. So the country round Kalvan is not likely to have been included in a different *viśaya* like Bhōgavardhana. Mr. Gupte's alternative identifications of Vallisikā with Bālhēgāon near Ujjain and of Bhōgavardhana with Bōgtē near Bālhēgāon are also unlikely; for, the plates were found in the Nāsik District, and as shown above, better identifications of the localities with places not far from the eastern limit of that District can be proposed. Kallivana is also mentioned in the Mundkhēde plates of the Śēndraka king Jayaśakti. See *Q. B. I. S. M.*, Vol. XVII, p. 52 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [11*] विजयस्कन्धावारावुज्जयनीवासकाञ्चरुपगमप्रसन्नगममलविमलविपुले
2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिरावभासिते महासत्त्वा (त्वा) पात्रयदुर्लभे गाम्भीर्यवति स्थित्य—
3 नृपालनचरे महोदधाविष कटञ्चुरीणामन्वये³ सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिक[ये]⁴ च कीर्त्या
4 भुवनमवभासयन्ता जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरः⁵ कलङ्कदोषरहितः⁶ कलकुमुद—
5 वनलक्ष्मीविबोधनवचन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्तं धयविशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकै—
6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्येन च शशिरव—
7 शशोभिना नियतमस्त्वलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिभ्या वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि—
8 शङ्क विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रहः⁷ परा—
9 भिमानमङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विमवाञ्ज्वलं प्रदानाय प्रदानं चर्म्मय चर्म्मः श्रेयोवा—
10 प्तये [12*] तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरक्षतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा वनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तक—
11 समप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपातोज्जितराजश्रीः⁸ प्रतापा (पा) तिशयोपनतसमप्रसामान्त⁹—
12 मण्डलः परस्परापीडितधर्म्मार्थकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नत—
13 हृदयस्तस्यकप्रजापालमाधितभूरिद्रविणविभ्राणनादात्तधर्म्मत्रियश्चिरोत्सन्ना—
14 नां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्धकु (कु) पणसममिल—
15 पितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितु—
16 पादानुद्धातः परममाहेस्वरः श्रीशङ्करमणः सवर्णव¹⁰ राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय—
17 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी¹¹ त्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु यो विदितमस्माभिः¹²

Second Plate

- 18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्गतवत्सलसिकाग्रामे¹³ उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना
19 भूमेन्निवर्त्तनशतम् (त) सर्वदानसंभ्राष्टं सर्ववित्त्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि—
20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्राकर्ण्यभक्तिस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयो [प*] भोक्तृ
21 कलिवनवास्तव्यगीतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसङ्ग्रहचारिप्रा¹⁴ ह्युपस्वामिण बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा—
22 गिहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोगाविज्ञापनया¹⁵
23 उदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टं (ष्टम्) [13*] यतोस्मद्वैरन्वैर्वा नृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन—
24 प्रेरितोदविजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जि (जी) वलोकमभावागुगतानसारान्विभ्रवान्दीर्घकालस्वयस—
25 एव गुणानाकलम्य भोगसामान्यभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकरश्चिरं चिराय यशश्चिचिर्षुभि¹⁶—
26 रयमस्मद्भाषोनुमन्तव्यः¹⁷ पालयितव्यश्च [14*] यो बाह्मनतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नावाच्छिद्य—

¹ From the lithographs facing pages 296-97 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Prof. Pathak read कटञ्चुरीणा, but what looks like a dot after the vertical stroke of *chhu* is not joined to it and appears to be due to a fault in the copper.

⁴ The engraver seems to have first incised *chandrikay-cha* and then corrected it into *chandrikay-cha*.

⁵ Read समस्त—

⁶ Read सञ्चयेय.

⁷ Read —धिकारिकादीन्समाज्ञापयति [12*] अस्तु.

⁸ Read —मस्माभिर्भोगि.

⁹ Read प्राप्त उभय—

¹⁰ Read बाह्मण-स्वामिने. The name of the Brāhmana has been omitted inadvertently.

¹¹ Read विज्ञापनयोदका—

¹² Read विचिर्षुभि—

- 27 मानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्तं युक्तस्त्यादित्यु¹ क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [१*]
 28 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता वानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥²
 [१॥*] विन्ध्याट—
 29 बीज्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [१*] कृष्णाह्वो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*]
 बहुभिर्ध्वं—
 30 सुधा भुक्ता³ राजमिस्सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [३॥*]
 पूर्वदत्तां
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यस्माद्रक्ष युषिष्ठिर [१*] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं⁴ मपि च ॥ मानीह
 32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रा⁵ (द्वा) नानि धर्मात्पर्ययसस्कराणि [१*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
 साधुः
 33 पुनरादधीत⁶ ॥ [५॥*] संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंश⁷ कुत्तरके आचणशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां महा-
 पीलुः—
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाटपलिनेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७
 आचण शु १० ५ [१*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Ujjayani—

In the family of the *Kalachchuris*, which, resembling the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn; which is made resplendent by the multitude of the manifold excellences of the men (*born in it*) as the ocean is by the mass of the rays of its gems; which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals; which is endowed with serenity (*and*) is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds;—(*there was*) the illustrious *Kṛishnarāja*, who brightened the world with his fame which, like moonlight, attracted the minds of all people; who, from his very birth, was devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), revived the prosperity of his family, (*and therefore, though*) free from (*all*) defects, resembled the moon, (*which has spots*), which rests on Śiva and revives the beauty of clusters of night-lotuses. He⁷ was resorted to by all attractive royal qualities and other excellences as if out of a desire to find a choice resting place, was possessed of all the constituents of royalty⁸ (*and*) had properly acquired royal powers⁹ and attained successes. Shining with his illustrious lineage, with the flow of his charity always unchecked, and the greatness of his prowess well known, he conquered the regions marching about fearlessly, even as the leader of a herd of

¹ Read —स्त्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

² Metre of this and the next three verses: *Anushtubh*.

³ The sign for *i* is affixed to the right of the vertical of *k*, like that for medial *u*.

⁴ Read पालनम् ॥ [४॥*] अपिच.

⁵ Metre, *Indravajrā*.

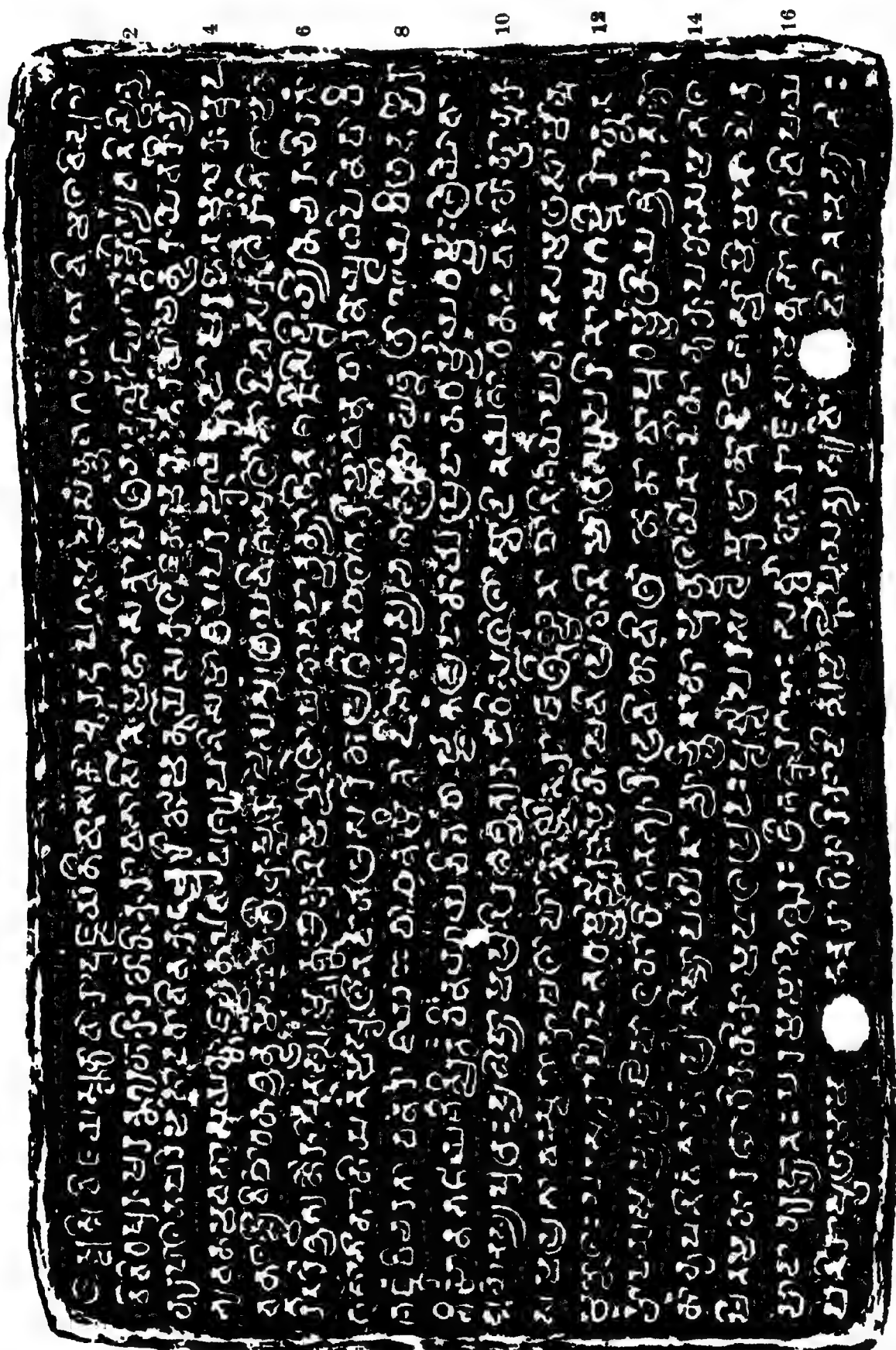
⁶ Prof. Pathak reads महापिलुः—, but as pointed out by the Editor (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, Additions and Corrections, p. viii), the medial *i* is long.

⁷ In the original, this and the succeeding sentences are relative clauses qualifying *śrī-Kṛishnarājap* in l. 5.

⁸ These are usually enumerated as seven, *viz.*, the king, ministers, allies, treasury, territory, fortresses and army. See *AK.*, II, 8, 18.

⁹ These are three, *viz.* *prabhuśakti* (power derived from the control of treasury and army), *utsaśakti* (power of personal energy) and *mantraśakti* (power of good counsel).

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 347



B. OH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36 - 778'51

ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

wild elephants, who looks splendid with his excellent back-bone, has an ever unceasing flow of rut and well-known might of strength, brings down rows of forest-trees, moving about fearlessly. He wielded his weapon (*only*) for the protection of the distressed, fought (*only*) for humbling the arrogance of his enemies, was engaged in study (*only*) for humility, acquired wealth (*only*) to spend it in charity, made gifts (*only*) for the sake of religious merit, and accumulated religious merit (*only*) to secure final liberation.

(Line 10) His son, the illustrious Śaṅkaragana — who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father; who is a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara; who is the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western oceans and of other lands; who has, on the earth, no adversary (*worthy of him*); whose fame has tasted the waters of the four oceans; whose prowess equals that of Dhanada (*i.e.*, Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*i.e.*, Yama)¹; who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings; to whom the circle of neighbouring princes has submitted, (*being subdued*) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (*in his case*) never come into conflict with one another; whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission; who has performed religious rites by spending, in charity, plenty of wealth which he had obtained by properly protecting his subjects; who has reinstated royal families, which had long been dethroned; who has exterminated such as had risen too high; who bestows, on the distressed, blind and poor people, abundant gifts which exceed their desires—issues this order to kings, feudatories, Bhōgikas², heads of *vishayas*³, Mahattaras⁴ of *rāshṭras*⁵ and villages, officials and others:—

(L. 17)—Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted, with a libation of water, at the request of Gōggā, land measuring a hundred *nivartanas*⁶ by a land measure (*nivartanin*) of forty (*daṇḍas*) on either side, in the village Vallisikā, situated in the *vishaya* of Bhōgavardhana—together with all receipts⁷ and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,⁸ (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhāṭas*⁹ according to the maxim of waste land¹⁰

¹ These are the guardians of the North, West, East and South.

² Bhōgika is the head of a *bhōga* which was a sub-division of a *vishaya*.

³ *Vishaya* was a territorial division corresponding to the modern district.

⁴ Mahattara, (a comparative form of *mahat*, great), occurs in Sanskrit literature in the sense of a chief person, see e.g. *Uttarāramcharita*, Act IV; *Naishadīyacharita*, canto III, verse 19. It is perhaps used here and other similar passages in the sense of the head of a province or a village.

⁵ *Rāshṭra* was a territorial division corresponding to the modern Commissioner's Division. The Añjaneri plates (l. 26) of Bhōgaśakti (No. 31, below) mention the *Gōpa-rāshṭra*.

⁶ It seems that there were several *nivartanas* in vogue. The *Līlāvati* (I, 6) mentions *nivartana* as a measure of land equal to 400 square rods, *i.e.*, 20 rods in length and in breadth. Kautilya (II, 20) mentions a *nivartana* measuring 30 *daṇḍas* (in length and in breadth) *i.e.*, 900 square *daṇḍas*, and Brihaspati follows him. The measure (*nivartanin*) intended here seems to be 40 (*daṇḍas*) on either (*side*) (*vishaya-chatyādrimśaka-nivartanin*) *i.e.*, equal to 1600 square *daṇḍas*.

⁷ *Adāna* (lit., receiving) probably has here the meaning of a tax.

⁸ Kings had prerogatives in respect of these. They are waived in the case of *agrabhūta* villages and lands. Compare *varva-nishṭi-paribhāra-parihṛita* and other expressions which occur in Vākātaka grants.

⁹ Compare *a-bhāṭa-papṭasān* in the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 87) and *a-bhāṭa-cchbhāṭa-prāṇṭya* in Vākātaka grants. In the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna (above, No. 9, l. 10) the qualifying expression *chāṭa-rāj-āpatihya-kāri-varjja(m)* is added to *a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-prāṇṭya*. The *bhāṭas* and *chāṭas* were forbidden to enter the *agrabhūta* villages except when they had to apprehend thieves and persons accused of high treason. They were evidently royal servants whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers.

¹⁰ *i.e.*, with full proprietary rights. He who brought waste land under cultivation became the absolute owner of it. Cf. *MŚM.*, *adh.* IX, v. 44.

and (*is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and son's sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa —svāmin¹ of the Gautama *gōtra* (*who is*) a student of the Taittiriya (*sākhā*) and a resident of Kallivana, for the performance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other religious rites.

(L. 23)—Wherefore, (*future*) kings and heads of *bhōgas*, whether born in our family or others, considering that (*this*) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost (*and, therefore,*) worthless, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and desiring to share in the reward of this donation of land which can be equally enjoyed (*by them*) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely as moon-beams, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 27)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*:—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 33)—In the year three hundred increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth (*lunar, day*) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, this (*charter*), the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupatī* Pāśupata, was written by Vātyali, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The year 300 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 7, (*the month*), Śrāvaṇa, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

NO. 13; PLATE VII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA

THIS plate was apparently discovered at Saṅkhēḍā, the chief town of the Saṅkhēḍā *prant* of the Baroḍā District in the Bombay State. It was edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Mr. H.H. Dhruva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

The plate measures 8.3" broad and 3.9" high, and is inscribed on one side only. It is the first plate of a set which originally consisted of two plates. They were held together by two rings passing through holes about .3" in diameter at the top of each plate; but neither the rings nor the seal, if there was any, was apparently found. The weight of the plate is not recorded. The plate has lost small pieces at the top and both the sides of the bottom. This has caused the partial or total loss of about twenty-two *akṣaras*, which can, however, be restored conjecturally. The extant portion of the inscription, which consists of twelve lines, is in a good state of preservation. The writing was very carelessly executed. As will be seen from the subjoined transcript, the record contains numerous mistakes due to careless writing or engraving, especially in ll. 9-12. The average size of letters is .2".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with the usual admixture of northern peculiarities. They resemble in a general way, the characters of the Ābhōṇa plates of Saṅkaragana. The only peculiarity that need be noticed here is the form of the medial *ṣ* in *vadhṣ* in l. 3. The language is Sanskrit and the extant portion of the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any notice except that the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *kirtti*, l. 4 and *ri* is used for the medial vowel *ṛi* in several places; see *Krishṇarājap* l. 2, *Balādhikṛita* l. 3, etc.

¹ See above p. 40, n. 1.

The plate was issued from the victorious camp fixed at Nirgunḍipadraka by Sāntilla, the *Balādhikṛita* (Military Officer) of Nirihullaka who bore the titles *Bhōgikapālaka*¹ and *Mahāpīlupati*.² Nirihullaka is described as meditating on the feet of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa who had obtained victory in many battles and who was the son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a field, requiring one *pitaka* of paddy as seed, which was made by Sāntilla on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the increase of religious merit and fame of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, i.e., probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The field was situated on the western boundary of Śrī-Parnakā which was included in (the territorial division of) Taṇḍulapadraka. The donee was *Bhāṭṭika* Anantvāmin of the Kautsa *gōtra*, who was a student of the Vājasaneyā or White Yajurveda and a resident of Pāshāpihrada. The gift was intended to provide for the performance of the religious rites of the five great sacrifices.

Dr. Bühler first suggested that Śaṅkaragaṇa, whose name has been wrongly written as Śaṅkaraṇa in l. 3, was identical with the *Kapachchuri* (or *Kalachuri*) Śaṅkaragaṇa. Sāntilla, who issued the present plate, was only a military officer. He seems to have obtained a great victory, to commemorate which he made this grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse; for he did it not for his own religious merit and fame, but for those of his great lord (*Paramabhāṭṭāraka*) who was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. He was obviously acting in anticipation of the latter's sanction; so he communicates his order not only to the officers serving under him, but to those directly appointed by the king. He mentions here his immediate superior, the *Bhōgikapālaka* and *Mahāpīlupati* Nirihullaka, probably because he was governing the territory in which the donated village was situated.

The plate does not contain any date, but the mention of Śaṅkaragaṇa as the reigning sovereign shows that the inscription must be referred to the last quarter of the sixth century A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Mr. Dhruva identified Pāshāpihrada with Saniādari, about 14 miles north by east of Sankhēḍā, for 'hrada would be masculine *dharō* and feminine *dharī* in Gujerāṭi and *Pāshāpi* would drop its *Pā*, as Bagumrā has done with its *Bā* in having Gumrā, and give Saniā and thus we get Saniādari.³ His further suggestion that Taṇḍulapadraka is Tāndaljā is also acceptable, as the latter is only two miles west of Saniādari. But his identifications of Nirgunḍipadraka with Nāgarvāḍā, 6 *kos* from Dabhoi and Śrī-Parnakā with Paniu, now desolate, 5 *kos* from Dabhoi, are doubtful, as the places are not in the vicinity of Saniādari and Tāndaljā. I am, however, unable to suggest any other identifications.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ स्व[स्ति][१*] नि[र्गु]णिकप[द्र]कावस्थितविजयकटकात् [स][कल*][क्षि][तिपत्य*]
- 2 च्वितचरणकमलः श्रीकि(कु)ष्णराजः तसू(त्सू)नुरनेकस[म]रविजय[प्राप्तकी*]—
- 3 तिरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजम्लानिकरः श्रीशंकरणःस्तत्पादानुदधा⁶स्सकल—

¹ The present grant shows that the *Bhōgikapālaka* was not an altogether petty officer, for Nirihullaka who bore that title had a military officer under him. The *Bhōgikapālaka* seems to have been the chief of the *Bhōgikas* who were probably identical with *Bhōgapatis* or heads of subdivisions to whom royal orders are often addressed.

² *Mahāpīlupati*, the great commander of the elephant force, is a technical official title.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 23.

⁴ From the lithograph facing p. 22 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read श्रीशंकरणस्तत्पादानुदधात—.

- 4 महीमण्डलतलप्रभी (यि) तर्कितिभोगिक¹ पालकमहा[प]लुपति² निरिहुल्ल—
 5 कस्तहृद (इ) लाधिकि (क) तशान्तिल्ल[:*] सम्भनेव परमपादीयात्स्वांश्वा³ वेदयति [1*]
 6 [य]वा पाषाणिहृद⁴ वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेम⁵ सङ्गहाचारिणे
 7 भट्टिक⁶ नन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्म⁷ क्रियोत्प (त्स) षण्णाय परमभट्टा—
 8 रकपादानां पुण्ययशोभिनि (वृ) दये तण्डुलपद्रकान्त[र्ग]केत⁸ श्रीपण्णका—
 9 [यां] पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेक्ष्य⁹ पत्रपीकान्वयाभोज्य¹⁰ आदि—
 10 [त्यो*] परागकाल¹¹ मुदकातिसर्गेण व्रीहिपिटकवापक्षेत्रं आञ्चम्य¹²
 11 वषिति [ि] तिसमकालीन¹² प्रतिपादित¹³ ह असत्त्वा¹⁴
 12 ररानुव्याया¹⁴ भन्ननिपतिभिः¹⁵

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Nirguṇḍipadraka—

(There was) the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja whose lotus-like feet were worshipped by all kings. His son (is) the illustrious Śaṅkara[ga]ṇa who has obtained glory by his victories in many battles, who has made the lotuses, namely, the faces of the enemies' wives, fade. Meditating on his feet (there is) the Bhōgikapālaka and Mahāpīlupati Nirihullaka, whose fame is well known on the globe of the whole earth. His Balādhikṛita (Military Officer) Śāntilla informs (the officers) of the Great Lord (Śaṅkaragaṇa) and his own as follows:—

(Line 6) To Bhaṭṭika Anantasvāmin of the Kautsa gōtra, (who is) a student of the Vājasaneyī (śākhā) and a resident of Pāshāṇihrada, there has been granted, with (a libation of) water, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the performance of the religious rites, (viz.) the five great sacrifices, for augmenting the religious merit and glory of the Great Lord, a field requiring one pīṭaka¹⁶ of paddy as seed, situated on the western boundary of Śrī-Parnakā which is included in (the sub-division of) Tanḍulapadraka, (which is) not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, (and which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as [the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure.]

¹ Read कीर्तिभोगिक—.

² Read महापीलुपति—.

³ Read परमपादीयान् स्वांश्वा—.

⁴ Dhruva read हृद, but the lower curve is not curled.

⁵ Read वाजिसनेय—.

⁶ Dhruva read भजिक, but the *akshara* resembles ट्टा in भट्टा at the end of this line, and about the reading of the latter there can be no doubt. Read भट्टिकानन्तस्वामिने. For भट्टि which, like वाहण, was prefixed to the names of Brāhmanas, see the names of भट्टिसुबंदिन and other donees of the Navalākhi plates of Śītāditya 1—Dharmāditya, G. E. 286 [Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 179].

⁷ The sign of *repha* on this ligature is indistinct.

⁸ Read तण्डुलपद्रकान्तर्गत—.

⁹ Read सीमन्यचाटभटप्रावेक्ष्य.

¹⁰ Read पत्रपीकान्वयभोज्य.

¹¹ It would be better to read काल उदका—.

¹² Read क्षेत्रमाचन्नाकार्णवसितित्तिसमकालीन. The text is very incorrectly written here and in the following two lines.

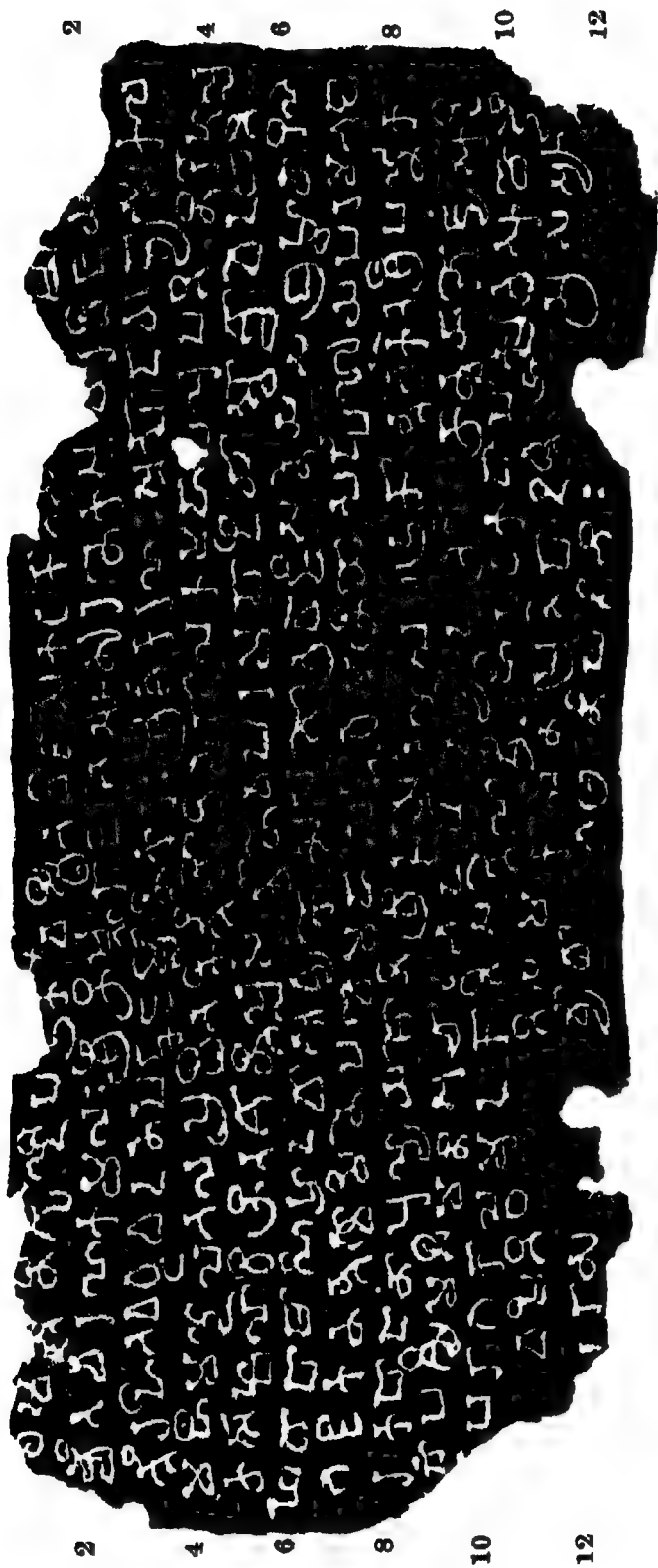
¹³ Read प्रतिपादितम्. The following *akshara* is redundant.

¹⁴ Read अतोस्मद्वस्वेरन्यथा.

¹⁵ भन्ननिपतिभिः. The second plate, which is lost, must have contained the concluding words of this sentence such as अयमस्मदाद्योनन्तव्यः वाचयितव्यश्च । (See Ābhōṇa plates, No. 12, above)

¹⁶ Pīṭaka (lit., a basket) is a measure of capacity.

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA



(L. 11) Therefore [this gift should be consented to and preserved] by good kings [whether born in our family¹ or others]—

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

NO. 14; PLATE VIII

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 360

THESE copper-plates, two in number, were found in the possession of one Nānā valad Ahilāji Tīdkē of Vaḍnēr in the Chāndvaḍ Tāluka of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr. Y.R. Gupte, who has edited them, with lithographs and a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 30 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

Mr. Gupte has given the following description of the plates²—“The plates are substantial. The first of them measures from 10½” to 10¾” long by 8” broad including the rims. . . . The second measures about 10½” long by from 8¼” to 8½” broad including the rims. . . . The plates have two holes from ¾” to 1” in diameter for the insertion of the two original rings, which have been lost. Whether there was any seal or not, I cannot confidently say. There are, however, no traces of one, just as is the case with Sarsavṇī plates. When the grant came under my notice, the Vaḍnēr plates were held together by two thin rings recently made. The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. Either of them bears writing on the inner side only. The second plate is a little broken at the right rim where line 28 ends. The weight of the plates is 129 tolas, without the rings. The letters are very deeply and well cut. They do not show through on the reverse side at all. Some are, however, damaged and some have been completely destroyed by verdigris. As the text of the inscription is for the most part identical with that of the Ābhōṇa and Sarsavṇī plates, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. There are thirty-four lines in all, seventeen being inscribed on either plate. The average size of letters is .2”.

The characters resemble those of the Ābhōṇa plates. The only points that call for notice are as follows:—There appear more wedges than knobs at the top of letters; the former are, again, in some cases, especially when the sign for medial *ā* is added, replaced by short horizontal strokes. The superscript curve in the sign for initial *ī* appears like that for *ṛ* in *iva* and *idam* in ll. 17 and 34 respectively. See also the sign for the superscript *ñ* in *chañchalam*, l. 24. The sign for initial *ī* in *īsha*, l. 19, slightly differs from that used in the Ābhōṇa plates. The medial *ī* is generally shown by a slanting vertical stroke, curved at the top, see *varāt*, l. 28; but see *sarvāt=iva*, l. 17, where it appears as a curve encircling the letter *n* on the left. *N* everywhere appears in its northern form. *L* has in all places a short vertical stroke. The sign for the *jihvāmālīya* occurs twice in l. 4 and that for the *spadhmālīya* in ll. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 23, 25 and 31. Punctuation is indicated by a dot in ll. 19, 30 and 31 and by two vertical strokes in ll. 27-30. The numerical symbols for 300, 60, 10 and 3 occur in l. 34.

The language is Sanskrit and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may

¹ As the grant was made by a military officer, this statement is inappropriate here. It seems to have been blindly copied from royal charters.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 31.

note that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated as in *durllanḡhā*, l. 2, *vibhav-ārjjanam*, l. 8 etc.; so also *dh* preceding *y* in *-ānuddhyāta*, l. 14, *-Māddhyandina-*, l. 21. The *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *n* in *pradhvansa-*, l. 16. In *sētu sthitiṇām*, l. 16, the *visarga* is dropped in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36. The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in some cases, especially at the end of lines, see e.g., *cha anumantā*, ll. 27-28 where *ch=ānumantā* is required by the metre. A case of wrong *sandhi* occurs in *yān=iha*, l. 30.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Buddharāja of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his victorious camp at Vidiśā. He is described as the son of the illustrious Saṅkaragaṇa who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The latter was himself the son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati. The epithets of Kṛishṇarāja and Saṅkaragaṇa are here copied *verbatim* from earlier charters of the dynasty (e.g., the Ābhōṇa plates of Saṅkaragaṇa). The description of all the three princes is quite conventional and yields no historical information.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Buddharāja, of the village Koṇiyānām (*vāṭaka*?) adjacent to Bhaṭṭaurikā in the *bhōga* (subdivision) of Vaṭanagara for augmenting the religious merit of himself and his parents. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was a student of the Vājasaneyā, Mādhyandina (*sākhā*) and a resident of Vaṭanagara. The gift was intended, as usual, to provide for the performance of the religious rites such as *hālī*, *churu*, *agnihōtra* and *vaiśvadēva*. The record was written by Ānāphita, the Great Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War at the request of the queen Anantamahāyī of the Paśupata faith. The *dātaka* was the Mahābalādhiḡṛita Prasahyavigraha.

The inscription is dated in words in l. 32 and in numerical symbols in l. 34, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 360. This date, like that of the Ābhōṇa plates, must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year 360, to the 8th August 610 A.C.¹ It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, Vidiśā is modern Besnagar near Bhilsā in Central India. That the Kalachuri empire once comprised the province of Eastern Malwa is also shown by the discovery of some coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the grandfather of Buddharāja, during excavations at Besnagar.² Vaṭanagara, the headquarters of the *bhōga* (sub-division) in which the donated village was situated, and the place of the donee's residence, is obviously identical with Vaṇnēr where the plates were discovered. It may be noted in this connection that the Vaṇi-Diṇḡōri plates of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III³ mention the Vaṭanagara *vishaya* (district) as situated in the Nāsika *dēśa*. Vaṭanagara was thus the chief town of both the *bhōga* and the

¹ If the year 360 is applied as current, the date would correspond to Tuesday, the 19th August 609 A. C. Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillay gives two other equivalents, viz. Friday, the 11th August 607 A. C. and Thursday, the 29th August 608 A. C. Of these the first is impossible as the Kalachuri year did not begin in Bhādrapada. Though Kielhorn held that view at first (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215), he gave it up later on. (See his article entitled 'Die Epoch des Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 33ff.) The second date also is improbable because the epoch 247-248 A. C. on which it is based, does not suit other early dates of the era which admit of verification.

² *A. R. A. S. I.* (1913-14), p. 214.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

viskaya named after it. I identify *Bhāṭṭaurikā* with *Bhāṭōrā* about 11 miles north-west of Vadner and about 2 miles north of Vapi.¹ *Kōpiyānām*² (*vāṭaka*?) may be Kanhuvāḍī, about 5 miles north by east of *Bhāṭōrā*.

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 तिष्ठम् [स्व]स्ति [॥^१] विजयस्कन्धाकाराद्विद्यावासकाच्छरकुपममप्रसन्नमसमतलविमलविपुल-
विबिम्बपुम्-
- 2 [ध]र[स्व]नृपकिरण[निक]रावमासिते महासत्त्वा(स्वा)पामयदुर्लभे गाम्भीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपाल-
नपरे महोदधौ-
- 3 [वि]म [कट]कुरीणा[मन्वये सकलजन्म]मनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या [भु]वनमयभासमन्नाजन्मन-
[एव वत्]-
- 4 [पतिसमा]श्रयपरः कलङ्क[दोष]रहितः कुलकुमुदवनल[क्ष्मी]विजयमयवन्त्रमा इव [भी]कृष्णराजो[यः]
5 [संश्रय]विशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगाभिकैरितरेष्व नृपैरपेतस्तत्पद्मकि (भु) तिमण्डलो यथा [वत्]
6 आत्मन्याहितकविसिद्धिर्भवेत् न च रुचिरवंससोमिना नियतमस्कलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितवलगरिम्णा
7 वनवारणयूथपेतेवाविशङ्कं विवस्ता वनराज्यं इवावममिता विप्रो अस्य च सत्त्वमोपपन्न-
8 त्रा[णा]य विग्रहः परामिमानमंगाम विस्मितं विमयाय विमवाज्जैनं प्रदामाय प्रधानं चर्मा[य]
9 [धर्म]रक्षेयो[वा]प्तये [॥^१] तस्य पुत्रः पुत्रिव्यामप्रतिस्वकतुल्यदक्षिणैकललास्वादितयथा वनवध-
नेन्द्रान्त[क]-
- 10 [सम]प्रभावस्त्वबाहुबलोपासोऽपि जतराजभीः प्रतापतिमायोपनतसमसामन्तमन्त्रलः
11 परस्परानीहितचर्मात्त्वकासनिवेदी प्रणतिमायसुपरितोषगम्भीरो भवतु दयस्त्वम्वप्रकजापालना [वि]-
12 गतभूरिप्रविणविद्यागमावाप्तधर्माकिञ्चिद्विरोत्तमत्वा नृपतिवेषाणां प्रतिष्ठापयिता अत्युच्छ्रितानां
13 उन्मूलयिता दीनान्त्र[कि]पणः समभिलषितमनोरथाधिकनिकायकलप्रदः पुष्पापरतमुद्रान्तादि-
वेशस्वाभी
- 14 [मातापि]तुपावानुद्धातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करजगत्स्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातस्सक[ल]
महीमन्त्रलैक-
- 15 तिलकस्तातिशयप्रवि[त]नयविनयदवाधानदास्त्वदात्मिभ्यैर्व्यंशीर्ष्यै [स्वै]भ्यर्वा[भ]क्षेभ्यु[पसमन्वि]तः
16 प्रवलरिपुबलोद्भूतवर्षविमवप्रध्वन्स^३हेतुस्तेषु स्थितीगाना[यलनं] सिद्धेरप्रतिह^४[लचक्रः]
17 चक्रवर इवा[त्ति]प्रशमनकरः प्रजानां परममाहेश्वरः श्रीबुद्ध[राज]स्तर्वाविद राज-

¹ Mr. Gupte identifies *Bhāṭṭaurikā* with *Bhāṭgaon* about nine miles from Vadner; but its name does not exactly correspond to *Bhāṭṭaurikā*, and we have, therefore, to suppose that *urika*, the second part of the name has been omitted. *Bhāṭōrā*, on the other hand, is clearly derived from *Bhāṭṭaurikā*.

² Mr. Gupte says that *Kōpiyānām* means a village of the *Kōpiyas* who correspond to the modern *Kōḷis*. He does not, however, state which village of the *Kōpiyas* is meant here. Perhaps a word like *vāṭaka* has been omitted here. *Kōpiyānām vāṭaka* may be identical with Kanhuvāḍī.

³ From the photo-lithographs facing pp. 34 and 35 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read कुरण.

⁶ Read श्रीशङ्करजगः । इत्य.

⁷ Read मण्डल.

⁸ The lithograph shows a clear *ra* as *la*. Read -प्रतिहृत्प्रमवचक्र.

Second Plate

- 18 सामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी[न्*] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु¹ वो विदितमस्माभिः
 19 वटनगरभोगे भट्टडरिकाप्रत्यासन्नकोणिषाणां ।² एष ग्रामस्तोद्वङ्गस्तो[प]रिकरस्सर्वादान—
 20 संप्राप्त्यस्तर्ज्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रवेश्य³ आचन्द्रा[वर्का]—
 21 ण्णं व—
 22 [क्षि]तिस्थितिसमकालीनपुत्र⁴पौत्रान्वयभोग्यो वटनगरवास्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रवाजसनेयमाद्वयन्दिन—
 23 [स]ब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबोधस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्म—
 24 नश्च
 25 [पुण्याभिवृ]द्धये उदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वागामिनूपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन—
 26 प्रेरितो[दधि]—
 27 जल[तर]ङ्गचञ्चलं⁵ जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवादीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य
 28 सामान्य—
 29 भोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिश्शशिकररुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयित—
 30 व्यश्च [।*]
 31 [यो] वाजानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमाने वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयु—
 32 क्तस्स्या[त्]
 33 इत्सु[क्त]ञ्च⁶ [भ]गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*]
 34 आच्छेत्ता च
 35 अनुम[न्ता]⁷ च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णा—
 36 ह्यो हि जाय[न्ते]
 37 भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्ज्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 38 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 39 फ[लं](लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यात्नाद्रक्ष⁹ युधिष्ठिर । महि महीमतां श्रेष्ठ
 40 दानाच्छेयोनुपालनम् [॥४॥*] यानिह¹⁰
 41 द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
 42 साधुः पुनराद—
 43 दीत¹¹ [॥५॥*] इति ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये षष्ठ्यधिके भाद्रपदशुद्धत्रयोदस्यां पाशुपतराज्ञीराज्ञी¹²—
 44 अमन्तमहायीविज्ञापनया महाबलाधिकृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतकं [लिखितं]
 45 इदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतानाफितेनेति॥ सं ३०० ६० [भा]द्रपद शु १० ३ [॥*]

¹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

² The sign of punctuation is superfluous here. Read कोणिषाणां.

³ The usual reading of this word is प्रावेश्यः.

⁴ Read कालीनः पुत्र—.

⁵ Mr. Gupte reads चञ्चलं, but that the superscript letter is #, not #, is shown by the curve added to the subscript ch.

⁶ Read स्वाधिति । उक्तञ्च.

⁷ Read वानुमन्ता.

⁸ Metre of this and the three following verses : *Anushjubb*.

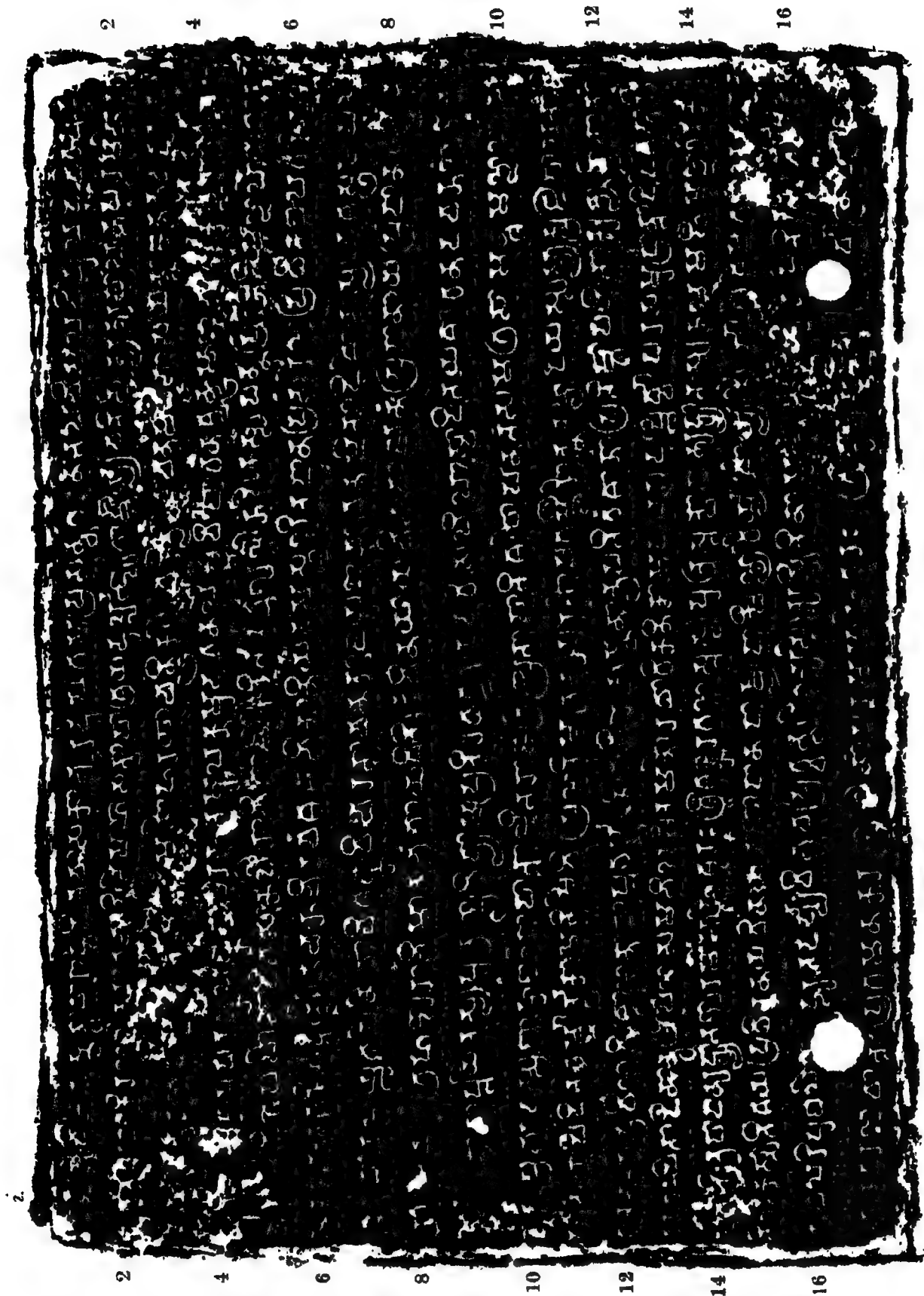
⁹ Read यत्नाद्रक्ष.

¹⁰ Read यानीह.

¹¹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹² This word is superfluous.

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 360



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TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Vidiśā—

(For a translation of lines 1—13, see above, pp. 42 f.)

(Line 14) His son, the illustrious Buddhārāja—who meditates on his feet; who is a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara; who is the sole ornament of the whole circle of the earth; who is the endowed with all the well-known excellences such as political wisdom, modesty, compassion, liberality, dexterity, courtesy, courage, bravery, firmness and others; who causes the destruction of the supreme arrogance, due to power, of mighty foes; who is a dam to safeguard all established customs, (and) a resting place of success; who, with his unimpeded army, allays the sufferings of the people even as Vishnu does with his irresistible discus,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, heads of *bhōgas*¹ and *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshtras* and villages, officials and others :—

(L. 18) 'Be it known to you ! For the increase of religious merit of (Our) mother and father and Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water the village (called the hamlet) of Kōṇiyas adjacent to Bhāṭṭaurikā (situated) in the Vāṭanagara *bhōga*, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who is a student of the Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and a resident of Vāṭanagara for the maintenance of *balī*, *chara*, *vaiśvadeva* and other (religious) rites.

(For a translation of lines 23-27, see above, p. 44.)

(L. 27) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 32) In the year three hundred increased by sixty on the thirteenth (lunar day) of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, this (order), the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahā-balādāhikṛita*, the illustrious Prasahyavigraha, has been written by Ānāphita, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of the queen Anantamahāyī, a devotee of Paśupati.

The year 300 (and) 60, (the month) Bhādrapada, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 3.

No. 15; PLATE IX

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 361

THESE plates were found in the possession of Patel Karsan Dāji of Sarsavni (Sarasavani), a village four and a half miles south of Padrā in the Padrā subdivision of the Baroda District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with photolithographs and a translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

"These are two copper-plates, either of which measures 10½" broad by 7½" high and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring 2½" and 2½" in diameter. There is no seal and no indication of one having been attached to the plates. The writing is well-done and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of letters is about ⅓".¹ The

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 294.

record consists of thirty-five lines, of which seventeen are inscribed on the first and eighteen on the second plate.

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Ābhōṇa plates.¹ We may notice here the following peculiarities:—Most of the letters have wedges at the top as in the Vaṇṇ plates;² the medial *ā* is indicated in many cases by a curve rising above the line and coming down lower than in the Vaṇṇ plates, see e.g. *pratāp-āṇṇay*, l. 10 and *dayā-dāna*, l. 15; *th* appears in two forms, the ordinary one as in *yathāvad*, l. 5 and the cursive one as in *prathita*, l. 6, *sthiṭi*, l. 16 etc; *y* has a loop in its left member in *yūtha* l. 6; *kh* shows two slightly different forms in *askhalita*, l. 6 and *likhitam*, l. 34; the forms of the initial *ō* in *Kumārivaṇṇaḍ*, l. 20 and of *ph* in *phala* ll. 13, 26 and 31 are also noteworthy. The *jihvāmālīya* occurs twice in l. 4 and the *upa-dhmāṇiya* four times in ll. 7, 24, 27 and 32. The numerical symbols for 300, 60, 10, 5 and 1 occur in line 35. The language is Sanskrit, and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *prithivyām*, l. 9; the consonant following *r* is correctly reduplicated in such cases as *durllanghō*, l. 2, *siddhir-yyōna*, l. 6, etc., but incorrectly in *varshsha*, l. 28; similarly *dh* is doubled before *y*, see *ānuddhyāta* twice in l. 14; the guttural nasal is wrongly used for *anusvāra* in *vaṇṇa*, l. 6, *vaṇṇānām*, l. 12, etc., and the dental one in *pradhvansa*, l. 16. There are a few mistakes of *sandhi* and some wrong forms as pointed out in the notes to the text.

The plates were issued by the king Buddharāja of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty, from the victorious camp at Ānandapura. He was the son of Śaṅkaragana who was himself the son of Kṛishṇarāja. The description of these kings is given here exactly as in the Vaṇṇ plates. In fact, the text of the whole inscription, except for certain particulars such as the donee, the village granted, and the date, is exactly identical with that of the Vaṇṇ plates. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Buddharāja, of the village Kumārivaṇṇaḍ situated near Brīhannārīkā in the Gōrajā bhōga which was included in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu, who belonged to the Pārāsara *gōtra*. He was a student of the Vājasaneyā Kaṇva *sākhā* and a resident of Dēbhaka. The purpose of the grant was as usual to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as *bali*, *charu*, *raśvadēva* and *agnihōtra*. The grant was made at the request of Gōkulasvāmin who may have been the king's family-priest. The *dātaka* was the Mahābalādhiṣṭha Prasahya-vigraha who is mentioned in the same capacity in the earlier Vaṇṇ plates.³ The royal order was written by Śivarāja, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.⁴

The inscription is dated, in words (l. 33) and numerical symbols (l. 35), on the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the year 361. This date must, obviously, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early verifiable dates of the era, the date of the present plates would fall in 609 A.C. if the year 361 was current, and in 610 A.C. if it was expired.⁵

¹ Above, No. 12.

² Above, No. 14.

³ See line 35 of No. 14, above.

⁴ The office was held by a different person at the time of the Vaṇṇ plates which, as shown below, was made only about two and a half months before.

⁵ Prof. Kielhorn has stated (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 295, n. 6) that according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika) would correspond to

The present date is one of the few early Kalachuri dates falling in a dark fortnight, but in the absence of the mention of a week-day or a *nakṣatra*, it is not possible to say if the month Kārttika to which it belonged was *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. If considered in connection with the date of the Vaṇṇer plates, it affords some basis for conjecture. The Vaṇṇer plates were granted at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsā) on Bhādrapada śu. di. 13 towards the end¹ of the Kalachuri year 360, while the present grant was made at Ānandapura (which, as shown below, is either Ānand in the Kairā District or Vaṇṇagar in the Mēhsānā District on Kārttika va. di. 15 in the beginning of the next Kalachuri year 361. Supposing that the years of the Vaṇṇer and Sarsavni plates were both current, or both expired, there would be an interval of about one month and sixteen days between the dates of the two grants, if the months were *pūrṇimānta*. The distance between Vidiśā and Ānanda is about 320 miles as the crow flies and that between the former place and Vaṇṇagar is about 340 miles. This distance would be considerably increased, if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into account. Whichever identification of Ānandapura we accept, we shall have to suppose (if the dates are recorded in *pūrṇimānta* months) that Buddharāja had to reach Ānandapura from Vidiśā by forced marches.² There is, however, nothing in either of the grants to support such a view. On the other hand, if we take the dates of both the inscriptions as recorded in *amānta* months³ there would be the reasonable interval of about two months and sixteen days between the two campaigns.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Kielhorn identified Ānandapura with the modern Ānand, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Kaira District. Dr. Altekar has, however, adduced very cogent reasons to prove that the ancient Ānandapura is identical with the modern Vaṇṇagar in the Mēhsānā District.⁴ The former view is supported by the fact that the village granted by the present charter is situated much nearer to Ānand than to Vaṇṇagar, but this cannot be regarded as a decisive argument. Dēbhaka is probably Dabkā, 8 miles west of Padrā, as suggested by Kielhorn. Gōrajā is Gōraj, 11 miles south of Halol in the Panch Mahals, and Kumārivaḍaḍ (which is probably a Prakrit form of Kumārīvātaka) Kavarwārā, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from Gōraj.⁵ I identify Brihannārikā (the larger Nārikā) with Nāriā, 7 miles south of Kavarwārā.

the 3rd October 609 A. C. In this he evidently took the year as expired. According to the epoch which suits early verifiable dates of the era, he found by calculation that (for the expired year 361) it would correspond to either the 22nd September or the 22nd October 610 A.C., as Kārttika was then intercalary.

¹ As I have shown in the Introduction, the Kalachuri year began on Kārttika śu. di. 1.

² Taking the distance to be approximately 400 miles on account of the windings of the road we find that the army of Buddharāja must have marched on an average 9 miles per day. According to Yuan Chwang a *yājana* (which was 30 or 40 li, i.e., from 6 to 8 miles) was a day's journey for a royal army. (See Watters, *On Yuen Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 141, and compare Kauṭilya's *Arthśāstra*, second ed. by Shama Sastri, p. 365). So it was not impossible for Buddharāja's army to cover the distance in one month and sixteen days, but this leaves no time for actual fighting if there was any.

³ For another early Kalachuri date in an *amānta* month, see No. 22, below.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, Suppl., pp. 14-15.

⁵ These identifications of Gōrajā and Kumārivaḍaḍ were first suggested by Dr. Fleet, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 297. He identified Brihannārikā with Banāyā, 4½ miles south of Kavarwārā, but this does not seem to be correct. The place-name, which means 'the larger Nārikā', would assume the form Moṭā Nāriā, or simply Nāriā, in modern Gujarati and is, therefore, probably identical with Nāriā as suggested above.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावारादानन्दपुरवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगणतलविमलविपुले
विविधपुरुषरत्नगुण—
- 2 किरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वा³पाश्र्वदुर्लभे⁴ गाम्भीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपालमपरे महोदयाविव
कट[च्यु-]
- 3 रीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या भुवनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्र—
- 4 यपरः⁵कलङ्कदोषरहितः⁶कुलकुमुदवनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशे—
- 5 षलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतः संपन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्ति—
- 6 सिद्धिर्येन च रुचिरवङ्कश⁷भिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथ—
- 7 पेनेवाविशङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता विशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रहः⁸ ५[रा]—
- 8 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवाज्जैनं प्रदानाय प्रवानं धर्माय धर्मरक्षेयोवाप्तये [॥*] तस्य
पुत्रः
- 9 प्रथिव्या⁹मप्रतिरथश्चतुर्दधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपा—
- 10 तोज्जितराजश्रीः प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्तमण्डलः परस्परापीडितधर्मात्थकामनिषेवी
- 11 प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदयः सम्यग्भजापालमाभिगतभूरिद्विविधविश्राणना—
- 12 वाप्तधर्मत्रियविचरोत्सन्नानां नृपतिवङ्कशानां¹⁰ प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्ध—
कृपण[स]—
- 13 मभिलषितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वपरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृपादा—
- 14 नुदघातः परममा[हे]श्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः[॥*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुदघातः सकलमहीमण्डलैक—
तिलकः
- 15 सातिशयप्रथितनयविनयदयादानदाक्ष्यदाक्षिण्यधैर्यशौर्यस्यैर्य्याद्यशेषगुणसमन्वितः प्र[व]—
- 16 लरिपुबलोद्भूतदर्पविभवप्रध्वन्स¹¹हेतुः सेतुः स्थितीनामायतनं सिद्धेरप्रतिहृतचक्रवक्रध—
- 17 र इवातिप्रशमनकरः प्रजानाम् परममाहेश्वरः श्रीबुद्धराजः

Second Plate

- 18 सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादि¹² समाज्ञा—
- 19 पयत्यस्तु¹³ वो विदितमस्माभिः भठकच्छविषयान्तर्गतगोरज्जा¹⁴भोगे बृहन्नारिकाप्रत्यासन्न—
- 20 कुमारिवडवो¹⁵ एष ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः सर्वदानसंग्राहः सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्राति[भे]दिका—
- 21 परिहीणो भूमिच्छिन्नन्यायेन¹⁶ अचाटभटप्रावेस्य आचन्द्रावर्कार्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौ—

¹ From the lithographs between pp. 298 and 299 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read महासत्त्वा—.

⁴ Read वंश—.

⁵ Read पृथिव्या—.

⁶ Read वंशाना.

⁷ Read प्रध्वंस—.

⁸ Read कारिकादीन.

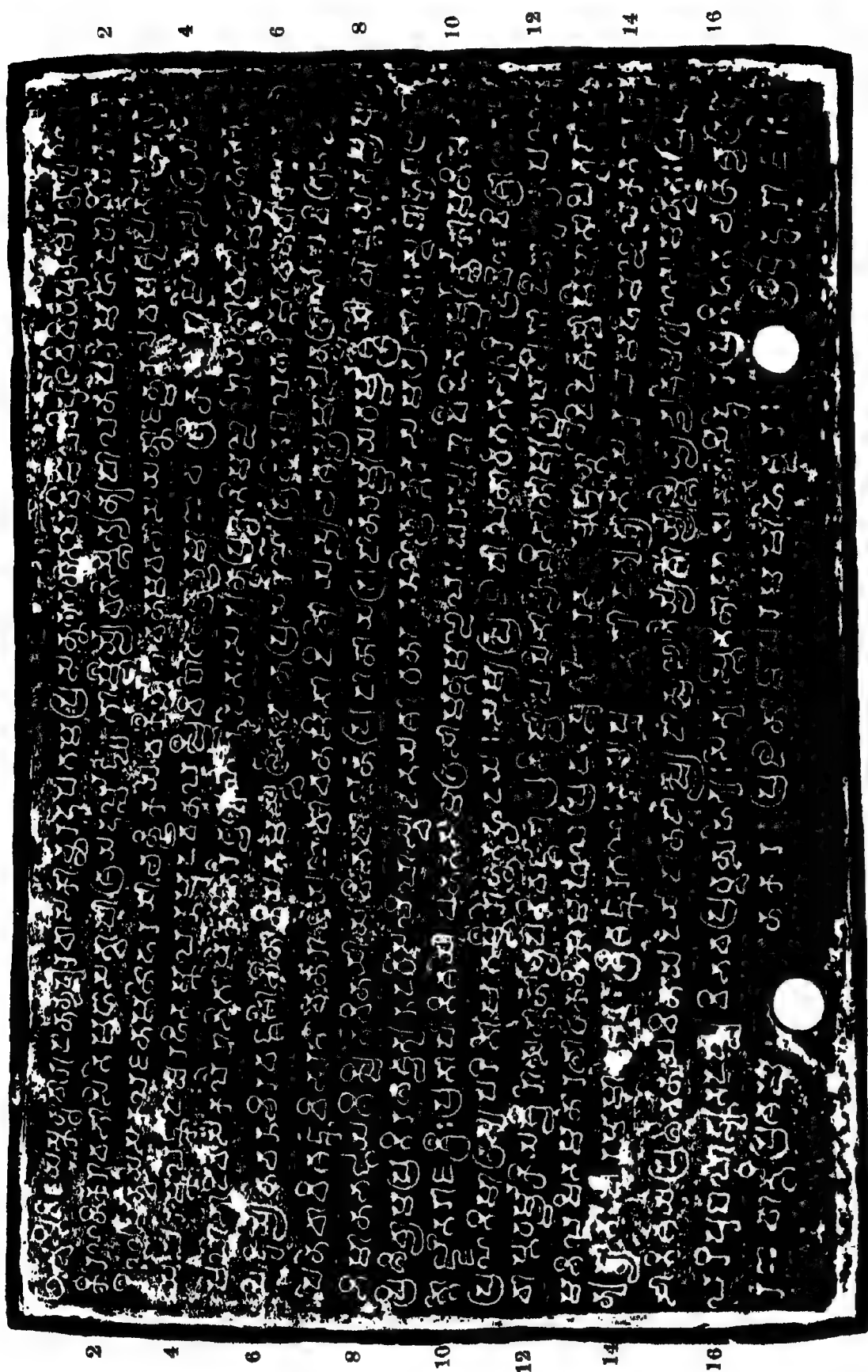
⁹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु वो विदितम्.

¹⁰ The name may have been originally inscribed as गोरज्जा, but the sign for medial *n* is now very indistinct.

¹¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹² Read —न्यायेनाचाट—.

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 361



18

20

26

72

28

89

2

†

181

20

22

21

26

28

30

32

31

- 22 प्राज्ञमोक्षो¹ हेमकवास्तव्यपाराधरसगोत्रवाजसनेवकण्वसम्राचारिणाहणमद्रुपुन—
 23 वप्यस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवरात्मिहोवाकिमोत्सर्पणात्वं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिबुद्धये²
 24 उदकतिसन्नेपातिसृष्टो³ यतोस्मद्भू⁴स्यै⁵स्यै⁶व्यागिमिपतिभोगपतिभि⁷अवलपवनप्रेरितो—
 25 दधिचलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावात्पुनरागसारान्विभवात्कीर्णकालस्येयसकञ्च गुणा—
 26 नाकलय्य सामान्यभोगमुपदानफलेप्सुभिश्चशिकरुचिरे चिराय यमाश्चक्षीषुभि⁸रयमस्मदायोनु—
 27 मन्तव्य⁹पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो बाहानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वातुमीदेत
 स पञ्चमि—
 28 स्महापातकैस्त्युक्त स्यादित्युक्तञ्च¹⁰ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ बर्हिषे वर्ष¹¹सहस्राणि स्वर्गं
 मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
 29 आच्छेता बानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹² ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः
 [1*] कुष्माह्वो हि जाय—
 30 स्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा मुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 31 तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाप्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही⁹ महीम[तां]
 श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) ॥ [४॥*] यानीह द—
 32 तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै[र्ही]नानि चर्म्मतीर्ययथास्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमात्यप्रतिमानि तानि [को]
 नाम साधुपुनराददीति (त)¹⁰ ॥ [५॥*]
 33 संवत्सरशतत्रये¹¹ एकषष्ट्यधिके कास्तिकबहुलपञ्चदश्यां गोकुलस्वामिनिज्ञापनया महाबला—
 34 धिक्कृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिबिग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतशिवराजेनेति ॥
 35 सं ३०० ६० १ कार्तिक ब १० ५ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Ānandapura—

(For a translation of lines 1—18, see above, pp. 42-3 and 51.)

(Line 19) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water this village (*viz.*) Kumāri-vaṇḍaḍ (situated) near Brihannārikā (the larger Nārikā) in the Gōrajā bhōga included in the Bharukachchha vishaya—together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu of the Pārāśara gōtra, who

¹ Read भोग्यो.

² Read वृद्धय.

³ Read सृष्टः.

⁴ Read -वृद्धये—.

⁵ Read यथाश्चक्षीषुभि—.

⁶ Read संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

⁷ Read वर्ष—.

⁸ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anuubhābh.*

⁹ Read मही.

¹⁰ Metre : *Indraṅgrā.*

¹¹ Read शतत्रय.

is a student of the Vājasanēya Kaṇva (*śākhā*) and a resident of Dēbhaka, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, and other (*religious*) rites.

(For a translation of lines 24-28, see above, p. 44.)

(L. 28)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L. 33)—In the year three hundred increased by sixty-one, on the fifteenth (*lunar day*) of the dark fortnight of Kārttika, this (*charter*), the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahābalādhikṛita* the illustrious Prasahyavighraha, has been written by Śivarāja, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of Gōkulasvāmin. The year 300 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 1, (*the month*) Kārttika, the dark (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GURJARAS

No. 16; PLATE X

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 380.

THIS set of two copper-plates was found about 1827 together with three others¹ in the town of Khēḍā or Kairā, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Gujarat, Bombay State. "The river 'Watrui' runs close to the walls of Khēḍā on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth."² The plates were brought to notice ten years later by Dr. A. Burn who sent transcripts and facsimiles of them to Mr. James Prinsep, then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As three of them contained dates both in words and in figures, Mr. Prinsep first published facsimiles and explanations of date-portions of the grants, in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, p. 348, and later on a mixed transcript of two of them, which were cognate grants of Dadda II, on pp. 908 ff. of the same volume. When Dr. Burn returned home, he presented the Royal Asiatic Society with three of the sets, viz., two containing this and the following grant of Dadda-Prasantarāga and the third a grant of Vijayarāja.³ The grants were subsequently published together with facsimile plates and a translation, by Prof. J. Dowson in the *J. R. A. S. (New Series)* (1865), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. The original plates of the two grants of Dadda II have since been lost. When Dr. Fleet edited them finally in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff., he had to depend on the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article. I edit them here from the same facsimiles.

The facsimiles show two plates, each measuring about 11½" broad and 9½" high. It is not possible to say whether their edges were smooth or were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The lower proper left corner of the first plate is broken off, resulting in the loss of from one to six *aksharas* in ll. 21-29. Besides, a small portion of the upper proper right corner of the second plate is lost, causing a partial destruction of the first six *aksharas* of l. 31. The missing *aksharas* can, however, be supplied from the corresponding portion of the following grant. The plates seem, otherwise, to be in a state of good preservation. Prof. Dowson's facsimiles are fairly good, though it is not unlikely that some letters which were legible on the original plates, have not come out in them.⁴ In making the subjoined transcript I have, however, taken Prof. Dowson's lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates have each two roundish holes about 1½" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. The lithograph shows, however, only one ring with a round seal about 1½" in diameter. The surface of the seal is divided into two fairly equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains in relief 'some symbol of sun-worship', while the lower has the legend *Sāmanta-Dadda* in the same characters as those of the record on the plates.

The characters of the inscription, except the sign-manual, belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs on the tops of letters. The

¹ Two of these were another grant of Dadda II of the year 385 (No. 17, below) and a grant of Vijayarāja of the Chālukya dynasty (No. 34, below). No information about the third set is available.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, p. 908.

³ No. 34 below.

⁴ For instance, the superscript *ś* in *śrībhīṣṭamānaka*, l. 46, which must have been incised on the original plate, does not appear in the lithograph.

forms of the initial *i* in *Isvara*, l. 40 and *ī* in *īsha*, l. 33 are noteworthy; the medial *u* is formed by a loop in *rūp-ānu*-l. 5; its long form in the case of *rū* is indicated by turning the curve of the letter to the right or by adding two curves to the vertical, see *rūpam* ll. 6 and 24; *k* shows a loop on the left in *prakīrṇa*, l. 5 and *kamala*-, l. 27; *j* and *ñ* show a notch on the top, see *panka-janma-tayā*, l. 11; the rare *jh* occurs in *nirjjhara*, l. 9; *ḍ* shows a loop in some places and a tail in others¹ see e.g., *nibida*-, l. 16, and *Kauṇḍinya*, l. 38; *n* appears throughout in its southern form; *b* is flat at the bottom, its upper part which consists of a curve generally showing a notch as in *prabala*-, l. 20, but contrast *bōdhita*-, l. 25; the subscript *th* in *sthita*-, l. 5 has neither a notch, nor a ringlet; *v* is triangular in form. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, while punctuation is shown by a dot in some places and by vertical strokes in others. The sign-manual of the donor is in northern current hand characters. In it *y* has an archaic form, *n* in some cases appears without a loop, while the forms of *s* and *h* are in advance of these used in other contemporary records.

The language is Sanskrit and except for the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The eulogistic part of it is written in a style of high flourish which is well-known from the works of the contemporary Sanskrit author Bāṇa. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the close similarities in the wording of both the eulogistic and formal parts of the present plates and the earlier Sarsavṇī plates of the Kaṭachchuri prince Buddharāja². From this he inferred that the family of the Gurjara princes rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja. The orthography calls for few remarks. Instead of the *anusvāra*, the guttural nasal is used before *ś* in *vaśśa*, l. 2 and *nistrinśa*, l. 27; the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *sthairyya*-, l. 2, *nirjjhara*, l. 9, etc. and the vowel *ri* is used for *ri*, in *trivargga*, l. 24, and *yam=atritāḥ*, l. 21.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpurī by the illustrious Dadda II of the Early Gurjara Dynasty who had won the *pañchamahāśabda* and who calls himself *Prasāntarāja* in his sign-manual. On the seal he has the title *Sāmanta* (feudatory prince). The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the village Śīrīshapadraka situated in the *viśaya* of Akrūrēśvara to forty Brāhmaṇas, of whom thirty-five belonging to the R̥gveda, (White) Yajurveda and Sāmaveda had emigrated from Jambūśaras and were then residing at Śīrīshapadraka itself, while the remaining five, all of whom belonged to the Atharvaveda, had emigrated from Bharukachchha and were then residing at Bhērajikā. The purpose of the grant was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as the five great sacrifices, viz., *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*,

¹ In *sandāmaninā*, l. 21, the letter *d* also shows a tail like that of *ḍ*, perhaps by mistake.

² Cf. 'In his opening sentence he (i.e., the author of the present Kairā grant) compares the family of Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahādadhī*) and in describing that ocean, he employs the words *vividha*, *vimūla*, *gūṇaratna*, *udbhāsita*, *avilāṣhitāvadhi*, *gāmbhīrya* and the phrase *mahāsattvatay-ātīduravagāhī* which to the reader of the present (i.e., Sarsavṇī) grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Kṛishnarāja is described as from his very birth (*ā janmana eva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpattita eva*) worship the sun. He, moreover, just as in the case of the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yēna... yām cha. jayya cha*, etc.) and in the clause commencing with *jayya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyānag-āpatyakāḥ* in line 10 he imitates and labours to improve on the relative sentence beginning with *yēna cha* in line 6 and ending with *disā* in line 7 of the present grant.' Kielhorn then proceeds to point out the similarities in the wording of the formal parts of the grants. 'We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed ..., the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted...; with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and with the omission of one verse the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order.' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 296-97.

etc. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika. The scribe was Rēva, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols in ll. 50-51, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year 380. Though the era is not specified, the date, on the evidence of palaeography, must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch 248-49, A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year¹ 380, to the 6th November 629 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription mentions two ancestors of Dadda II, *vīṇ*, his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhāṭa I who had the *biruda* Vitarāga. About the former we are told that he was a *Sāmanta* or a feudatory prince, though his suzerain is nowhere named, and that from his very birth he was a devotee of the sun. The epithet *ākṛishṭa-satru-nāga-kula-samitātī* (ll. 3-4) applied to him was interpreted to mean that he exterminated his enemies of the Nāga race²; but as Kielhorn has shown, the description contains no such historical allusion, the sense being simply that 'Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuḍa destroys the snakes.' The description in line 10, that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, seems to suggest that he extended his kingdom to or raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain.

About Jayabhāṭa I the present inscription gives no information except that he obtained victories over the forces of his powerful foes, and that he had the *biruda* Vitarāga. The description of his son Dadda II, the donor of the present grant, is also conventional, the only historical information that we can glean from it being that he had obtained the *pañchamahāśabda*, and had the *biruda* Prasāntarāga.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nāndīpurī was identified by Dr. Bühler³ with an old fort of that name just outside the Jhaḍēsvar gate to the east of Broach. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, however, suggested that Nāndīpurī was identical with Nāndōd in the Broach District.⁴ The statement in the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III⁵ that Nāndīpurī *vishaya* included the village Tōraṇaka (modern Tōraṇ 2 miles to the north of Nāndōd) proves the correctness of Pandit Bhagvanlal's suggestion. The absence of any word like *vāsakāt* after Nāndīpurī indicates that it was probably the capital of the Gurjaras. Akṛūrēśvara is clearly identical with Anklēśvar, the chief town of a *tāluka* of the same name, in the Broach District. Śirīshapadraka is Sisōdra about 11 miles west by south of Anklēśvar. Jambūśaras still bears its ancient name and lies about 27 miles north of Broach. Bharukachchha is of course Broach, while Bhērajikā is probably Bōrjai in the Broach District, about 12 miles east of Anklēśvar.

TEXT⁶

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁷ स्वस्ति [1*] नान्दीपुरीतो(तः) [1*] विविधविमलयुगरत्नसंपा(प)दुद्धास(सि)-
[तसकलदिङ्मु]खे परित्राताश(से)षसपस[महा*]महीयति

¹ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 18th October 628 A. C.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 82.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

⁵ Below, No. 22, lines, 17-18.

⁶ From the facsimiles prefixed to Prof. Dowson's article in *J. R. A. S. (New Series)*, Vol. I, pp. 247 ff.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 सततमविलङ्घितावधौ स्थैर्यगामिभ्यः¹लावण्यवति महासस्वतया²[ति]दुरवगाहे गुर्जरमूपतिवंश³—
मह(हो)दघा(धौ) श्रीसहजन्मा कृ—
- 3 ण्णहृदयाहितास्पदः कौस्तुभमणिरिव विमलयशोदीक्षितिनिकरविनिहतकलितिमिरनिचयः सत्पक्षो
वैनतेय इवाकृष्टशत्रु—
- 4 नागकुलसंततिरुत्पत्तित एव दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनीताशेषदुरितनिवहः सामन्तदहः [1*]
प्रतिदिनमपेतशङ्कं येन
- 5 स्थितमचलगुणनिकरकेसरि(र)विरा[जि]तवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलो(ल)—
च्छलप्र[की]र्णविमलयशोवितानेन रूपा[नु]—
- 6 रूपं सत्त्व⁴मुद्रहता केसरिकिशोरकेषेवोपरि क्षितिभृतां[ताम्] [1*] यं चातिमलिनकलियुगतिमिर—
चन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्यन्यस्पद्वयवा⁵—
- 7 ययुः कलासमूहादयो गुणा विक्रमानीतमदविलासालसगतयोरातिगजघटाः प्रमदाश्च [1*] यस्य
चाविरतदान—
- 8 प्रवाहप्रीणितात्थिमधुकरकुलस्य रुचिरकीर्तिवशासहायस्य सतत⁶मस्खलितपदं प्रसरतः सद्वंश⁷—
हितशोभागौरवस्य
- 9 भद्रमतंगजस्येव करघातविनिहतक्षितिभुदुन्नततनूरुहस्य रेवानिज्जरसलिलप्रपातमधुरनिनदस्य भगो—
[३३—]
- 10 वाः समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दयिता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यका⁸ यश्चोपमीयते शशिनि सौम्यत्व—
वैमल्यशोभाकला—
- 11 भिर्भ कलङ्केन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदायावःकृतकुलकष्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया सत्त्वो⁹—
त्साहविक्रमैर्मृगाधिरा—
- 12 जे न क्रु(कू)राशयतया लावण्यस्थैर्यगंभीर्य¹⁰स्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधो(धौ) न व्यालाश्रयतया
सत्कटकसमुन्नतविद्याधरावा—
- 13 सतया हिम(मा)चले न खष(श)परिवारतया [1*] यस्य च स[३३]गः शेषोरगस्येव विमल—
किरणमणिशतावि[ष्कृ]तगौरवः सकलजगत्साधार—
- 14 णो¹¹ यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुलं शीलेन प्रभुत्वमाज्ञया शस्त्रमरातिप्रणिपातेन कोपो निग्रहेण प्रसादः
प्रदानैर्धम्मो देवद्विजातिगु—
- 15 हजनसपर्ययेति [11*] तस्य स्रूणुः (नुः) प्रतप्तरुचिरकनकावदातः कल्पतरुरिव(वा)विरतमभि—
क(रु)चितफलप्रदः सततमृतगुणस्येव
- 16 वसन्तसमयो वसन्तसमयस्य(स्ये)व प्रविकसितनिविडचूततरुवनाभोगः सरस इव कमलनिवहः
कमलनिवहस्येव
- 17 प्रबोधो महाविषधरस्येव मणिम्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधेरिवामृतकलशोमृतकलशस्येवा—
भरणदायित्व—

¹ Read गाम्भीर्य—.

² Read महासस्वतया.

³ Read वंश—.

⁴ Read सत्त्व—.

⁵ Read —मन्योन्यस्पद्वयवा—.

⁶ The *annusāra* is misplaced here. Read सतत—.

⁷ Read सद्वंश—.

⁸ Read नगोपत्यकाः ।

⁹ Read सत्त्वो—.

¹⁰ Read स्थैर्यगंभीर्य—.

¹¹ Read साधारणः ।

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 380

First Plate

N° 2 A

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30

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18. प्रसन्नः करिष्य इव भवः प्रमदात्मनस्येव विलासो विभवस्येव सत्प्रापविनिवर्णो धर्मस्येव क[तुः]
क[तो]रिव स्वह—
19. विप्राकालः प्रेम्भ इव सद्भाषः सशिन इवामलकालसमूहो नियतमलंकारभूतः सकलनिशाकरचि-
रप¹—
20. वयनः सकलो वदान्यः प्रबलरिपुबलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्रीः श्रीवीतरागाप्ररनामा श्रीजय-
भटः [1*] कलि—
21. प्रतिपन्नमयाञ्छरभारिचन² इव यक्षभूताः³ सविनया गुणाः [1*] स्फुरितविमलकीर्तिसौ[दा]-
मणिना येन सकलजीवलो[का-⁴]
22. नन्दकारिणा कालबलाहकैर्नेवावन्ध्यफलं⁵ गन्धर्वता प्रणमिनामपनीतास्तुष्णासंतापदोषाः [1*] यश्च
शूरो[पि] [संतत*]—
23. मयसोमिदस्वयगतुष्णोपि⁶ गुणार्जुनाविच्छिन्नतर्कः सर्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपर(रा)-
ङ्मुक्तः [पटुरपि पर*]—
24. परिवादाभिधानजडधीः [1*] यस्य च त विरोधि कर्म शीलस्य धीमनं सद्वृत्तस्य विभवः प्रदानस्य
तु[जि]वर्गसेवा प[रस्वरापीडन*]—
25. स्य प्रभुत्व क्ष[क्षा]स्योः कलिकालो गुणानामिति [11*] तस्य सूनुः सजलधनपटलनिर्गततरजनिकर-
करावबोधितक[कु] [मुदधवल*]—
26. यथाः प्रतानास्यगितनमोमण्डलानेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखास्तमिहृताभुसाभस्तकुलज[भूप्र] [भातसम*]—
27. यद्वदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंश⁷ प्रतापो देवद्विजासिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो[वृष्टवज्र*]—
28. मणिकोटिरुचिरदीप्तिविराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिरा दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतार्थिजना[विल]°ष-
(ष्ट) [परिपूरि*]—
29. तविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्मस[सं] चयः प्रणयपरिर[कु] [पित*]—
30. मानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविक्रमनागरक—

Second Plate

31. [स्वभावो विमल⁸] गुणकिरणपञ्जराक्षिप्तबहुलकलितमिरनिचयः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः
[श्री] दहः
32. कुशलो सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहतराधिकारिकादीन्समनुबोध-
33. यत्प¹⁰स्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरवकु[वक्र] रेक्षरविषयान्तर्गतक्षिरीषपन्नक एष ग्रामः सोद्वक्त्रः
सोपरिकरः
34. सर्वप्रदानसंग्राह्यः सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहृणी भूमिच्छिन्नन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्य आच-
न्द्रार्काण्यव—

¹ Read निशाकराभिरूप—.

² Read प्रतिपन्नमयाञ्छरणा—.

³ Read यमाभिताः.

⁴ The *aksharas* in rectangular brackets at the end of ll. 21-29 have been lost owing to the breaking off of the lower proper left corner of the plate. They are supplied from the following record (No. 17) of the same king.

⁵ Read कालबलाहकैर्नेवावन्ध्यफलं.

⁶ Read —मयसोमिदस्वयगतुष्णोपि.

⁷ Read त्रिंश—.

⁸ The horizontal bar of 4 does not appear here.

⁹ The corner of the plate being broken off here, only the lower portions of the first six *aksharas* appear in the lithograph.

¹⁰ Read समनुबोधयति । अस्य यो.

- 35 भित्तिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो खंबूसरोविनिर्गतावकु(ककु)रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गत-
[शि]रीषपद्रकवासिबह्वचव-
- 36 त्ससगोत्राश्वलायनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभट्टाध्यापक¹ । तथा गोपादित्य । तथा भट्टिगण । विशाल ।
अग्निशर्म । द्रोण । काश्यप-
- 37 गोत्रभट्टिदाम । तथा वत्र । अध्वर्यु²वाजसनेयडौण्डीकीयसगोत्र ।³ कण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणता-
पिशर्म(र्म) । द्वितापिशर्म ।
- 38 दत्तस्वामि । भागिस्वामि । पितृशर्म । भट्टि । द्रोण । धूम्रायनसगोत्रकर्काध्यापक । आबुक ।
कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रवाटशर्म । शैल ।
- 39 घोष । महादेव । बाव । माठरसगोत्रधर । विशाल । नन्दि । रामिल । हरितसगोत्रधर्मधर ।
छान्दोग्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रकौशुम-
- 40 सब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणइन्द्रशर्म । आदित्यरवि । तापिशूर । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । धर । दामधर ।
द्वि ईश्वर । भरुकच्छविनिर्गतभेरज्जिका-
- 41 निवासि अ(आ)ध्वर्ण⁴बौलिसगोत्रपिप्पलादसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभद्र । वायुशर्म । द्रोणस्वामि ।
रुद्रादित्य । पूर्णस्वामि । एभ्यश्चतु-
- 42 इचरणब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चातुर्विधपरिकल्पनापूर्वं बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपंचमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्प-
णार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु-
- 43 प्ययशोभिवृद्धये कार्तिक्य(क्या)मुदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टो⁵ यतोस्मद्ब्रह्मै⁶रन्यैर्धर्माभिभोगपतिभिः
प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरं-
- 44 गवंचलं जीवलोकमभावानुगमनसारान्विमवाचीर्घकालस्येयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोग-
भूप्रदानफलेप्सु-
- 45 मिः शशिकरश्चिरं यशश्चिराय विचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो
वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-
- 46 राच्छिन्त्याद(दा)[च्छि]द्या(द्य)मानकं वानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्महापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः
स्यदुक्तं च⁷ भगवता वेदव्यासेन
- 47 व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक
वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु-
- 48 शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्ध्वंसुषा
भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य य-
- 49 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमा-
- 50 नि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतेति⁹ । संवत्सरशतत्रयेशीत्यधिके कार्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहा¹⁰धिक-

¹ Read भट्टाध्यापक-.

² Read अध्वर्यु-.

³ This mark of punctuation is a mistake.

⁴ Read निवास्याध्वर्ण-.

⁵ Read -तिसृष्टः ।

⁶ Read -स्मद्ब्रह्मै-.

⁷ Read स्यात् । उक्तञ्च.

⁸ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushjubb.*

⁹ Read -वदीत । [1४॥*] इति.

¹⁰ The *aksharas* व and ह are engraved over others which were beaten in, but traces of which can still be seen in the lithograph.

- ११ रणाधिकृतरेवेण स्वमुखाजयेति ॥ सं ३०० ८० कार्तिक शु १० ५ [१*]
 १२ दिनकरचरणार्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं प्रशान्तरागस्य ॥

Seal

सामन्तदह[१*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Nāndīpur—

In the family of the Gurjara kings which resembles the ocean; which has brightened the faces of all regions with the abundance of its manifold and spotless excellences as the ocean does with its varied and stainless jewels; which has protected all great kings who are its allies, as the ocean has saved all the great mountains possessed of wings (*that sought refuge in it*); which always refrains from transgressing the limits (*of proper conduct*), as the ocean abstains from overflowing its shores; which is possessed of firmness, serenity and beauty, as the ocean has stability, depth and saltness; which, on account of its great courage, is difficult to be attacked, as the ocean, on account of its having large animals, is difficult to be plunged into;—there (*was*) the *Sāmanta* Dadda [I], who, possessing the goddess of (*royal*) fortune since his birth and occupying a (*royal*) position hostile to the evil-minded (*krishna-hridaya*¹), destroyed (*the influence of*) the Kali age by the mass of his spotless fame, as the Kaustubha jewel which was produced together with Lakshmi,² and has found a resting place on Krishna's breast, dispels a mass of darkness with the multitude of its rays; who, having good allies, has uprooted the descendants of the families of his adversaries even as Vainatēya (*Garuda*), possessing excellent wings, destroyed the progeny of the hostile families of serpents; who, even from his birth, had all his calamities³ removed by bowing to the lotus-like feet of the sun. He,⁴ who had a body adorned with a multitude of steady excellences and a canopy of white and spotless fame in the guise of pearls falling from the frontal globes of the elephants of (*his*) enemies that were slain (*in battles*), and who was possessed of courage suitable to his (*majestic*) form, stood always fearlessly at the head of kings, even as a young lion, with his body adorned with a mane, and a canopy of his bright and spotless fame spread over him in the guise of pearls from the frontal globes of hostile elephants slain by him, stands fearlessly on the top of mountains. Accomplishments such as (*proficiency in*) a number of fine arts, (*and*) troops of the elephants of his enemies, walking slowly on account of rut, that were captured by his valour, and young and beautiful women walking languidly owing to the gracefulness (*of their gait*) caused by intoxication, who were attracted by his prowess, day after day, as if in mutual rivalry, resorted to him who was the moon (*dispelling*) the darkness of the extremely sinful Kali age. Like young women obtained by good fortune⁵ and rendered beautiful by their plump breasts, the regions at the feet of the Vindhya mountain created by Bhaga⁶ and adorned by high clouds, delighted him, who pleased

¹ According to Prof. Kielhorn this word *krishna* in addition to denoting the god Krishna, may perhaps denote the Kapachchuri Krishnarāja. The expression may, therefore, signify that Dadda I was a favourite (or, feudatory) of Krishnarāja. He concedes, however, that it may also be taken to mean he whose actions (*āpada, kṛitya*) were hostile to the evil-minded.

² I. e., churned out of the milk-ocean along with Lakshmi.

³ For the use of *durita* in the sense of calamity, misfortune, cf. *Apalya yat=ādyig: duritam: abhavat*, etc. *Uttararāma-charita*, Act. IV, v. 3.

⁴ This and the following sentences descriptive of Dadda I figure as relative clauses in the original. The construction has been changed for the sake of convenience in translating.

⁵ Dr. Fleet translates: 'as if they were wives productive of married happiness.' The original does not, however, contain any such *uprekkha*.

⁶ Bhaga is a name of Rudra.

a multitude of supplicants by the incessant flow of his charity, as an excellent elephant pleases swarms of bees by the unceasing flow of his rut; who was attended by splendid glory as the elephant is attended by his charming mate;¹ who always walked with an unfaltering step and whose great excellence was due to his noble descent, as the elephant's splendid form is due to his excellent back-bone; who had his body horripilated when he struck down (*hostile*) kings by the blow of his arm (*and*) whose voice was sweet like (*the sound of*) the falling of the water of the stream of the Rēvā (Narmadā). He was compared with the moon in respect of gentleness, purity, beauty and (*proficiency in*) arts,² but not in that of any stain,—with an assemblage of lotuses in respect of having overcome the troublesome members of (*his*) family (*as lotuses get over thorns*) by the mass of (*his*) splendour on account of his being the abode of royal fortune (*Srī*) (*as the lotuses are the abode of Lakshmi*), but not in respect of being produced from sin,³—with the lord of beasts (*i.e., the lion*) in point of courage, energy and valour, but not in that of having a cruel heart,—with the great ocean in respect of beauty, stability, serenity and maintenance of the bounds of morality,⁴ but not in that of giving shelter to wicked persons,⁵—with the mountain Himālaya, in respect of being the resort of noble men of learning in his excellent capital⁶, but not in that of being surrounded by degraded warriors.⁷ His excellent wealth, which, like the excellent hood of the serpent Śeṣha, had its magnificence manifested by hundreds of jewels of spotless rays, was shared by the whole world.⁸ His noble birth was revealed by (*his*) character,—his power, by (*the implicit obedience of his*) commands,—his (*skill in the use of*) weapons, by the submission of (*his*) foes,—his wrath, by the punishment (*inflicted on his enemies*),—his favour, by (*his*) gifts,—(*and*) his piety, by the worship of gods, Brāhmaṇas and elderly persons.

(Line 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhata [I], who had the other name of the illustrious Vitarāga, who was resplendent like heated glittering gold; who, like the wish-fulfilling tree, incessantly granted the desired objects (*of supplicants*), who was always and invariably an ornament (*to his family*) as the vernal season is to the cycle of seasons, as a grove of blossoming and densely growing mango trees is to the vernal season, as an assemblage of lotuses is to a lake, as blooming is to an assemblage of lotuses, as a jewel is to a great serpent, as spotless radiance is to a jewel, as the pot of nectar was to the ocean, as the power of conferring immortality is to the pot of nectar, as rutting is to an elephant, as dalliance is to a young lovely woman, as conferment on a worthy person is to wealth, as a sacrifice is to religion, as the time of distributing the sacrificial fee is to a sacrifice, as good nature is to love, (*and*) as a collection of spotless digits is to the moon; whose face was lovely like the full moon; who was affable (*and*) liberal and who had won the goddess of victory in fighting with the armies of his powerful foes. To him all virtues together with humility resorted as if seeking his protection from fear of their foe, the Kali (*age*). He, who had shining and spotless fame as a dark cloud has a bright flash of lightning, and who delighted the whole living world, removed the evils of avidity and worry of supplicants as a dark cloud roaring, not in vain, removes the thirst and heat

¹ Dr. Fleet's translation 'who reduced (*was*) those who were not (*his*) adherents to submission by (*his*) brilliant fame' has little connection with the original.

² In the case of the moon, (*kalā*) means 'a digit.'

³ The lotuses, however, are produced from *pañka* (mud).

⁴ The ocean also keeps within bounds.

⁵ The ocean, however, gives shelter to serpents in its water.

⁶ The Himālaya has the prosperous *Vidyādharas* (demi-gods) residing on its excellent slopes (*kapaka*).

⁷ See *Manusmṛiti*, ch. X, v. 22. The Himālaya, however, is girt by the Khata tribe.

⁸ The serpent Śeṣha's hood supports the whole world.

of those who long (*for rain*). Though brave, he was always apprehensive of (*incurring*) infamy; though free from avarice, he had an unceasing thirst for the acquisition of virtues; though he was in the habit of giving everything, he was averse to giving his heart to others' wives¹; though eloquent, he was dull-witted in abusing others; His handsome form was not opposed to good character; (*nor*) his youth, to good conduct; (*nor*) his wealth, to charity; (*nor*) his pursuit of the three (*aims of life*), to the absence of mutual conflict (*among them*)²; (*nor*) his power to forgiveness; (*nor his living in*) the Kali age, to (*his possession of*) virtues.

(L. 25) His son, the illustrious Dadda [II] who has attained the *pañchamahā-sabda*,³—who has covered the expanse of the sky all round with the shoots of his fame as white as the night-lotuses which are made to bloom by the rays of the moon as she emerges from a mass of water-laden clouds; the prowess of whose spotless sword is (*always*) being loudly celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring princes, who were slain (*by him*) when they opposed him in many dangerous battles; whose head is radiant with a crown shining with the bright rays of the tips⁴ of diamonds (*set in it*) which are scratched in making obeisance to the lotus-like feet of gods, Brāhmanas and elderly persons; the store of whose religious merit—the sole companion in heaven—is being increased by the unwearied⁵ fulfilment of the desire for wealth of the poor, the helpless and the sick, guests and supplicants; who shows himself as a cultured man of the town by winning (*again*) by means of sweet words preceded by obeisance, the favour of proud ladies who are made angry by (*their*) love (*for him*); who has cast the mass of the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of the rays of his spotless virtues—(*he*), being in good health, thus informs all the kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas* and heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* (provinces) and villages, officials and others—

(L. 33) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water, fixing first (*the immunities*) in the case of the community of the Chāturvēdins,⁶ on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village (*viz.*) Śirishapadraka situated in the *vishaya* of Akṛūrēśvara—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons (*of the donees*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will en-

¹ Dr. Fleet translates: 'He was averse to destroying the hearts of the wives of other men' and remarks 'The play is on the two meanings of *dāna* 'giving' and 'cutting or destroying.' The idea of cutting the hearts of others' wives is not met with elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. The contrast intended here is between his readiness to give everything to supplicants and his aversion to give his love to others' wives.

² As Dr. Fleet has pointed out, the words joined here are *paraspara* and *apīḍana*. The sense intended to be conveyed is that the king practised *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, avoiding all conflict among them.

³ I. e., the right to use five musical instruments. *J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S., Vol. I., pp. 23 f.*

⁴ Fleet translates *ujjra-maṇi-kōṭi* by 'a crore of diamonds.' But the idea that tips of diamonds are brightened by rubbing in the act of salutation is common in Sanskrit literature.

⁵ Fleet translates *akliṣṭa* by 'people in distress', but the word is *akliṣṭa* and its position after *jana* shows that it is used here as an adverb modifying *paripūrta*.

⁶ *Parikalpanā* is derived from *pari-kṛp*, to fix or to settle. *Chāturvedya-parikalpanā-purvvaśi* corresponds to *Chāturvedya-āgrahara-maryādā* which generally occurs in Vākātaka records and probably refers to the fixing of immunities in the case of *āgrahara* villages granted to Chāturvēdins. Fleet, however, translates it as 'preceded (as a primary object) by providing for the community of Chāturvēdins.'

dure,—to the Brāhmaṇas of the four *charaṇas*¹, *viz.*, the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi, the teacher (*adhy-āpaka*) who has emigrated from Jambūśaras, and is (now) a resident of Śīrīśhapadraka situated in the district of Akṛūrēśvara, who is of the Vatsa *gōtra* and a student of the Āśvalāyana (*charaṇa*) of the Ṛigvēda, and also Gōpāditya, and also Bhaṭṭigaṇa, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Agniśarman, (*and*) Drōṇa,—Bhaṭṭidāman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, and also Vatra,—the Brāhmaṇa Tāpīsarman of the Daundakiya *gōtra*, a student of the Kaṇva (*charaṇa*) of the Vājasaneyā (*vēda*) of the Adhvaryus, (*and*) the second Tāpīsarman, (*and*) Dattasvāmin, (*and*) Bhāgīsvāmin, (*and*) Pitṛīsarman, (*and*) Bhaṭṭi, (*and*) Drōṇa,—Karka, the *adhyāpaka*, of the Dhūmrāyana *gōtra*, (*and*) Ābuka,—Vātaśarman of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, (*and*) Saila, (*and*) Ghōsha, (*and*) Mahādēva, (*and*) Bāva;—Dhara of the Māṣhara *gōtra*, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Nandi, (*and*) Rāmīla,—Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*,—the Brāhmaṇa Indrasarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, a student of the Kauthuma (*charaṇa*) of the Chhāndōgya (*i.e.*, Sāmavēda) (*and*) Ādityaravi, (*and*) Tāpīsūra, (*and*) Indrasūra, (*and*) Íśvara, (*and*) Dhara, (*and*) Dāmadhara, (*and*) the second Íśvara,²—the Brāhmaṇa Bhadra of the Chauḷi *gōtra*, a student of the Pippalāda (*charaṇa*) of the Atharvavēda, who emigrated from Bharukachchha and is now a resident of Bhērajjikā, (*and*) Vāyuśarman, (*and*) Drōṇasvāmin, (*and*) Rudrāditya, (*and*) Pūrṇasvāmin,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 43) Wherefore, future rulers whether of Our family or others, considering that (*this*) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost and worthless, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time and desiring to share in the reward of (*this*) donation of land, which can be equally enjoyed (*by them*) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely a moon-beams, should consent to this Our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 46) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 50) In the year three hundred increased by eighty, on the fifteenth (*lunar day*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Kārttika, (*this charter*) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth, by Rēva, (*the officer*) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The year 300 (*and*) 80, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Prasāntarāga, the son of Vitarāga, who is devoted to the worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The Sāmanta Dadda.

¹ The names of the Brāhmaṇa donees are arranged according to the *charaṇas* and according to *gōtras* under the same *charaṇa*. Where no *gōtra* is mentioned, the one mentioned last preceding is to be understood. The four *charaṇas* mentioned here are those of Āśvalāyana (l.36), Kaṇva (l.37), Kauthuma (l.39) and Pippalāda (l.41).

² Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Íśvara appear to be mentioned here as of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*. In the next inscription their *gōtra* is mentioned as Lākshmaṇya.

No. 17; PLATE XI

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 385.

THIS set of two copper-plates was discovered together with the preceding one in the town of Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Gujarat, Bombay State, under circumstances already described.¹ A mixed transcript of the two records was first published by Mr. J. Prinsep in the *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. The plates were subsequently edited with facsimiles by Prof. Dowson in the *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (New Series), pp. 247 ff., and finally by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 88 ff. As the original plates had been lost, Dr. Fleet's transcript was made from the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article. I edit the inscription here from the same facsimiles.

From the facsimiles they appear to be two plates each being inscribed on one side and measuring 10½" by 7½". It is not possible to say if their ends were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. They appear to be in a state of good preservation. Prof. Dowson's lithographs are fairly good, though it is likely that some letters, which appear in them to be imperfectly formed, may not have been so on the original plates. In making the subjoined transcript I have taken the lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates seem to have each two roundish holes .4" in diameter for the rings which held them together. One of the rings has a circular seal, about 1½" in diameter, closely resembling that of the preceding grant. It has in relief, on a countersunk surface, the same symbol of solar worship and the same legend, *Sāmanta-Dadda*. Again this inscription was, like the preceding, written by Rēva, the head of the Department for Peace and War. The characters, therefore, closely resemble those of the preceding grant. It will suffice to call attention to the different forms of medial *ā* seen in *rūp-ānūrūpam*, ll. 5-6, *-abhirūpa-*, l. 20, and *krūr-āśayatayā-*, l. 12, the *prishṭha-mātrā* denoting medial *ē* in *mṛig-ā-dhirājē*, ll. 11-12, the curled curve of *ṭ* in *Jayabhaṭṭab*, ll. 20-21, the cursive *s* in *satata*, l. 16 and the tailed *h* in *-āhita*, l. 10 and *saṅgrāhya*, l. 34. The language is Sanskrit. Except for some changes in the names of donees and the date, and the omission of the expressions *chatus-charaṇa-* and *chāturvīdyā-parikalpanā-pūrvam*, the present grant is an exact copy of the preceding. As regards orthography, we may state, in addition to what has been noticed above, that the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in ll. 11 and 32, *y* is doubled after an *anusvāra* in *saṁyukta*, l. 45 and *k* before *r* in *yajñādi-kekriyā-*, l. 41.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpurī by the illustrious Dadda II of the Early Gurjara Dynasty. He and his ancestors are described here exactly as in the preceding grant. The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 385. The date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 385, to the 12th October 634 A.C.² It does not admit of verification. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the same village Śrīśhapadraka situated in the Akrūrēśvara *vishaya*, which he had donated only five years before by the preceding charter. Most of the Brāhmaṇa donees were also the same; for out of the forty Brāhmaṇas who received the former grant, as many as thirty-two³

¹ See above, p. 57.

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 22nd October 633 A. C.

³ Cf. "The first grant was made to forty Brāhmaṇas; the names of thirty-two of them are repeated in the present grant, the persons omitted being Vātsamā and Mahādēva of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* (No.

figure in the present charter. The reason for making this new grant—which in effect cancelled the previous one, though it is not said so explicitly—is not known; but it may be noted that of the forty Brāhmaṇas to whom the first grant was made, thirty-five were residents of the donated village Śiṛishapadraka, while the remaining five were dwelling at Bhērajjikā. In the present grant all the five names of the Brāhmaṇas of Bhērajjikā have been omitted. It may, therefore, be conjectured that there was some dispute between the Brāhmaṇa donees of the two villages Śiṛishapadraka and Bhērajjikā, which eventually led to the cancellation of the first grant.¹ It may again be noted that all the five Brāhmaṇas, whose names are omitted here, were students of the Atharvaveda which, as is well known, was looked with disfavour in ancient times. The reason for omitting three out of the other thirty-five names may be the death of the donees, without leaving any issue.

The geographical names occurring in the present grant have already been identified.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ स्वस्ति [१*]नान्दीपुरि(री)तो(तः) ॥ व(वि)विषविमलगुण[र]त्त[स]म्पदुद्धा-
सितसकलदिङ्मुखे परि[त्राताशेष]स[पक्ष]महामहि(ही)भूति [स]ततमव(वि)लङ्घि-
- 2 [तावधौ स्वय्य]गाम्भि(म्भी)य्य(य्यं)लावण्यवति महासत्त्व(त्त्व)तयातिदुरवगाहे गुर्जरभूपति-
वङ्श⁴महोदधौ श्रीसहजन्मा कृष्णहृदयाहिता-
- 3 [स्प]दः [कौस्तु]भमणिरिव विमलयशोदीषितिनिकरदि(वि)निहतकलितिमिरनिचयः सत्पक्षो
वै[न]तेय इ[वा]कृष्टशत्रु(त्रु)ना[ग]कुलसन्तत(ति)-
- 4 [र]त्पत्तित ए[व] दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनि(नी)ताशेषदुरितनिवहस्सामन्तवद्ः [१*] प्रति-
दिनमप(पे)तशङ्कं येन⁵ स्थितमचल-
- 5 गुणनिकरकेस[रि(र)विरा]जितवपुषा विनिहृत्तारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफल[च्छ]लप्रकीर्ण-
विमलयशोवितावे(ने)न रूपानुरू-
- 6 [पं] सत्त्व(त्त्व)मुद्रहत(ता) केसरिकिशोरकेणवोपरि क्षितिभृतां(ताम्) [१*] यश्चातिमलिन-
कलियुगतिमिरचन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्या(न्यो)न्य[स्प]द्वये-
- 7 [वा]ययुः कलासमूहादयो गुणाः विक्त्रमानीतमदति(वि)लासालसगतयोरातिमजघटाः प्रमदाश्च
[१*] यस्य चाविरत-

CXXXIX 1.38-9), Indrasarmā of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (*id.* l. 40) and Bhadra, Vāyusarmā, Drōṇasvāmī, Rudrāditya and Pūrṇasvāmī of the Chauli *gōtra* (*id.* l. 41); and two new names are introduced, *viz.*, (l. 37) Vāda of the Vatsa *gōtra*, and (l. 40) Indrasūra of the Dhūmrāyaṇa or Dhaumrāyaṇa *gōtra*—thus making up the number of thirty-four grantees, as stated in l. 40. The names are arranged,—not according to *charaṇas*, as in No. CXXXIX—but according to *gōtras*; and three persons—Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Īśvara—who, according to No. CXXXIX l. 40, seemed to belong to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, are here said (l.38-9) to belong to the Lākshmaṇya *gōtra* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 88.) No. CXXXIX referred to in this passage is the Kairā inscription of Dadda II., dated K. 380 (No. 16, above).

¹ The thirty-two Brahmanas of Śiṛishapadraka, whose names are repeated in the present grant, were no longer living at Śiṛishapadraka. They had removed to Jambūśaras their original home.

² From the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read वंश-.

⁵ Between ये and न, a letter like य was incised by mistake and then cancelled.

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 385

First Plate

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28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50

25 27 29 31 33 35 37 39 41 43 45 47 49 51

... ..



- 8 दाना[दि?] प्रवाहप्रोणितास्त्रिमधुकु(र)कुलस्य दचिरकीर्तिवशासहायस्य स[त]तमस्सलितपदं
प्रचरतः सङ्ग्राहित¹शोभा—
- 9 गा(गौ)रस्य भद्रमतङ्गजस्येव करवातविनिहृतक्षितिभुवुन्नततनूरु[हस्य] रे[वा]निज्जरसलिल—
प्रपातमधुरनिनाद[स्य]²
- 10 भगा³प्रवा⁴स्समुन्नतपयोधराहितवियो दयिता इव मुदे विन्ध्यमणोपत्यरा(का): [1*]य[श्चो]प—
मीयते शशिवि सौम्य[त्व*]वैमल्यशोभाक—
- 11 लामिर्ष कलकुले श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदयाध⁵कृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया ।
सत्त्वो(त्त्वो)त्साहविक्रमे(नै)र्मु—
- 12 गाधिराजं न कुराशयतया । लावण्यस्वैर्यगाभीर्यस्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधौ न व्यालाश्रयतया ।
सत्कटकप(स)—
- 13 मुन्नतविद्याधरावासतया हिमाद(च)ले न लष(श)य(प)रिवारतया । यस्य च सङ्गोः शेषोर—
गस्येव विमलकिरणमणिशताविष्कृत—
- 14 गौरवस्सकलजगत्सारारणो⁶ । यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुलं शि(शी)लेन । प्रभुत्वमाज्ञया । शस्त्र—
मरातिप्रणिपातेन । कोपा(पो) निग्रहेण ।
- 15 प्रसादः प्रदानैर्द्वर्म्मो देवद्विजातिगु(रु)जनसपर्ययेति । तस्य सूनुः प्रतप्तदचिरकनकावदातः
कल्पतरुविवाविरतम—
- 16 भिरचितफलप्रदः सततमृतुगणस्येव वस[न्त]समयो वसन्तसमयस्येव प्रविकसित⁷निबिडचूततरु—
वनाभोगः सरस इव
- 17 कमलनिवहः कमलनिवहस्येव प्रबोधो महाविषधरस्येव मणिर्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधे—
रिषामृतकलशोमृतक—
- 18 लशस्येवामरणदायित्वप्रशा(भा)वः करिण इव मदः प्रमचा(दा)जनस्येव विलासो विभ[व]स्येव
सत्प्राविनियोगो धर्म्म—
- 19 स्येव क्रतुः क्रतोरिव स्वदक्षिणाकालः प्रेम्ण इव सङ्गावः शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियत—
मलङ्कारभूतः सकल—
- 20 निशाकराभिरुपवदनः शकलो वदान्यः प्रबलरिपुवलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्रीः श्रीवीतरागापर—
नामा श्रीजर(य)भ—
- 21 [टः] कलिप्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणात्थिन इव यमाश्रिताः सविनया गुणाः स्फुरितदि(वि)मलकीर्ति—
सौदामणिना येन सकल[जी]—
- 22 बलोकानन्दकारिणा कालव(व)लाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं गज्जता प्रणयिनामपही(ह)तास्तृष्णासन्ताप—
दोषाः [1*] यश्च गू(गू)रोपि सतत—
- 23 मयशोभीहरपगतत्[णो]पि गुणार्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्पः सर्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपरा—
ङ्मुखः पटुरपि प—
- 24 रपरिवादानि(त्रि)घानजडधीः[1*] यस्य च न विरोधि रूप(पं) शीलस्य यौवनं सद्बुत्तस्य
दि(वि)भवः प्रदानस्य तु(त्रि)वर्गसे[वा] परस्परा—
- 25 पीडनस्य प्रभुत्वं ज्ञान्तेः कलिकालो गुणानामिति । (॥) तस्य सूनुः सजलवनपटलनिर्गततरुजनिकर—
करावबोधि—

¹ Read वागप्रवाह—.

² Read सङ्ग्राहित—.

³ The preceding inscription reads —निमेषस्य here.

⁴ Read भगो³प्रवा—.

⁵ Read —जगत्सारारणः.

⁶ Fleet's proposed reading प्रविकाशित is unnecessary.

- 26 तकुमुदधवल्यशःप्रतानास्थगितमभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसो (सा) मन्त—
 27 कुलवधूप्रभातसमयरु[दि]तच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्श¹प्रतापो देवद्विजा[ति]गुरु—

Second Plate

- 28 चरणकमलप्रणामोद्घुष्टवज्रमणि[कोटिरुचिरदीधिति*]²विराजितमुकुटोद्भासित[शि]रा
 29 दि(दी)नानाथातुराभ्यागतार्थिजनाविलष्टप[रिपूरितविभव*]मनोरथोपचि(ची)यमा[न]त्रिविष्ट—
 पैकस—
 30 हायधर्मसञ्चयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनि(नी)[जनप्रणा*]मपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी—
 31 कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणप[ञ्जराक्षि]त्तबहुलकलितमिरनिचयस्समधिगत—
 पञ्च—
 32 महाशब्द[:*] श्रीदह³कुशली सव्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविस(ष)यपतिरा[ष्ट्र]ग्राममहत्तराधि—
 कारिकादीन्त—
 33 मनुबोधयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरक्र(कू)रेक्षरविषयान्तर्गत ।⁴ शिरीषपद्रक ।⁵ एष ग्राम—
 स्सोद्वङ्गः
 34 सोपरिकरः सव्वदानसङ्ग्राह्य[:*] सव्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहि(ही)णो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना—
 चाटभटप्रा—
 35 वेश्य आचन्द्राक्कर्णोद(व)क्षितिस्थितिसमका[लीन]ः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जम्बूसरोवास्तव्यभर—
 द्वाजस—
 36 गोत्रकण्वसन्नह्यचारिब्राह्मणादित्यरवि । तथा तापिशूर⁶ । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । तथा वत्ससगोत्र—
 भट्टिष(ट्टिष)
 37 ध्यापक [।] गोपादित्य । वाड । विशाख । अग्निशर्म । भट्टिगण । द्रोण । माढ(ठ)र⁷सगोत्र—
 विशाख । धर । नन्दि ।
 38 राम । दोण्डनी(की)[य*]सगोत्रतापिशर्म । द्वितापिशर्म्⁸ । द्रोण । भट्टि । पितृशर्म । भागि—
 स्वामि । वत्तस्वामि । लाक्ष्म—
 39 प्यसगोत्रधर । दामधर । ईश्वर । कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रबाव । घोष । [शै]ल । काश्यपसगोत्रभट्टि—
 दामि(म) । वात्र⁹[।*]
 40 हारीतसगोत्रधर्मधर[।] धौम्रयन¹⁰सगोत्रकक्काध्यापक । आवुक । इन्द्रशूरादिब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चतु—
 स्त्रिङ्श[द्भु घो]¹⁰
 41 बलिचक्रवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं माशा(ता)पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो—
 शि(मि)वृद्धये कार्त्ति—
 42 क्यामुदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टो¹¹ यतोस्मद्वृश्यै¹²रन्यैर्वागा¹³मिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिज—
 लतरंग—

¹ Read निस्त्रिंश—.

² The aksbaras in the rectangular brackets in this and the following three lines are not distinct in the facsimile and were probably damaged by rust on the original plate.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read शिरीषपद्रकम्. The following mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁵ Read तापिशूर as in the preceding grant.

⁶ Flect read माफ(ठ)रसगोत्र—.

⁷ Read —शर्म.

⁸ In the preceding inscription, this name is written as वज्र.

⁹ Read धौम्रायण.

¹⁰ Read वृत्तुस्त्रिंशद्भु घो.

¹¹ Read —तिसृष्टः ।

¹² Read —स्मद्वृश्यै—.

¹³ The aksbaras are quite clear here in the facsimile.

- 43 चञ्चलं जि(जी)वलोकयमाणावुगतानसाराभिजवा¹न्दीर्घकालस्येवसस्य गुणानाकल्य सामान्य-
भोगम्—
- 44 प्रदानफलेषुभिः शशिकरशिरं वशश्चिराय चिषीषुभिरयमस्मद्दासो(यो)नुमन्तव्यः पालयित-
व्यश्च। यो वाक्ता—
- 45 नतिभिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयु(यु)-
क्तास्स्यादित्युक्तं² च वग—
- 46 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ वष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भु(भू)मिदः [1] आच्छेत्ता वानु-
मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [11१॥]³
- 47 विन्ध्याटवीजतोमासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाह्यो हि जायन्त(न्ते) भु(भू)[मिहा]यं
हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्बसुधा मुक्ता राजभिस्त—
- 48 नरादिभिः [1*] यस्व यस्य वदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३॥*] यानि(नी)ह
द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रादनानि धर्मर्त्य⁴यशस्कराणि [1*] निर्मुक्त—
- 49 माल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा[धुः] पुनराददि(दी)त ॥ [४॥*] इति [11*] संबत्सर-
शतत्रये पञ्चाशि(शी)त्य[धिके] कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां
- 50 लिखितं सन्धी(न्धि)विग्रहाभिकरणाधिकि(कृ)तरे[वे]ण स्वमुखाग्रयेति । सं [३००] ८० ५
कार्तिक भु(भू) [१० ५] [दि]नकरचरणा—
- 51 च्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतराग[सूनो]ः [स्वहस्तोयं] प्रशान्त[रागस्य]⁵ ॥

Stal

सामन्तदह [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From Nāndipurī—

(For a translation of lines 1—33 see above, pp. 63-65.)

(Line 33)—‘Be it known to you ! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted, with a libation of water on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village, (*viz.*,) Śīrīshapadraka situated in the *viśhaya* of Akrūrēśvara—together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons (*of the donees*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the thirty-four Brāhmaṇas, (*namely*,) the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaravi, who is a resident of Jambūsaras, who is of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and a student of the Kaṇva (*charaṇa*), and also Tāpīśūra, (*and*) Indraśūra, (*and*) Īśvara; and also Bhaṭṭi, the teacher, who is of the Vatsa *gōtra*, (*and*) Gōpāditya, (*and*) Vāḍa, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Agniśarman, (*and*) Bhaṭṭigaṇa, (*and*) Drōṇa; Viśākha of the Māṭhara *gōtra*, (*and*) Dhara, (*and*) Nandi, (*and*) Rāma; Tāpīśarman of the Daundakiya *gōtra*, (*and*) the second Tāpīśarman, (*and*) Drōṇa, (*and*) Bhaṭṭi, (*and*) Pitṛīśarman, (*and*) Bhāgīsvāmin, (*and*) Dattasvāmin; Dhara of the Lākshmaṇya *gōtra*, (*and*) Dāmadhara, (*and*) Īśvara; Bāva of the Kaundinya *gōtra*,

¹ Fleet reads विज(य)वा—, but the second letter is clearly व.

² Read —स्यादिति । उक्तं.

³ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Read धर्मर्त्य—.

⁵ This sign—manual is in current-hand characters.

(and) Ghōsha, (and) Saila; Bhaṭṭi Dāma of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (and) Vātra; Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*; Karka, the teacher, of the Dhaumrāyaṇa *gōtra*, (and) Āvuka, (and) Indrasūra —for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and such other (religious) rites.

[For a translation of ll. 42-45, see above, p. 66.]

(L. 45) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas:—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 49) In the year three hundred increased by eighty-five, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of Kārttika, (this charter) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth by Rēva, (the officer) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The year 300 (and) 80 (and) 5, (the month) Kārttika, (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Prasāntarāga, the son of Vitarāga, who is devoted to worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The Sāmanta Dadda.

No. 18 ; PLATE XII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 391.

THIS copper-plate measuring 9.5" by 4.5" was apparently found at Saṅkhēḍā in the Baroda District Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 20-21. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is the last plate of its set, and contains ten lines of well-executed writing. The average size of letters is .15" The plate has at the top two round holes .3" in diameter for the rings which must have connected it with other plates of the set. No ring or seal has however been found.

The characters of the inscription including the sign-manual of the donor Raṇagraha belong to the western variety of the South Indian alphabets. The sanction¹ of the gift by the reigning king Dadda is, however, like his sign-manual in the other Saṅkhēḍā and Kairā grants, in the northern characters. The only palæographical peculiarities that call for notice are that (1) the curve for medial *i* is turned to the right in *āchchhindya-mānam*, l. 2; (2) the notch of *b* is at the top; (3) the right-hand hook of *ñ* is added to the subscript *ch* in *uketañ=cha*, l. 3. The language is Sanskrit, and except for four customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the extant portion of the record is in prose. The text is very incorrectly written; see, for instance, *Adityasarmmāya* for *Adityasarmmaṇē*, and *uchchhrishṭam* for *utsrishṭam*, both in l. 1; *asmādāyō* for *asmad-dāyō*, l. 2, etc. The *visarga* is wrongly omitted in many places, as e.g. in *-bhōgapatibhi*, l. 1, *-numantavya*, l. 2, *mahā-pātakai*, l. 3, and the final consonant in *syā*, l. 3 and *vasē*, l. 4. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in *sarggēṇa* and *anyair=vvō*, l. 1, *pañchabhir=mmahāpāntakai*, l. 3, etc; *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *krishṇ-āhayō*, l. 5, *-dhikṛita* and *Mātribhaṭēna*, l. 10, etc; and *n* occurs in place of *ṇ* in *sarggēṇa*, l. 1 and *yaśaskarāni*, l. 6.

¹ The expression *Śrī-Dadda-pādānta(ṇṇ)jñā [tām]* conveying the sanction is in characters resembling those of the sign-manual of Dadda II, in the Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā grants (Nos. 16-17, 19-20), but the addition of the word *pāda* to the royal name and the use of the personal name *Dadda* instead of the *biruda* *Prasāntarāga* shows that it is not in the handwriting of Dadda II.

The plate contains the last part of a grant of Ranagraha, the son of Vitarāga, who describes himself in his sign-manual as devoted to the worship of the sun. The grant was sanctioned by the illustrious Dadda. In the absence of the previous plates of the set, all details about the object, occasion and purpose of the gift are lost. Only the name of the Brāhmaṇa donee Ādityaśarman has been preserved on the present plate. It is possible, however, to conjecture that the object of the gift was a field¹ as in the case of the other complete Saṅkhēdā grants of Dadda II. The *dātaka* was the *Bhōgikapālaka* Dujjāna and the writer Mātribhāṭa, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 391 of an unspecified era. The palacography of the grant makes it certain that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Vaiśākha in the expired² year 391 would correspond to the 15th May 641 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

We know from two complete sets of Saṅkhēdā plates³ that Dadda II-Prasāntarāga continued to reign till the Kalachuri year 392. The date of the present grant, therefore, falls in his reign. As Dadda II also was a son of Vitarāga, Ranagraha, the donor of the present grant, must have been his brother. It seems that he was placed in charge of some part of his kingdom and had the status of a feudatory chief, but as he was not completely independent, his grant had to be sanctioned by his liege-lord, Dadda II. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has, however, suggested that Ranagraha was another name of Dadda II himself⁴, but the duct of the latter's sign-manual is different in the Kairā and Saṅkhēdā plates.⁵ Secondly, the early Gurjara kings are known to have assumed only one *biruda* in addition to their personal name and the *biruda* of Dadda II, known from his Kairā and Saṅkhēdā plates, was *Prasāntarāga*, not *Ranagraha*. Thirdly, his minister for peace and war was Rēva during the period from K. 380 to K. 392.⁶ The latter would, therefore, in all probability, have been mentioned in that capacity in the present grant of K. 391. But the officer mentioned here as *Sandhivigrahādhiperita* is Mātribhāṭa, not Rēva. For these reasons, I prefer to follow Mr. Dhruva⁷ and Dr. Bühler⁸ in taking Ranagraha to be a brother of Dadda II.

TEXT*

१ ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्माया¹⁰ उदकातिसर्गोन्नोच्छिष्ट¹¹ [1*] यतोस्माज्महज्ज¹² रन्यैवर्गामिमोगपति-
मि[.]* अय-

¹ The expression *udak-ātisarggām(n)-ōschchbri(tsi)chham* in l. 1 evidently qualifies some word like *kshātram* (a field).

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 16th April 640 A. C. For the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha the dates would correspond to the 16th April, 641 A. C. and the 28th March 640 A. C. respectively.

³ Below, Nos. 19 and 20.

⁴ I. N. I., p. 161, n. 3.

⁵ Its wording here is also slightly different; for it contains *dinakara-kirap-ābhyaarchana-ratasya* in place of *dinakara-charap-ārchana-ratasya* which occurs in the sign-manual of Dadda II in all his grants.

⁶ See No. 16, l. 51; No. 17, l. 50, No. 19, l. 28 and No. 20, l. 27.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 38.

⁹ From the facsimile accompanying Mr. H. H. Dhruva's article, facing p. 21, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II.

¹⁰ Read —शर्मान्.

¹¹ Read —सर्गोन्नोच्छिष्टम्.

¹² Read यतोस्महज्ज—.

- 2 मस्मादायो¹नुमन्तव्य[:*] पालयितव्यश्च [:*] यो बाह्मानतिमिरपटलाव्रित²राच्छिन्नावाच्छिन्न-
मानं³ वा—
3 नुमोदेत⁴ स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै[:*] संयुक्तः स्या इत्युक्तञ्च⁵ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन
[:*] षष्ठिवरिष⁷—
4 सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदा(दः) [:*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त्⁸ ॥१॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्क—
5 कोटरवासिन[:*] कृष्णाहयो⁹ हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारका[:*॥२॥] यानीह दत्तानि
पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
6 धर्मत्यागशस्करानि¹⁰ [:*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम¹¹ साधु[:*] पुनरादधीति¹²
[॥३॥*] स्वदत्ता¹³ परदत्ता वा
7 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [:*] मही¹⁴ महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाता तु च्छ्रेयो¹⁵नुपालनमिति¹⁶[॥४॥*]
8 संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये¹⁷ वैशाखबहुलपञ्चदश्यां सं ३०० ९० १ वैशाख व १० ५ [:*]
9 दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकदुःखान¹⁸[:*] दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनो
10 रणग्रहस्य [:*] श्रीदहपादान्तज्ञा[तं]¹⁹ लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिक्रि(कृ)तं²⁰मात्रिभटेन²¹ [:*]

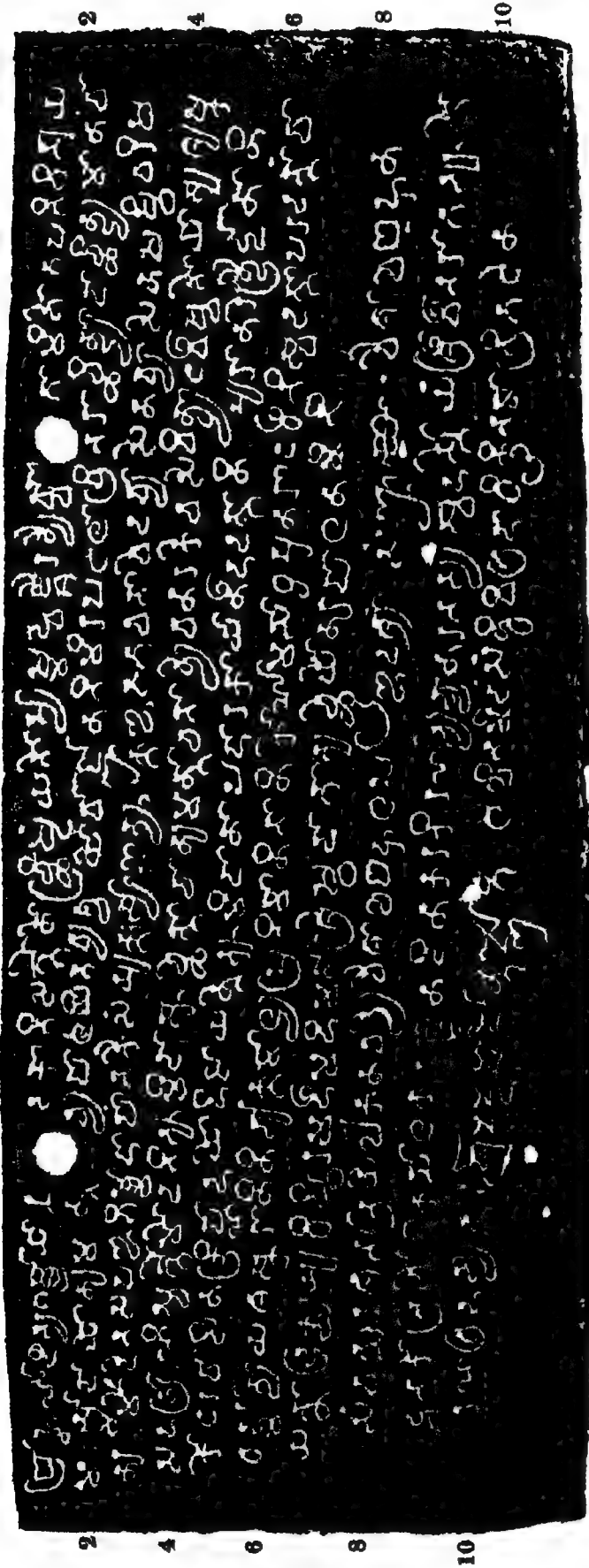
TRANSLATION

(The field....) has been granted (by us) with a libation of water to the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaśarman. Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(Line 3) And it has been declared by the holy Vyāsa who arranged the Vēdas—

- ¹ Read —मस्मादायो.
² Read —पटलावृतमति—.
³ Read —दाच्छिन्नमानं.
⁴ Read बानुमोदेत.
⁵ The *anusvāra* is superfluous.
⁶ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.
⁷ Read षष्टिं वर्ष—.
⁸ Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushtubh*.
⁹ Read कृष्णाहयो.
¹⁰ Read धर्मतिर्यगशस्कराणि.
¹¹ Read नाम.
¹² Read पुनरादधीत. Metre: *Indravajrā*.
¹³ Read स्वदत्ता.
¹⁴ Read मही.
¹⁵ Read दानाच्छ्रेयो—.
¹⁶ Read —नुपालनम् ॥ इति. Metre: *Anushtubh*.
¹⁷ Read एकनवत्यधिके.
¹⁸ Mr. Dhruva read भोगिकपालकदुःखान [:*], but the correct reading given above was first pointed out by Dr. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 39.
¹⁹ These eight aksharas are in current-hand characters. Mr. Dhruva read them as श्रीदहपादान्तज्ञाति and proposed the emendation—पादान्तज्ञातेः. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed to read. —पादान्तज्ञाति[ना*] and to construe it as an epithet of Mātṛibhaṭa. (See his *Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 161, n. 3). I would suggest श्रीदहपादानुज्ञातम्. Compare श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजानुज्ञातेन in the Goā plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarma in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X (Old Series), p. 365.
²⁰ The usual expression is सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृत—.
²¹ Read मातृभटेन.

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 391



[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 8) In the year three hundred (*increased by*) ninety-one, on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Vaiśākha, (*in figures*) the year 300 (*and*) 90, (*the month*) Vaiśākha, the dark (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

The *dātaka* of this (*grant*) is the *Bhōgikapālaka* Dujjāna.

This is the sign-manual of Raṇagraha, the son of the illustrious Vitarāga, who is devoted to the worship of the sun.

(*As*) sanctioned by the feet of the illustrious Dadḍa (II), this (*order*) has been written by Maṭṭibhaṭṭa who is in charge of (*the Department of*) Peace and War.

No. 19; PLATE XIII A

SANKHEDA PLATES (FIRST SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA):
(KALACHURI) YEAR 392.

THESE copper-plates were discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baroda at Saṅkhēḍā in the Baroda District Bombay State. Dr. G. Bühler first published an article in German on them in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Wiener Akademi*, Vol. CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pp., 37 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

They are two plates inscribed on one side only, each measuring 10" by 5½", and contain at the top two holes ½" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. No ring or seal has, however, been found. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are incised on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets as in the two cognate sets of Kairā plates. The letters except those of the sign-manual contain small knobs at the top. The letters of the sign-manual, on the other hand, which are in the northern current-hand characters have short horizontal (often curved) strokes at the top. As the present inscription was written by the same officer Rēva who wrote the earlier Kairā grants,¹ its characters, as might be expected, closely resemble those of the latter. Some peculiarities may, however, be noticed here. The medial *i* is generally cursive as in *diḍhiti*, l. 4 and *mānini*, l. 6, but its other form consisting of two circles one inside the other occurs in *simā*-, l. 11. The form of medial *a* in *vadhā*, l. 2, *paripūrta*, l. 5, *pūrvva*, l. 6, the like of which rarely occurs in the earlier Kairā grants, that of *h* in *mahattar*-, l. 9 and of the triangular *b* in *bahala*, l. 7, *brahmadēya*, l. 12, etc. are also noteworthy. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal stroke at the top, see *vasēt*, l. 24. Punctuation is denoted by single or double dots and in some cases by single or double vertical strokes. The symbols for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 2 occur in l. 29.

The language is Sanskrit. The text of the inscription, so far as it goes, is almost² an exact copy of that of the earlier Kairā grants except, of course, in such details as the name and description of the donee, the object of the grant, its date, etc. As regards orthography, we may note in addition to what has already been noticed in

¹ Above, Nos. 16 and 17.

² There are some minor differences e.g., *sammanvartaya* in l. 9 of the present record occurs in neither of the Kairā grants.

connection with the Kairā grants, the doubling of *th* after an *anuvāra* in *paṁtthāb*, l. 12 and of *k* before *r* in *yajñādikkriy-*, ll. 17-18.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpura by Dadda who had obtained the *pañchamahāśabda*. As in the Kairā plates, he calls himself *Prasāntarāga*, the son of Vitarāga, in his sign-manual. He is, therefore, identical with Dadda II of the Early Gurjara dynasty. Unlike the Kairā plates, the present inscription does not contain any eulogy of his two predecessors—his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhaṭa I-Vitarāga.

The plates record the grant of a field in the village Suvarṇārapalli which was situated in the *vishaya* of Saṅgamakhēṭaka, requiring for its seed grains one *piṭaka* of paddy by the measure prevalent in that *vishaya*, together with the usual rights and exemptions. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and the Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina *śākhā*, who had previously emigrated from Daśapura and was then residing at the village Kshīrasara. The grant was made for the purpose of providing for the five great sacrifices and other rites. The donated field was bounded on the east by the junction with the boundary of the village Kshīrasara, on the north by the junction with the boundary of the village Kukkuṭavallikā, on the west by an *agrahāra* field, a banyan tree and a *talāikā* (tank?) and on the south by the way leading to the village Suvarṇārapalli and the junction with (the boundary of) Aṭavīpāṭaka. The plates were written by Rēva, the head of the Department of Peace and War.

The grant is dated both in words and in numerical symbols on the **fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 392**. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 392, to the 20th April 642 A.C.¹ It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Nāndīpura which is clearly identical with Nāndīpuri of the Kairā grants, has already been identified with Nāndōd in the Broach District. Daśapura is Mandasōr in Western Malwā. Saṅgamakhēṭaka, the headquarters of the *vishaya* named after it, is clearly modern Saṅkhēḍā where the plates were discovered. As Dr. Bühler says, 'Saṅgamakhēṭaka means etymologically 'the village at the confluence (of two rivers), and the Unchh and the Or² join near Saṅkhēḍā. The *vishaya* or province of Saṅgamakhēṭaka probably included the Saṅkhēḍā Prānt of the Gaikwād's possessions, as well as the neighbouring portion of Rēvākānṭhā Agency, still called Saṅkhēḍā Mēvās'. Of the villages mentioned in the present grant, only two can be identified. Kukkuṭavallikā³ is apparently identical with Kukaḍ, about 8 miles west-south-west of Saṅkhēḍā. Kshīrasara may be Khariākuā, about a mile to the east of Kukaḍ.

TEXT *

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ स्वस्ति [।*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्गतंरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदधवलयाः—
- 2 प्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभा—

¹ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 30th April 641 A. C.

² This is called Orsang in the Survey maps.

³ Dr. Bühler identified this village with Kukreli which, according to him, lies to the east of Saṅkhēḍā; but I have not been able to trace it on the Degree Map, No. 46 F.

⁴ From the photo-lithographs accompanying Bühler's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 तसमयकवित्तच्छलोद्गीयमाननिमलविस्मृश¹प्रतापो देवद्विजातिमुत्तरणकवलप्रणा—
- 4 मोक्षुष्टवक्षमणिकोटिश्चिरदीधितिबिराजितमकुटोद्भासितशिराः² दीनानायातुराभ्या—
- 5 गतास्त्रिजगत्समिष्टपरिपूरितविभवमजोरयोपधीयमानविशिष्टपैकसहायधर्मसं—
- 6 चयः प्रथमपरिकुपितमतिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी—
- 7 कृतविद्यवचनायस्कस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणपञ्जराक्षिप्तबहुलकलितिमिरनिचयः
- 8 समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदह³कुशली सर्वाभिव राजसामन्तशौचिकविषयपतिराष्ट्र—
- 9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुवर्ण्य⁴ शोधयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्मानिः सङ्क्रमलेटकविष—
- 10 मान्सर्गसुवर्णरिपल्लिग्रामे पूर्वसीमि ।⁵ तद्विषयमानेन ग्रीहिपिटकवापं क्षेत्रं
- 11 मस्याचाटनानि पूर्वतः क्षीरसरग्रामसीमासन्धिः⁶ उत्तरतः कृष्णकुटिलिकाग्रामसीमासन्धिः
- 12 अपरतः ब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं बटवृक्षो⁷ । तलाइका च । दक्षिणतः सुवर्णरिपल्लिग्रामगामी पत्न्याः⁸
- 13 अटवीपाटकग्रामसन्धिरथ ॥ एवमेतच्चतुराचाटनविशुद्धं क्षेत्रं सोमङ्गं
- 14 सोपरिकरं सर्वादानसंघ्राह्यं सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं

Second Plate

- 15 भूमिच्छिन्नन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्कपूर्णवकितित्थितिसमकालीनं
- 16 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोगं द्वा(द)शपुरविनिर्मातक्षीरसरग्रामवास्तव्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि(ष)स—
- 17 नेयमाध्यन्दिनसत्रह्यचारिब्राह्मणसूय्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिविक—
- 18 योत्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोमिवृद्धयेद्य वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यामुदकातिसर्गेणा—
- 19 तिसृष्टं(ष्टम्) [1*] यतोस्यास्मद्वस्यैरन्यैर्वा⁹ गामिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजल—
- तरङ्गचञ्चलं
- 20 जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्निभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलम्य सामान्यभोगभूष—
- 21 वानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकरश्चिरं यशश्चिराय चिन्नीषुभिरयमस्महायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च¹⁰ ।
- 22 यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तः
- 23 स्यादित्युक्तञ्च¹¹ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*]
- आच्छेत्ता चानुम—
- 24 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹² ॥ [१॥*] वन्ध्याटवी¹³ ध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1] कृष्णाहयो
- हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हर—
- 25 न्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्बसुधा मुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
- तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यात्रीह तादा¹⁴
- 26 नि पुरा नरेन्द्रानि धर्मात्पर्यवशास्कराणि [1*] निर्मुक्तमात्यप्रतिभानि तानि को नाम सायुः
- पुनराददीत¹⁵ ॥ [४॥*] स्वद—

¹ Read निस्त्रिण—.

² This *starga* should have been dropped.

³ Read शोधयति । वस्तु.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read सन्धिरस्तः. *Sandhis* have not been made in several other places also.

⁶ Read बटवृक्षस्तलाइका च. The marks of punctuation in this and the next line are superfluous.

⁷ Read पत्न्याः. The superscript letter of the second *akshara* is clearly *r*.

⁸ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here. Read. —अन्वैश्वदेवाग्नि—.

⁹ Read पातयितव्यश्च.

¹⁰ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

¹¹ Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Read वन्ध्याटवी—.

¹³ Read वस्तानि.

¹⁴ Metre: *Indravajra*.

- 27 तां परदतां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपाकनमिति¹ [11*]
संवत्सरशतत्रये
28 द्विनवत्यधिके वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां स्वमुखामया लिखितमिदं सन्निविप्रहकरणाधिकृतरेणे
29 सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [1*] दिनकरधरणाञ्जनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं
श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य [11*]

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-8, see above, p. 65.)

(Line 9) "Be it known to you ! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water to-day, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of **Vaiśākha**, the field on the eastern boundary of the village **Suvarṇārapalli** situated in the *vishaya* of **Saṅgamakhēṭaka**, requiring a *pitaka* of paddy for its seed grains, whose boundaries are—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village **Kshīrasara**, on the north the junction with the boundary of the village **Kukkuṭavallikā**, on the west a field donated to a **Brāhmaṇa**, a banyan tree and a *talāikā* (tank ?), (and) on the south the way leading to the village **Suvarṇārapalli**—the field marked clearly with these four boundaries, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara* inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour (and) special rights,—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, (and) the earth will endure,—to the **Brāhmaṇa** **Sūrya** of the **Bharadvāja gōtra**, a student of the **Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina** (*śākhā*), who, having emigrated from **Dāsapura**, (now) resides in the village **Kshīrasara**—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* (and) *agnihōtra*, and other (religious) rites.

(For a translation of ll. 19-23, see above, p. 66.)

(L. 23) And it has been said by the holy **Vyāsa**, the redactor of the **Vēdas**—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 27) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-two, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of **Vaiśākha**, this (*charter*) has been written, at the command of our mouth, by **Rēva** who is in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The year 300 (and) 90 (and) 2, (the month) **Vaiśākha**, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious **Prasāntarāga**, the son of the illustrious **Vītarāga**, who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

No. 20 ; PLATE XIII B

SANKHEDA PLATES (SECOND SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA) :
(KALACHURI) YEAR 392

THESE plates were, like the preceding, discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baroda at **Saṅkhēḍā** in the **Baroḍā** District of the **Bombay** State. Dr. Bühler first published an article in German on them in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Wiener Akademie*, Vol. CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

¹ Read -नुपालनम् ॥१॥ इति. Metre: *Anushtupb.*

A.—SANKHEDA PLATES (FIRST SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392

i.

2 1
4 2
6 3
8 4
10 5
12 6
14 7

2 8
4 9
6 10
8 11
10 12
12 13
14 14

ii.

16 1
18 2
20 3
22 4
24 5
26 6
28 7

16 8
18 9
20 10
22 11
24 12
26 13
28 14

B.—SANKHEDA PLATES (SECOND SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392

ii.

16

18

20

22

24

26

28

They are two copper-plates, each being inscribed on one side only and measuring 10" by 6". They contain at the top two round holes, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, for the rings which must have held them together. But no ring or seal, if there was any, was discovered. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the last grant which, as we shall see, was written by the same writer and on the same day. Still, curious as it might appear, there are some minor differences in their characters. For instance the medial (long) *r* is generally cursive in the preceding record, while its prevailing form in this grant consists of two circles one inside the other; see *prakāśikṛita*, 1.6, *Kshīrasara*, 1.9, etc.; in the former record *ṛ* was marked by a notch in the base in all cases, while in this it generally appears with a ringlet in its loop, though the notched form also occurs sporadically; as instances of the former type, see *din-ānāṭh*-, 1.4, *munōrath*-, 1.3, etc., and of the latter, see *dharm-ārṭtha*-, 1.24; *b* was generally triangular in the preceding grant, but is rectangular almost everywhere in this; see e.g., *kar-āvabōdhita*, 1.1, *bahala*, 1.7, etc. The sign-manual is in the northern current-hand characters as in other inscriptions of Dadda II. The language is Sanskrit and the text is almost¹ an exact copy of the preceding record, differing chiefly in respect of the object of the grant. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in the preceding grant, for both the records were written by the same scribe. One additional peculiarity may, however, be noticed here, *viz.* the doubling of the sibilant *ś* after *r* in *samanudarśayaty-*, against Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpura by Dadda who had acquired the *pañcama-hāśabda* and who calls himself *Prasāntarāga*, the son of Vitarāga in his sign-manual. He is, therefore, identical with Dadda II of the Early Gurjara dynasty. The inscription records the grant of a field requiring as seed grains ten *prasthas* of paddy by the larger measure. The field was situated on the south-western boundary of the village *Kshīrasara* in the *viśaya* of *Śaṅgamakhēṭaka*. The donee was the same as in the preceding grant, *viz.* the Brāhmaṇa *Sūrya* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and the *Vājasaneyā-Mādhyandina śākhā*, who had emigrated from the town of *Daśapura* and was then residing at *Kshīrasara*. The present grant was made for the same purpose and on the same day as the preceding and as stated already, the scribe was also the same, *viz.*, the *Sāndhivigrahika* *Rēva*. One additional detail which does not occur in any other grant of Dadda II is the mention of the *dūtaka* *Karka* who, like the *dūtaka* of *Raṇagraha*'s grant, bore the title *Bhōgika-pālaka*.

The date of the record, *viz.*, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* in the year 392 is given both in words and in numerical symbols. It would correspond, for the expired *Kalachuri* year 392, to the 20th April 642 A.C. as stated before.² It does not admit of verification.

The geographical names *Nāndīpura*, *Daśapura*, *Śaṅgamakhēṭaka* and *Kshīrasara* have already been identified.³

¹ As minor differences may be noted *samanudarśayaty=astu* of the present record in place of *samanuvarya bōdhayaty=astu* etc. in line 9 of the last grant, and *sa-śīvarant* in line 12, nothing corresponding to which occurs in the last grant. The present inscription again mentions a *dūtaka* who does not figure in any other grant of Dadda II.

² See above, p. 76 and n. 1.

³ See above, p. 76.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [1*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्गतंरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदवक्त्रवक्त्रःप्रता-
नास्थगि-
- 2 तनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसङ्कटप्रमुखागतनिहृतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभातसमयसहितच्छलो-
- 3 द्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्गश्रितापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामोद्बुष्टवक्त्रवक्त्रिका (की)-
- 4 टिरुचिरदीधिति⁴विराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिराः दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतात्त्रिजनाकिल्लपपरिपूरित-
- 5 विभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायभ्रमसंचयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनी-
- 6 जनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवक्त्रनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमल-
- 7 गुणकिरणपञ्चराक्षिप्तबहुलकलितिमिरनिचयः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दधीवद्वि⁸कुशली
- 8 सर्व्वनिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकाधिकादी⁹न्समनुवर्षयत्यस्तु
- 9 वो विदितमस्माभिः सङ्गमखेटकविषयान्तर्गतक्षीरसरग्रामा¹⁰परदक्षिणसीम्न¹¹ बृह-
- 10 न्मानेन ग्रीहिदशप्रस्थवापं क्षेत्रं यस्य पूर्व्वतस्सन्धी अङ्गोल्लवृक्षाः उत्तरतः शकवृक्षाः
- 11 वटवृक्षश्च ॥ अपरतः खदिरवदरिनिक्षी¹² । दक्षिणतः श[ल्म¹³]ली । भूतवटश्चैवमेतच्छतु-
- 12 राषाटनविशुद्धं सशीबरं¹⁴ सोद्रङ्गसोपरिकरं सर्व्वदानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वद्विषयविष्टिप्रा-
- 13 तिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रावर्णवक्षितितिस्वतिस-
- 14 मकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं दशपुरविनिर्गतक्षीरसरनिवासिभरद्वाज-

Second Plate

- 15 सगोत्रवाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसन्नह्यचारिब्राह्मणसूर्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदे-
- 16 वाग्निहोत्रहवन¹⁵पञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं (र्थं) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
- 17 वैशाखपौर्णमास्यामुदकातिसर्गंगातिसृष्टं (ष्टम्) [1*] यतोस्यास्मद्वैरन्मैर्वागमिभोगपति-
- 18 भिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचञ्चलं जीवलोकमथावानुगतानसारान्वीभवा¹⁶
- 19 न्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानं¹⁷ कलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं
- 20 यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
- 21 वृत्तमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्मर्म्हापातकंस्सयुक्तस्यादित्युक्त¹⁸
- 22 ऊच भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेता

¹ From the photo-lithographs accompanying Dr. Bühler's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 57 ff.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read निस्त्रिङ्ग-

⁴ The engraver at first incised *ni* which was later on altered to *ti*.

⁵ Read -विकारिकादीन्समनुवर्षयति । अस्तु.

⁶ The engraver at first incised ग्रामो, but later on altered it to ग्रामा- by cancelling the *mātrā* on *mā*.

⁷ Read सीम्नि.

⁸ Read -वदरीवृक्षी.

⁹ The subscript *m* of *lma* is not completely incised. The mark of punctuation, which follows, is superfluous.

¹⁰ I am not certain about the correct form of this technical term which so far as I know, occurs only in the Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasena I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 107) in the form, *sa-saibaram*. There also it is an adjective of some word like *kshītram* which is omitted by mistake. M. Williams gives *sibira* in the senses of a royal camp, a tent, an entrenchment for the protection of an army, a kind of grain, but none of these meanings would suit *hcc*. Perhaps it means 'a farm-house'.

¹¹ The word हवन does not occur in the corresponding portion of the last grant.

¹² Read विमवा-.

¹³ Read प्रदानकलेप्सुभिः.

¹⁴ Read -स्सयुक्तस्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

- 23 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹ ॥ [१॥*] बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*]
यस्य यस्य
- 24 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [२॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थं—
यथास्कराणि [१*]
- 25 निर्मुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नामसाधुः पुनरादधीत² ॥ [३॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्—
26 क्षयुषिष्ठिर । महि (ह्रीं) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्)³ ॥ [४॥*] इति [१*] संवत्सर—
यातत्रये द्विनवत्यभि—
- 27 के वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां भोगिकपालककवकदूतकं लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवेण स्वमुखाजयेति [॥*]
28 सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [॥*] दिनकरचरणाच्चैरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोद्यं
श्रीप्रशा—
- 29 न्तरागस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-7, see above, p. 65.)

(Line 8) "Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water, on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, the field on the south-eastern border of the village **Kshirasara** situated in the *vishaya* of **Saṅgamakhēṭaka**, requiring for its seed-grains ten *prasthas*⁴ of paddy by the larger measure—on the eastern boundary of which (*there is*) an *Ankōlla* tree,⁵ on the north a *Sāka* tree⁶ and a *Banyan* tree, on the west a *Khadira*⁷ and a *Badari* (jujube) tree, on the south a *Sālmali*⁸ (*tree*), and a haunted *Banyan* tree—(*the field*) marked clearly with these four boundaries together with *śibara* (a farm-house?), *ud-ranga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour, (*and*) special rights—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (*and*) the earth will endure—to the *Brāhmaṇa Sūrya* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*, a student of the *Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina śākhā*, who, having emigrated from *Daśapura*, (*now*) resides in the village **Kshirasara**—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva* (*and*) offerings in *agnihōtra*, and other (*religious*) rites.

(For a translation of ll. 17-21, see above, p. 66.)

(L. 21) And it has been said by the holy *Vyāsa* the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 26) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-two on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, (*this charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Bhōgikapālaka Karka*, has been written at the command of Our mouth by the *Sāndhivigrahika Rēva*.

The year 300 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 2, (*the month*) Vaiśākha, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10, (*and*) 5. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious *Prasāntarāga*, the son of the illustrious *Vītarāga*, who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

¹ Metre of this and the next verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Metre: *Indravajrā*.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ *Prastha* is a measure of capacity, being equal to four *kaḍavas*.

⁵ 'Alangium Hexapetalum' (M. W.)

⁶ 'Acacia Sirissa' (*Ibid*).

⁷ 'Acacia Catechu' (*Ibid*).

⁸ The *Seemul* or *Silk-cotton* tree.

No. 21; PLATE XIV

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III : (KALACHURI) YEAR 456

THESE plates were found during excavation of some foundations at Navsāri, the chief town of the Navsāri *Prānt* of the Surat District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr. Shariarji Dadabhai Bharuch of Navsāri, who sent them to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. The latter edited them with photozincographed plates and a translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

They are two copper-plates each measuring 12" by 9". Their edges are fashioned thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the writing. A small piece at the top of the proper right-hand side and a large triangular piece with its sides measuring about 4", 3" and 4½" at the bottom of the same side of the second plate have been broken away and lost. This has resulted in the loss of one *akshara* in l. 23 and from one to six *aksharas* in ll. 36-43. All the missing letters except those in l. 42 can, however, be conjecturally supplied. The plates are otherwise in a state of good preservation. They have two round holes about ½" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together, but the rings and the seal, which must have been on one of them are lost. The record consists of forty-four lines, twenty-two being inscribed on each plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Dadda II. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *ḍ* as in the Kairā plates of K. 380¹—one with a loop and the other with a tail, see *taḍāka*-, ll. 24 and 28, and to the triangular *th* in *pathak*-, l. 22. *Dh* appears round in *-ādhirōhaṇa*, l. 10 and elongated elsewhere as in *dhārā*-, l. 6; *b* is square in *bahubhir*-, l. 37, round in *bandhu*, l. 13, *bal-ādhiḥkṛita*-, l. 42 and almost triangular like *v*, in *bali*-, l. 21; *ś* shows, instead of the usual horizontal bar, a notch in its right limb, see *ma-hā-śabda* and *kuśali*, both in l. 17. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see *vasēt* l. 36, or by curve as in *nibaddham* l. 43. Punctuation is expressed by single and double dots as well as by single and double vertical strokes. The numerical symbols for 400, 50 and 6 occur in l. 42. Others for 10 and 5, which must have occurred at the beginning of l. 43, have been lost. The sign-manual at the end is in the northern current-hand characters. Unlike the sign-manual of Dadda II, it shows the bipartite Nāgari form of *y*.

The language is high-flown Sanskrit, containing long compounds and puns and other *alanākāras*. The eulogistic portion is composed on the model of that of the earlier grants of Dadda II (see e.g., the Kairā plates). Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The Prakrit word *satka* occurs thrice in the formal part defining the boundaries of the donated field. As regards orthographical peculiarities, we may notice the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* as in *vanṣa* and *nistrinṣa*, both in l. 6 and the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *vinirggata* and *chāturvvidya*, both in l. 19, *pūrvvōttara*, l. 22 etc. The marks of punctuation appear redundant in many cases in the prose portion of the text.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Jayabhata, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his camp at Kāyāvatāra. He was born in a family descended from the Mahārāja Karṇa and had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. The object of the inscription

¹ See above No. 16.

is to record the grant, by Jayabhata, of a field measuring sixty *nivartanas* on the north-east boundary of the village *Śamīpadraka* situated in the *Kōrillā pathaka* (sub-division). Two villages *Golikā* and *Dhāhaddha* are mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the field. The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the religious rites such as *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (the reception of) guests etc. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Dēvasvāmin of the Prāgāyana¹ *gōtra*, a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajurveda, who had emigrated from Girinagara and was at the time of the grant residing at the *agrahāra* village Śraddhikā. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright half of Māgha. It was written by the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Kēśava, the son of a *Bhōjika* whose name is lost. The *dātaka* was the *Balādhikṛita* Bāvulla².

The plates give the following genealogy of the donor—

Dadda.
|
Jayabhata.
|
Dadda-Bāhusahāya.
|
Jayabhata.

The record does not furnish much historical information about these princes. The last two—the second Dadda and the second Jayabhata—were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara and had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. The former is also said to have attained the biruda of *Bāhusahāya* (he whose arm is the sole helper) by the might of his arm, which he exhibited in the wars with the eastern and western supreme rulers. As these rulers are not mentioned by name, it is not possible to identify them definitely, but the former may be the ruler of Valabhī and the latter the king of Malwa. In connection with the first Dadda in the above list, we have the interesting information, which is supplied for the first time by the present grant, that he attained great fame by giving protection to the lord of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadēva.

Though the present grant does not specify the dynasty to which these princes belonged, there is no doubt that they belonged to the Gurjara lineage; for as Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out, these names do not occur in any other dynasty.³ In the present record their family is, for the first time, said to have descended from the *Mahārāja* Karṇa. This is evidently in accordance with the tendency of the age to trace the origin of royal families to some mythical or legendary eponymous hero. This *Mahārāja* Karṇa is, therefore, probably identical with the epic hero of that name, the staunch supporter and friend of Duryōdhana, who distinguished himself in the Mahābhārata war.

As shown below, the present grant was made in the Kalachuri year 456. Dadda, the first prince mentioned in it who was the great-grand-father of the donor Jayabhata, was, therefore, probably ruling in the Kalachuri year 381. He is consequently identical with Dadda II—Prasāntarāga whose known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392, i.e., from 629-30 A.C. to 641-42 A.C. This is again confirmed by the statement in the present plates that he was a contemporary of the Emperor Harshadēva who is none other than Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-647 A.C.). The Gurjara princes mentioned in the present

¹ See below, p. 86, n. 3.

² He is the *dātaka* mentioned in the Anjanēri plates also of the same king. See line 39 of No. 22, below.

³ One Dadda is mentioned in the Jōdhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 91). As shown by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, he was probably identical with Dadda I and flourished about 575 A. C.

grant are, therefore, Dadda (II)-Prasāntarāga, his son Jayabhata (II), his son Dadda (III)-Bāhusahāya, and his son Jayabhata (III) who made the present grant.

As stated above, the grant recorded on the present plates was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Māgha. The year is given in words in l. 41 as 456 of an unspecified era. There is, however, no doubt that like the dates of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras, this date is to be referred to the Kalachuri era. The charter was written on the same day on which the grant was made. The date of its recording was expressed by numerical symbols in ll. 42 and 43. The symbols which occur at the end of l. 42 give the year 456 as the year of recording, but the name of the month, and the lunar fortnight as well as the symbols for the *tithi*, which were incised in the beginning of l. 43, are lost owing to the breaking off of the left-hand corner of the second plate. The name of the week-day is also lost, as only the letters *vāre* can be read with certainty in the beginning of the preserved portion of l. 43. The *akshara* which preceded *vā* of *vāre* is also partially broken away, but what remains of it shows that it was *ma* and, therefore, the day was either *Sōma* Monday or *Bhauṃa* Tuesday. Assuming that the charter was made *nibaddha* on the same day on which the grant was made as in the case of the Kāvī plates¹ of Jayabhata IV, Bhagvanlal and Fleet conjectured that Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday (or Tuesday) of the year 456 was the date of the grant. Cunningham found by calculation that with the epoch of 249-250 A.C., the full moon day of Māgha of the Chēdi (or Kalachuri) year 456² fell on Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A.C., on which day there was a lunar eclipse³ as stated in the grant. This is, therefore, the date of the grant.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Pandit Bhagvanlal⁴ identified Kāyāvatāra, the site of the royal camp, with Kāvī in the Jambusar *tāluka* of the Broach district; but, as pointed out by Bühler⁵, Kāvī does not phonetically correspond to Kāyāvatāra; besides, the old name of Kāvī was Kāpikā which is mentioned in the Kāvī plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta prince Gōvinda⁶. Dr. Bühler at first took the place-name to signify the incarnation of a son or descendant of *Ka* or Prajāpati, and thought that Kāyāvatāra was a place of pilgrimage on the Narmadā⁷. Later on he identified it with Kārwan (lat. 20° 3' N. and long. 73° 10' E.) which he connected philologically with Kāyāvatāra (the village possessing the Kāya manifestation⁸). It seems better to derive Kārwan from Kāyāvarōhaṇa⁹ which conveys the same sense as

¹ See below No. 23.

² Cunningham did not state in this connection whether the year was current or expired, but from his remarks in *A. S. I. R.* Vol. IX, p. 111, it is clear that he took it to be an expired year. Later on, Kielhorn clearly showed in his article 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi Era' that the year was expired according to the epoch A. D. 248-249. (See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 220). This is one of the few verifiable early dates of the era, which come from Western India. It shows that the epoch A. D. 247-248, which Kielhorn deduced later from Kalachuri dates found in the Madhya Pradesh and Central India, does not suit these early dates.

³ 'According to Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* there was a lunar eclipse on February 2, 706, 16 h. 37 m. Greenwich time or at Lañkā, 9 h. 40 m. P. M.' *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 220.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 147.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 176. In this case also Dr. Bühler derived *Kāya* from *Ka*, Brahman, and supported the derivation by stating that in 'Kārwan the chief deity is Brahmēśvara Mahādēva, which might also be called Kāyēśvara, because *ka* and Brahman are synonyms.'

⁹ There is metathesis here as in Achalapura (Ellichpur) and Vārānasi (Benares). Bühler later on accepted the derivation. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 274.

Kāyavatāra, viz., 'the descent in the bodily form' of Śiva and refers to his incarnation as Lakulīśa, the founder of a Pāśupata sect.¹ Girinagara is the well-known Gīrnār in Kathiawad. Śraddhikā is Sādhi, 5 miles south by west of Padrā, the head-quarters of the Padrā taluka in the Baroda District. Kōrillā, the headquarters of the *pathaka* (sub-division), in which the donated village was situated, is probably Kōral on the northern bank of the Narmadā 10 m. north-east of Broach. Samīpadraka is, as shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar², identical with the village of the same name which was given away by the Navsārī plates of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha, for two of the surrounding villages Gōlikā and Dhāhaddha are the same³ in both the grants. In Karka's grant the village is said to be situated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā.⁴ From the boundary villages mentioned in it, Samīpadraka seems to be identical with Sōndārn, seven miles south-west of Kārwan and about twelve miles north of the Narmadā. Dhāhaddha is probably Dhāwaṭ two miles to the north of Sōndārn. Gōlikā cannot be identified.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीकायावतारवासकात् सतत[ल]क्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।⁷ तृष्णासन्ताप-
हारिणि⁷ । [दि]ननाथवि-
- 2 स्तारितानुभावे । द्वि[ज]कुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशालिनि । महति महाराजकर्णान्वये । कमला-
कर इव रा-
- 3 जहंसः प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित⁸विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरोदारचरितविस्मापितसकललोका-
- 4 लमानसः परमेस्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतबलभीषतिपरिभ्राणोपजातभ्रमददभ्रशुभ्राभविभ्रम-
- 5 यशोवितानः श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरशङ्कितागतप्रणयिजनोपमुक्तविभवसञ्चयोपवीयमानमनो-
- 6 निर्दुतिक(र)नेककण्टकवङ्⁹संसदोहवाहुर्लुलितप्रतापानलो निशित(त)निस्त्रिङ्क¹⁰वारादा[रि]-
तारातिकरि-
- 7 कुम्भमुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयमोङ्कुका¹¹बभ्रुष्टितदिग्बभ्रुवदनसरसिजः श्रीजयभटस्तस्या[स्म]
जो म-
- 8 हामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधम्मनिष्ठानप्रवणि¹²वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसक-
- 9 लकलिकालावलेपः प्रणयिजनमनोरथविषय¹³व्यतीतविभवसंपादनापनीताशेषपार्थिवदाना-

¹ The place is called *Kāyavatāra* in the *Liṅga-purāṇa* and *Kāyārāṇa* in the *Vāyṇ-purāṇa*. (J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, p. 154). See also the Ekaliṅgi stone inscription (*loc. cit.* pp. 151 ff.) which mentions it as *Kāyavarāṇa* and *Cintra prasasti* (Ep. Ind., Vol. 1, p. 281) in which it is called *Kārāṇa*.

² J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 149.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar read the name of one of them as *Dhāhadua* instead of *Dhāhaddha*. In the present grant the subscript letter of the last *akṣara* is clearly *dh*. For the form of the subscript *v* see *tuch-chāturvidya*- 1.19, *pāruvat* 1.23 etc.

⁴ See *Mahī-Narmadā-Āntarāladēśa-vartī-Samīpadraka-nāmā grāmā* etc. in the Navsārī plates of Karka, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.

⁵ From the facsimile accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary here and in lines 2-34, below.

⁸ The sense requires a reading like *विलसिताभाकुलित*—.

⁹ Read वङ्—.

¹⁰ Read निस्त्रिङ्क—.

¹¹ Read वयोङ्कुका—.

¹² Read —प्रणीतो.

¹³ Bhagvanlal read this word as *विषय*. The horizontal stroke over the top of the middle *akṣara* shows that it is *sha*. The reading *śaṅkṣa* is clear in 1.7 of the Anjaneri plates (No. 22 below).

- 10 भिमानी भद्विवशाकुशातिवसिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुजाविरोहणप्रभावो [वि]पत्रपात—
 11 पतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः प्राण्यप्र[ती]व्याधिराज—
 12 [वि]जुम्भितमहासंभ्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकु(क)टितभुज[वीर्य]वि—
 13 ख्यातबाहुसहायापरनामा । परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीद्वस्तस्य सूनुर—
 14 नेकसमरसंघट्टनघटितगजघटापाटनपटु[र]सहिष्णुवन[ग]हनदावानलो दीनाना[था]—
 15 तुरसुहृत्स्वजनबन्धुकुमुदाकरकौमुदीनि[शा]करः भागीरथीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः [शान्तनु]—
 16 रिच समुद्भूतकलकलाराबमहावाहिनीपतिः आदिवराह इव स्वभुजबलपराक्रमोद्धृतघ[राधरः
 प-]¹
 17 रममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीजयभटः कुशली । सर्वानिव राजसाम[न्त]भोगिक[वि]षय—
 18 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु² वः संविदितं । यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्म—
 19 नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । गिरिनगरविनिर्गतश्रद्धिकाप्रा(प्र)हारवास्तव्यतञ्चातुर्विधसा—
 मान्य—
 20 प्रावायन³सगोत्रवाज[स]नेय⁴माध्यन्दिनस[त्र]ह्यचारिब्राह्मणदत्तपुत्र[त्रा]ह्यणदेवस्वामिने ।
 अस्मत्कृ—
 21 तप्रकाशनामकल्लुम्बराय । बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञा[दि]क्रियोत्सर्पणा—
 22 र्थं । कोरिल्लापथकान्तर्गतशमीपद्रकग्रामे [पू]र्वोत्तरसीम्नि । चतुष्पष्टिभूनिवर्त्तनप्रमाणं

Second Plate

- 23 [क्षे*][त्रं] । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो गोलिकाग्रामसीमासन्धिः⁵ दक्षिणतो यमलखल्लराभिधा—
 24 नतडाकं । तथा महत्तरमाहेश्वरसत्कक्षेत्रं ॥ नापितदेवकसत्कवापकक्षेत्रञ्च । अपरतः शमी—
 25 पद्रकग्रामादेव षाहदग्रामयायी पन्थाः उत्तरतो बरुटखल्लराभिधानं तडाकं । तथा
 26 कोरिल्लावासिब्राह्म[ण]नर्मसत्क[ह्य]देयक्षेत्रञ्च । एवमिदं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितक्षेत्रं ।
 सोद्रङ्गं । सोप—
 27 रिकरं । समुत्पातप्रत्यायं⁶ । सषान्यहिरण्यादेयं । सदशाप[रा]धं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टी(ष्टि)—
 कं । गृहस्थावरचल—
 28 क । रथ्या । प्रवेश । निर्गम । सं[च]⁷र । चतुष्पदा(द)प्रचार । वापी । कूप । तडाक ।
 पद्रोपजीव्यसमेतं ॥ सर्व्वरा—
 29 [जकी]यानामहस्तप्रक्षेप[णी]यं पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायरहितं । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्कणि—
 30 वक्षितिस[रि]त्यर्व्वतसमकालीनं । पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यमद्य माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां । चन्द्रोप—
 31 रागे । पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गोणं ब्रह्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितं(तम्) । यतोस्योचितया । न—
 [ह्यदा]—

¹ The letters in the bracket are very indistinct. Pandit Bhagvanlal read them as -रणिः प, but the space is certainly too much for three aksharas. Read -राधरः प- as in the Anjaneri and Prince of Wales Museum plates. (Below, Nos. 22 and 24).

² Read -न्समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

³ Pandit Bhagvanlal read *Shrāvāyana* and proposed to alter it to *Brāhmanāyana*. The *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba* gives *Prāgāyana* as a *gotra*, which is perhaps the nearest substitute that can be adopted here. For the confounding of *v* and *g*, see *gahana* in l. 14 which appears to have been incised as *yahana*.

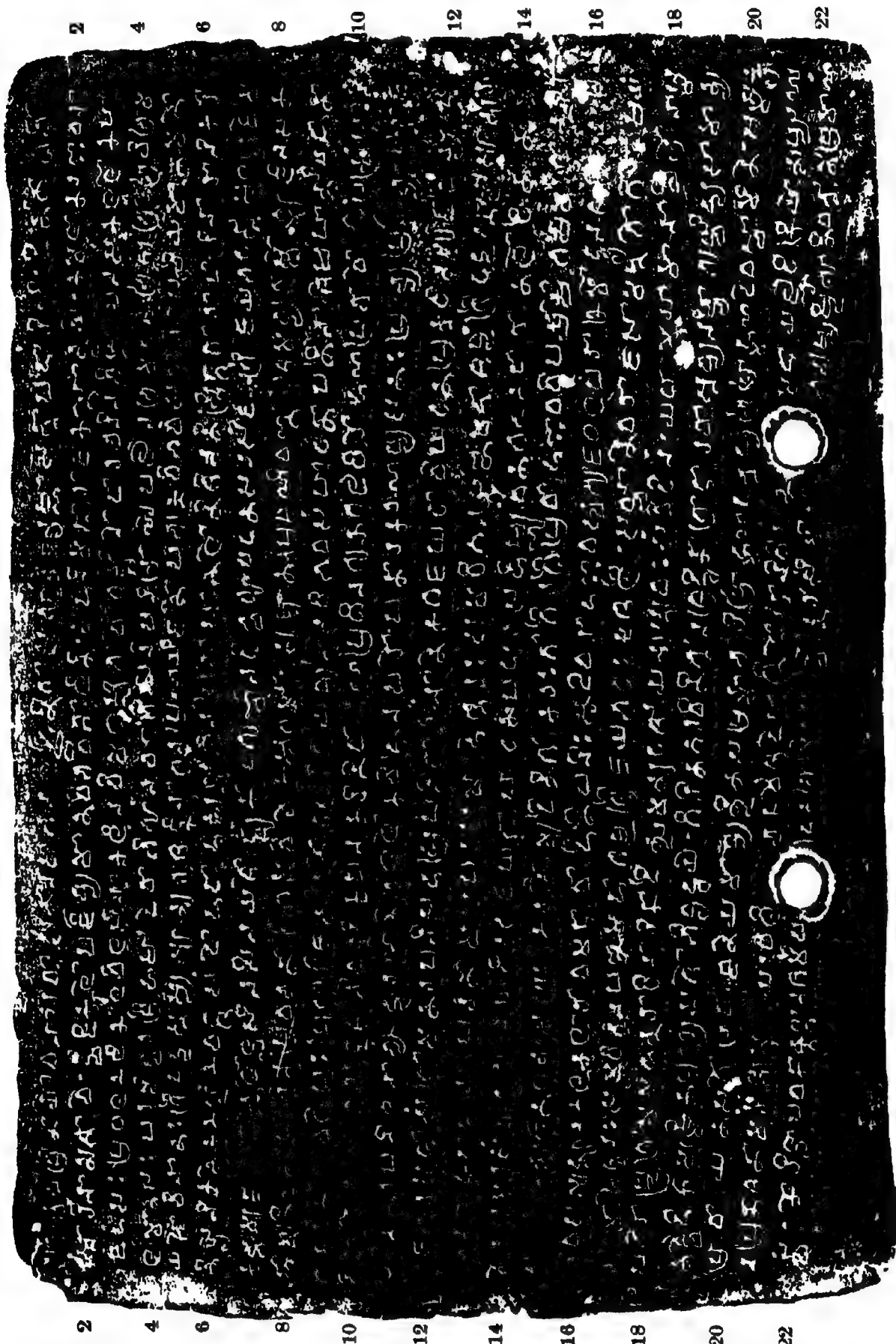
⁴ The engraver first omitted *sa* of *Vājasanīya*. As there was then no space between *ja* and *ni* for engraving the akshara *sa*, he incised another *ja* between *ni* and *ja* and tried to correct the original *ja* into *sa*.

⁵ Here and in some places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁶ This expression generally occurs as समुत्पातप्रत्यायं in inscriptional records.

⁷ Pandit Bhagvanlal read *sagara* which gives no satisfactory meaning.

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 456



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Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, covering the majority of the page. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. There are two circular holes on the left side of the fragment, suggesting it was once part of a bound volume. The script is dense and characteristic of Sassanid-era inscriptions or documents.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the fragment, possibly a signature or a concluding phrase, written in a slightly larger or more distinct script than the main body of text.

- 32 मस्तिष्का भुञ्जतः कुपतः कर्षयतः प्रतिविशतो वा न कैश्चिद्दयासेवे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रन्—
 33 पतिभिरस्मद्वश्यैरर्प्यव्ययिभस्महायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला—
 34 वृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत । स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्या—
 दित्यु¹—
 35 क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता
 वानुमन्ता
 36 [च*]² तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥* [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु क्षुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदा—
 37 [यं ह*] रन्ति ये । [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता (क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा क[लं] (लम्) ॥ [३॥*]
 38 [अग्नेर*] पत्न्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वर्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेत्सु दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गां
 39 [च महीञ्च*] दद्यात्⁴ ॥ [४॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्दानानि धम्मत्स्वियशस्कराणि ।
 निष्कृतास्तमात्यप्रतिमा—
 40 [नि तानि को*] नाम साधुः पुनरावधीत ॥ [५॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्वा युधिष्ठिर ।
 महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ
 41 [दानाच्छ्रेयोनु*] पालनं (नम्) ⁵ ॥ [६॥*] संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षट्पञ्चाशदुत्तरके माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
 लिखितमिवं
 42 [.....] भोगिकपुत्रमहाबलाधिकृतके [शबेनेति] ॥ बलाधिकृतबावुल्लवूतकं ॥ सं ४००
 ५० ६
 43 [माघ* शु १० ५ भौ* ?] [म] वारे निबद्धम् ॥
 44 स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयमटस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the camp at the famous Kāyāvata—

In the great lineage of the *Mahārāja* Karṇa which, like a lake full of lotuses⁷, has become the perpetual abode of Lakshmi; which (*by its charity*) allays the suffering caused by desire for wealth (*as the lake does by quenching the thirst for water*); which has its greatness enhanced by the sun; which shines with prosperity which affords support to the families of Brāhmaṇas (*as the lake does by giving shelter to multitudes of birds*), (*there was*), like a swan, the illustrious Dadda (II) whose pure disposition was not affected by the freaks of the powerful Kali age; who by his inscrutable and noble deeds excited the wonder of all the guardians of the world;⁸ who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadēva.

¹ Read स्वादिति । उक्तञ्च.

² The letters in this and other square brackets in the beginning of ll. 36-41 which are broken away have been supplied from the corresponding portions of cognate records.

³ Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre of this and the next verse: *Indravajrā*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ The *akṣaras* and numerical figures in the bracket have been supplied conjecturally with the help of the passage in l. 41. The name of the week day must have been either *Sōma* or *Bhānu* as the *akṣara* *ma* is partially visible.

⁷ The adjective *trishūlā-santāpa-bāriṇi* shows that *kaṃalādhara* is used here in the sense of 'a lake abounding in lotuses' rather than in that of 'a group of lotuses'.

⁸ These are Indra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubhēra and Sōma.

(Line 5) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Jayabhata (II)**, the joy of whose mind was heightened as his stores of wealth were enjoyed by supplicants who fearlessly approached him; whose valour was too much fondled by the destruction of the families of many foes, as fire is by the burning of a mass of thorns and bamboos; (*and*) who covered the lotus-like faces of the damsels that were the regions, with the shining white garment of his fame in the guise of the pearls from the frontal globes of the elephants of his enemies, cleft by the sharp edge of his sword.

(L. 7) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Dadda (III)**, who was clever in performing his duty by discrimination acquired by the study of the sacred treatise composed by the great sage Manu and who, by maintaining (*the institutions of*) *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life), completely uprooted the pride of the Kali age; who annihilated the vanity of all kings by (*spending in charity*) the wealth he had acquired¹, in excess of the desires of (*his*) supplicants; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants became well known through (*his*) holding in check infuriated elephants, which, becoming uncontrollable through rut, had grown restive under the goad; whose habit of (*performing*) acts of benevolence was celebrated throughout the world through his deliverance of hundreds of kings who had fallen under the blow of adversity; whose second name **Bāhusahāya** (one whose arm is the sole helper) became renowned through the valour of his arm which he exhibited in routing numerous hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars fought with the supreme rulers of the east and the west; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) attained the *pañchamahāśabda*.

(L. 13) His son, the illustrious **Jayabhata (III)**,—who is clever in destroying the hosts of elephants thickly arrayed in the clash of many battles; who is a wild fire in (*burning*) the forests of the rebellious; who is to the destitute, helpless and distressed people, friends, servants and relatives as the full-moon is to the clusters of lotuses; who is able to confound his adversaries as the current of the Bhāgīrathī (*i.e.*, the Gaṅgā) is to undermine the opposite banks; who is the commandant of a large and boisterous army even as Sāntanu was the lord of a great and noisy river (*viz.*, the Gaṅgā); who has rescued kings by the might and valour of his arm, even as the primeval Boar rescued mountains; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*—being in good health, addresses (*the following order*) to all the kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*, heads of *vishayas* the *Mahattaras* and *rāshtras* and villages:—

(L. 18) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame in this world and the next of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the auspicious day of the **fifteenth tithi** of the bright fortnight of **Māgha**, granted with a libation of water, as a *brahmadāya*, a field measuring sixty-four *nivartanas* of land on the north-east boundary in the village **Samīpadraka** situated in the *Kōrillā puthaka*—the boundaries of which are (*as follows*)—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village **Gōlikā**; on the south the tank called **Yamalakhallara**² and the field belonging to the *Mahattara* Mahēśvara and the cultivated field belonging to the barber **Dēvaka**; on the west, the road that goes to the village **Dhāhaddha** from the village **Samīpadraka** itself; on the north, the tank called **Barutakhallara** and the

¹ *Vibhava-sampādana* in the text is equivalent to *sampādita-vibhava* according to the rule ‘*Bhāvānayanā dravyānayanam*.’ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates, ‘by acquiring (again) the wealth that had been spent (by him) etc.’

² *Khallara*, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal, is a *dēśī* word meaning a pond. *Yamala* means twins. So the expression seems to denote a tank consisting of twin ponds. An analogous expression, *yamala-vāpī*, occurs in l. 25 of the Dhank plates of Śilāditya I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 237 ff.

brahmadāya field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Narma residing at Kōrillā—this field thus defined by its four boundaries, together with the *ndraṅga*¹ and the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported (*into the village*),² with its income in grain and gold, with (*finer imposed for*) the ten offences³, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom,⁴ with houses, immovables and movables, streets, (*the right to*) ingress, egress (*and*) (*free*) movements, pasture-lands for four-footed animals, step-wells, (*other*) wells, tanks, (*and other*) things necessary for living in the village;⁵ free from the interference of all officers of the state; exclusive of grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas; (*which is*) to be enjoyed according to the maxim of waste land, successively by sons, sons' sons, and their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa Dēvasvāmin, who is known by the name Kallumbāra which we have given him; (*who is*) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Datta, who belongs to the Prāgāyana *gōtra* (*and*) is a student of the Mādhyandina (*sākhā*) of the Vājasaneyā (*i.e.*, White Yajurveda); who has emigrated from (*the city of*) Girinagara and is now residing at the *agrahāra* (*village*) Śraddhikā and belongs to the community of the Chāturvēdins of the place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices (*viz.*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaśvadhāva*, *agnihōtra*, (*reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 31) Wherefore, none should cause obstruction while he is enjoying (*it*), cultivating (*it*), or causing (*it*) to be cultivated or directing (*others to cultivate it*) in accordance with the rules applicable to *brahmadāya* (*land*). And future gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins."

(L. 34) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six imprecatory and benedictive verses*).

(L. 41) This (*charter*) has been written by the Mahābalādhipikṛita Kēśava, the son of the Bhōgika... on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year four hundred increased by fifty-six. The *dātaka* of this (*charter*) is the Balādhipikṛita Bāvulla. This is recorded on [Tuesday] the month [Māgha, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 10 and 5] in the year 400 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6.

This is the sign-manual of Me, the illustrious Jayabhata (III).

¹ As remarked by Bhagvanlal, some of these rights and privileges are hardly appropriate in the case of the donation of a field.

² As Dr. Altekar has shown (*Rashtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 229), *vāta* refers to the articles imported and *bhūta* to those manufactured in the village. The expression sometimes occurs in the form '*bhūt-āpātta-pratyāya*.' Notice the analogous expression *sa-bāhy-ābhyantar-ādāyam* 'together with external and internal taxes' in the Ichhāvār plates of Paramardideva. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 205 ff.

³ These are probably identical with the ten sins enumerated in the *Sukranītisāra* (*adhyāya* 3, *sl.* 6) *viz.*, murder, theft, adultery, slander, harsh language, lying, divulgence of secrets, evil design, atheism and perverseness. The same enumeration occurs in the *Ashtāṅghyādaya* of Vāgbhata. Cf. also Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 189, n. 4.

⁴ Pandit Bhagvanlal omits *śīpadyamāna* in the translation.

⁵ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates *padr-āpāttya-samātam* by 'with those who live on the skirts of the village.' *Padra*, which often occurs at the end of a village-name, seems to mean a village, here, the people living in the village. The expression seems to convey some miscellaneous rights enjoyed by villagers.

No. 22 ; PLATE XV

ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III : (KALACHURI) YEAR 460

THESE plates were discovered in 1936 in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri, a village about four miles to the east of Trimbak, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. I edit the inscription here from the original plates which were kindly sent to me by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona.¹

They are two copper-plates each measuring 12.8" in breadth and 9.4" in height. At the top of each plate there are two round holes, .6" in diameter, for two rings which must have originally held them together. One of the rings has since been lost. The ends of the other are soldered into the bottom of a ladle-shaped seal. On the face of the latter, which is roundish and measures about 1.8" in diameter, there appears in relief on a countersunk surface a solar symbol similar to that on the seals of the Kairā plates² of Dadda II, and below it the legend *Sri-Jayabhata*. The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, are in a state of good preservation. Their ends are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. There are thirty-nine lines in all, of which eighteen are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-one on the second. The average size of the letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsāri plates. The sign-manual of the donor is in the northern characters. As shown below, he is identical with Jayabhata III who granted the Navsāri plates. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the formation of some *aksharas* in the sign-manual of the present grant is different; compare, e.g., the *aksharas* *ma*, *ja*, *bha* and *ṣa* in the two signatures. The grant is written in a careless and cursive hand. Notice, for instance, the cursive form of *li* in *kali* and *-ākalita-*, both in l. 2. Several letters are mis-shapen or incompletely formed owing to the carelessness of either the writer or the engraver. See, e.g., *ś* in *-nistriṣṭa-*, l. 5 and *Sri-Jayabhata-*, l. 6; *m* in *-samudbhūta-*, l. 13 and *kaśchhikāṃra-*, l. 23; *ṇ* in *-pramāṇam*, l. 27 etc. Many letters appear in varying forms; see, for instance, the form of *ch* in *-charita-*, l. 3 and *-pravachan-*, l. 6; of *th* in *-nātha-*, l. 1, *-manōratha-*, l. 7 and *yathā*, l. 15; of *p* in *-vismāpita-* and *-lōkapāla-*, both in l. 3; of *m* in *-muni-* and *-Manu-*, both in l. 6; of *y* in *-yaśō-*, l. 4, *mayā*, l. 15 and *Vijāḍamba*, l. 24; of *r* in *-nivāraṇa-* and *-guru-*, both in l. 8; of *v* in *iva* and *-vilasit-*, both in l. 2, *-vāsinab* l. 34 etc. Owing to the similarity of *bh*, *g* and *ś*, as well as of *v*, *b* and *dh* it sometimes becomes difficult to say what exactly was intended to be expressed. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 14. Punctuation, which is redundant in several places, is generally indicated by a single dot, but in metrical passages by single or double vertical strokes. The numerical symbols for 400, 60, 10 and 1 occur in the last line.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The text of the inscription is *mutatis mutandis* identical with that of the Navsāri plates. It shows generally the same orthographical peculiarities. One additional peculiarity noticed here is the doubling of *k* before *t* as in *-samyukketa-*, l. 33, and *-nirbhukketa*, ll. 36-37, which is in accordance with Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 47.

¹ Since this article was written, the plates have been edited by Messrs. Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 292 ff.

² Nos. 16 and 17, above.

The plates were issued from Bharukachchha by the illustrious Jayabhata, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the Navsāri plates, commencing from Dadda II. He is, therefore, Jayabhata III of the Early Gurjara Dynasty. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhata III, of three pieces of land, measuring sixty *nivartanas* in all, in the village Tōraṇaka situated in the *vishaya* of Nāndīpura. In connection with their boundaries are mentioned the villages Jayapura, Viddhēraka, and Bhūtishōhī as well as the river Karillipi. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa, the son of Chashtasvāmin, of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra* and the Kauṭhuma *śākhā* of the Chhandōga (Sāmaveda), who was then residing at Brahmapuri. The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* and others. The grant was made on the occasion of the Tulā-saṅkrānti on the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja. It was recorded on the same tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja in the year 460 of an unspecified era. The charter was written by the *Balādhikṛita* Sahabhata, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Durgabhata. The *Dātaka* was the same as in the earlier Navsāri plates, viz. the *Balādhikṛita* Bāvulla.

The *tithi* on which the grant was made is mentioned in words in l. 30, and that on which it was recorded is expressed by numerical symbols in the last line. The year is mentioned only once, in the last line, and is expressed in numerical symbols only. This makes it doubtful if the dot following the symbol for 60 indicates the number one, or is a redundant punctuation mark. I am inclined to take the latter view, because a similar mark is used throughout in this record to mark punctuation.¹

According to Kielhorn's final view, the Kalachuri-Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (the 5th September) in 248 A.C. and its months were *pūrṇimānta*. Of the early dates of this era, only two² admitted of verification and both of them appeared irregular according to this epoch. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far Kielhorn's conclusion about the epoch of the Chēdi era is proved or disproved by the date of the present grant. The statement in the present plates that the Tulā-saṅkrānti, on which the grant was made, occurred in the dark half of Āśvayuja shows that the month was *amānta*.³ According to Kielhorn's final view, the date of the present grant would be expected to fall in 707 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 460 was current, and in 708 A.C. if it was expired. But in neither of these years, did the Tulā-saṅkrānti fall on the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Āśvina.⁴ Again, even if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 249 A.C. (not in 248 A.C.) as was first held by Kielhorn, the date of the present grant would fall in 708 or 709 A.C. according as the year 460 was current or expired. We have seen above that 708 A.C. does not suit. In 709 A.C. also, the Tulā-saṅkrānti did not⁵ fall on Āśvina va. di. 11. If, on the other hand, the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 as I have shown elsewhere⁶, the date of the

¹ A similar redundant mark of punctuation occurs after the symbols indicative of the *tithi* in the same line. Again, if thus read, the year would be an expired one like those of the Navsāri and Kāvi plates of the same dynasty. If the symbols are interpreted to mean 461, the year would have to be taken as current; but current years are cited only exceptionally.

² Viz., the dates of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III (No. 21) and the Kāvi plate of Jayabhata IV (No. 23).

³ The month, if *pūrṇimānta*, would have been Kārttika.

⁴ In 707 A.C. the Tulā-saṅkrānti fell on the *amānta* Āśvina va. di. 8 and in 708 A.C. on Āśvina śu. di. 5.

⁵ In 709 A.C. the Tulā-saṅkrānti fell on Āśvina *pūrṇimānta*.

⁶ See Introduction, above.

present grant, for the expired Kalachuri year 460 would regularly correspond to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C., according to the epoch 248-249 A.C. which suits other verifiable early Kalachuri dates. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Āśvina commenced 45 minutes after mean sunrise and the *Tulā-sankrānti* occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the present grant.

As for the geographical names in the present record, *Bharukachchha* is, of course, modern Broach. *Nāndīpura* is *Nāndōd* in the *Rājpiplā* subdivision of the Broach District. *Tōraṇaka* is still called *Tōraṇ* or *Tōraṇmāl* and lies only two miles to the north of *Nāndōd*. The statement in the present grant that *Tōraṇaka* was situated in the *Nāndīpura vishaya* proves the correctness of the identification of *Nāndīpura* with *Nāndōd* which was first proposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. The river *Karillīṇī* is clearly *Karjan*, on the right bank of which both *Nāndōd* and *Tōraṇ* are situated. *Jayapura* cannot be definitely located, unless it is *Jesalpur*, 3 miles to the north of *Tōraṇ*. As described in the present plates, it lies on the road passing through *Tōraṇ*. *Bhūtishōhī* may be *Bhuchād*, about 1½ miles from *Tōraṇ*, on the western bank of the *Karjan*¹. *Viddhēraka* cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. *Brahmapurī*, where the donee resided, is probably identical with *Brahmapura*, mentioned as the place of residence of the donee of the *Jhar* plates of *Dharasēna II*². It may be identical with *Bāmanphaliā*, nine miles south-west of *Nāndōd*.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] श्रीभरुकच्छात्सतलक्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।⁵ तृष्णासन्तापहारिणि ।⁶ दिननाथविस्तारितानुभावे ।⁶ द्विजकुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशा—
- 2 लनि ।⁶ महति महाराजकर्णान्वये कमलाकर इव राजहंसः प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित⁶—
विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरो—
- 3 दार[च]रितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानसः परमेश्वरश्रीहृ[षं]देवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरित्राणोप—
जातभ्रमद—
- 4 दभ्रशुभ्रा[भ्र]विभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरश[ङ्कि]तागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसंच—
योपचीयमानम—
- 5 नोनि[वृ]ति[र]नेककण्टकवङ्गशंसदोहदाहुल्ललितप्रतापानलो ।⁶ निशितनिस्त्रि[ङ्गश]धारादारि—
तारातिकरिकुम्भ[मु]क्ताफलच्छ—
- 6 लोल्लसितसितयशोङ्गशुका⁷वगुण्ठितदिग्बधूवदनसरसिजः [श्री]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो सहामुनिमनु—
प्रणीतप्रव[च]नाधिग—

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 292, n. 6.

² *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 31 ff. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 187.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

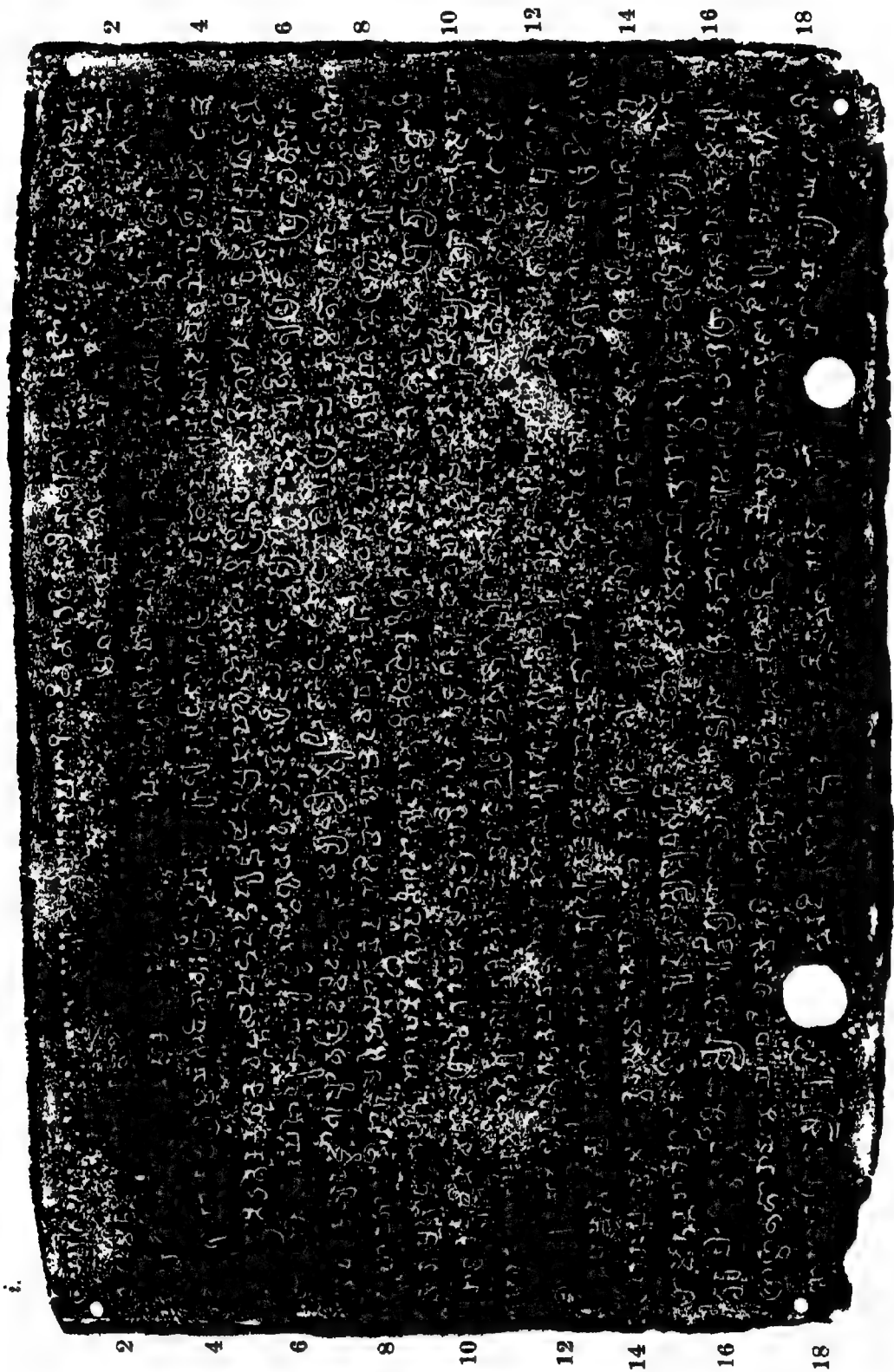
⁶ Read -विलसितानाकुलित-. It is curious that the mistake has persisted in this record also.

⁷ Read -वंश-.

⁸ Read -निस्त्रिण-.

⁹ Read -यशोङ्गका-.

ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 460



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Seal



(From a photograph)
About actual size

- 7 मविषेकस्वयम्भानुष्ठानप्रवृत्तिः¹ अन्वयमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसकलकलिकालाचलेपः प्रणयिजनम-
नोर[य]विषयव्यतीतिविभव-
8 संपादनापनीता[शे]वशेष²प्राप्तियवदमाभिभावो मदविमशांकुशातिवर्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथित-
[य]स्यजाधरो-
9 ह्यप्रभावो ।³ विपल्यपातंपतितनस्पतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिल[लो]कविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः
प्राप्त्यप्रतीच्या[यि]⁴-
10 राजविजु[भि]तमहासंग्राममरपक्षिहसपरिवारिस्तानेकाजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्यविख्यात-
बाहुसहाया-
11 परमा⁵ परमाहे[स्व]रस्समविगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[ः*] श्रीवृहस्तस्य सूनुरण[ने]कसमर-
संघट्टनघटितगजघटापाट-
12 नष्टुरसहिष्णुवमगहनदावानलो ।⁶ दीमानायातुरसुहृत्स्वजनव[व]न्धुकुमुदाकर[को]मुदीगि-
(ति)[शा]करो ।⁷ बागीर[धी]प्रवाह इ-
13 व विपक्षोमक्षमः शान्तनुरिव स[म]द्भूतकलकलारावमहाबाहिनीपतिरादिवराह इ[व] स्वभुज-
बलपराक्रमोद्धृतव-
14 रावरः परमाहे⁸वरस्समविगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[ब्द][ः*] श्री(श्री)जयभटभकुशली सर्वार्थ[ने]व
राजसामन्तभोगिक ।⁹ विषयपतिराष्ट्र-
15 ग्राम[म*]हतराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदधि(शं)मत्पस्तु वस्तुविदितं यथा मवा¹⁰ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चै-
हिकामु[ष्मि]कपुण्यशोभि-
16 वृद्धये ।¹¹ ब्रह्मपुरीनिवासेतच्छातुर्विधसामान्यशा[ण्डि]त्यसगोत्र ।¹² छन्दोग ।¹³ कौटुमसब्रह्म-
चारिब्राह्मणचष्टस्वामिपुत्र-
17 ब्राह्मण[ता]रायणाय ।¹⁴ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञादिकृ(क्रि)योत्सर्पणात्वं ।¹⁵
नान्दीपुरविषयान्तर्गत ।¹⁶
18 तोरणकग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरदिग्भिभागे ।¹⁷ द्वापञ्चाशन्नवर्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं ।¹⁸ यस्याघाटनानि ।¹⁹

Second Plate

- 19 पूर्वतः⁷ जयपुरग्रामयायी पन्था हस्तिनिकागर्तिसंलग्नः⁸ स(?)रो दक्षिणतः छेद[की]वृक्षोप-
लक्षितमैरान्तरि-
20 तकुटुम्बिदीपसत्कौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।⁹ मैरातस्समुत्थितो दक्षिणामिनु(मु)खो बह्वच ।¹⁰ तथा अपरतः
तोरणकग्रा-
21 मात् बिडेरकग्रामयायी पन्थाः तथा क्षेत्रमविरोत्थितो सुमिजारवृक्षः तथा चम्पणवर्तगामी बह्वच ।
उत्तरतः चम्पणखट्टा ।¹¹
22 एवमे ।¹² [त*]ञ्चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं ।¹³ तथास्यैव ग्रामस्य दक्षिणदिग्भिभागे कच्छे ।¹⁴
पञ्चविधवर्तनप्रमाणं¹⁵ भूखण्डं ।¹⁶ यस्याघाटनानि पू-

¹ Read प्रवीणो.² These two *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated here.³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.⁴ *Db* is imperfectly formed here and appears somewhat like *r*. The reading given above is clear in the corresponding passage of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below.)⁵ The engraver first incised *mf* and then tried to alter it into *mf*.⁶ *Y* has here a cursive transitional form.⁷ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.⁸ Read -संलग्नं.⁹ Read पञ्चविधवर्तनं.

- 23 अर्धतः बरद(ट)कम[म्या]वा¹न्तरितकुटुम्बिरे[व]ल्लसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।² दक्षिणतः करिल्लिणीःनदी ।³
अपरतः [छ]स्वा(त्वा)भ्युपलक्षितबरटकमर्या-
- 24 दान्तरितकुटुम्बिरेजडम्बसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।⁴ उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणदामोदरसत्कब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं ।⁵ राज-
कीयचरिका च । तदेवं चतुराषाट-
- 25 नोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं । तथास्यैव भूखण्डस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे ।⁶ कच्छे ।⁷ कच्छिकाग्र[नि]बद्ध-
निवर्त्तनत्रयप्रमाणं भूखण्डं ।⁸ यस्याषाटनानि
- 26 पूर्वतः करिल्लिणी नदी ।⁹ दक्षिणतो(तः) सैव करिल्लिणी नदी ।¹⁰ [अ]परतः भूति[षो]हीग्राम-
[गा]मी सीमासन्धिः उत्तरतो[क्को]ल्लवृक्षोपलक्षित-
- 27 करिल्लिणीनदीवितती । एवमेतच्चतुश्चतु¹¹राषाटनोपलक्षितभूखण्डत्रयावस्थितष[ष्टि]निव-
र्त्तनप्रमा[णं] क्षेत्रं ।¹² सोपरिकरं ।¹³ समूत-
- 28 पात¹⁴प्रत्यायं ।¹⁵ सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं ।¹⁶ सदक्षापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं ।¹⁷ [स]र्व्वराजकीया-
नामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं ।¹⁸ पूर्व्वप्रत-
- 29 देवब्रह्मदायरहितं ।¹⁹ भूमिच्छिन्नन्यायेनाचन्द्राकर्णवस्थि(क्षि)तिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनं ।²⁰ पुत्र-
पौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यं ।²¹ गृहस्थाव-
- 30 रक(च)लकसहितमद्याध्वयुजबहुले(ले)कादश्यां तुलासंक्रान्तेरवाहु(वु)दकातिसर्गणे प्रतिपादितं-
(तम्) । यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुं-
- 31 जतः कृषतः कर्षयत प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासे वैक्ति(ति)तव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्म-
द्वर्ष्यैरन्यैर्वा(र्वा)यमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः
- 32 पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला[व]तमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स
पञ्चभिर्महं पातकैस्तोप-
- 33 पातकैस्तं[यु]क्तः[*] स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवा(वता) दे(वे)दव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्ष-
सहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।[*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
- 34 न्येव नरके वसेत् ॥²² [१॥*] विख्यातवीज्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटर[वा]सिनः ।[*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते ।²³ भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
- 35 राजमिस्सगरादिभिः ।[*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः²⁴ [त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[३॥*]
नृ(अ)ग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्ध्वज्जदी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः ।[*]
- 36 [लो]कत्र[यं]²⁵ तेन भवेत्तु दत्तं(तम्) । यः काच(च)नं गां च महीं च वद्यात् ॥²⁶ [४॥*]
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दानानि²⁷ धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि । नि-
- 37 भुक्त्वा मातृप्रतिमानि तानि ।²⁸ को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ।[५॥*] सु(स्व)दत्तां परदत्तां वा
यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 38 छेद्योनुपालनमिति ॥²⁹ लिखितमिदि(दं) बलाधिकृतदुर्गमटसूनुना बलाधिक(कृ)तसह³⁰भटे-
नेति ॥ बलाधिकृतबाहुल्ल-

¹ A similar expression occurs in the Dhāṅk plates of Śilāditya I-Dharmāditya. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 239.

² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³ वचतु is redundant.

⁴ Read समूतवस्त-

⁵ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

⁸ Read लोकत्रयं.

⁹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Indraṅgirā*.

¹⁰ Read नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि.

¹¹ Read -योनुपालनम् ॥६॥ इति ॥ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² The *akṣara* has an unusual form here as in *gaṇi-adhishṭhāna*, ll. 8-9, above.

39 कृतं ॥ सं ४०० ६० १^१ जात्ययुज न १० १ १^१ निम(न)दम् ॥ स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभ-
टा(ट)स्य ॥

Seal

श्रीजयभट [ः।*]

TRANSLATION

[For a translation of lines 1-15, see above, pp. 87 f.]

(Line 15) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the eleventh (*tiṭhi*) of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja, on the occasion of the sun's entering the Tula¹ (*rāśi*), granted with a libation of water, fields measuring sixty *nivartanas* in three pieces of land with their boundaries defined as follows:—a piece of land measuring fifty-two *nivartanas* in the north-east direction of the village Tōraṇaka situated in the Nāndīpura *viśaya*, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the road going to the village Jayapura (and) the tank adjacent to the pit Hastinikā; on the south, the family-field belonging to the householder Dīpa, separated by the field-boundary marked by the *chhrēdaki* tree, and a stream flowing from the field boundary² towards the south; and on the west, the road going from the village Tōraṇaka to the village Viddhēraka and the *sumiāra* tree growing on the boundary of the field and a stream flowing into the Dhammāṇa pit; on the north, the Dhammāṇa pit,—the piece of land defined by these four boundaries; further, in the marshy region in the southern direction of this very village, a piece of land measuring five *nivartanas*, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the family field belonging to the householder Rēvalla separated by the boundary of *barāṭaka*⁴; on the south, the river Karillīṇī; on the west, the family field belonging to the householder Viṇḍamba separated by the boundary of *barāṭaka* and marked by an umbrella; on the north, the *brahmadiya* field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara and a royal road,—the field marked by these four boundaries; and on the south of this very piece of land, in the (*same*) marshy region, (*another*) piece of land measuring three *nivartanas* and surrounded by mango trees of the marshy region, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the river Karillīṇī; on the south, the same river Karillīṇī; on the west, the boundary leading to the village Bhūtiśhōhī; on the north, the *vitāṭi*(?) of the river Karillīṇī marked by the *āṅkōlla* tree,—(*the fields measuring sixty nivartanas in all in three pieces of land with their four boundaries defined as above*)—together with the *uparikara*, with taxes on commodities manufactured and imported, with the income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom, free from the interference of all officers of the state, exclusive of the gifts to gods and Brāhmaṇas previously made (and) including houses, immovables and movables,—which are to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, accord-

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² *Libra*, the seventh sign of the Zodiac.

³ *Mairā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. But the context shows that the meaning of a field-boundary is probably correct. Even now *mīra* has that sense in Marāṭhi, and *mīra* in Kan-
naḍa.

⁴ Monier-Williams gives *barāṭa* in the sense of a kind of grain. It seems to mean here some plant used for the fencing of fields. A similar expression *barāṭaka-mayāḍi-pārmataḥ* occurs also in line 7 of the Dhāṅk plates of Śīlāditya I-Dharmāditya (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 258 ff.), which Bühler translated as 'to the east of Barāṭaka.'

ing to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Chasṭasvāmin, of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Chhandōga (*i.e.*, Sāmavēda) who resides at Brahmapurī and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of that place, for the performance of five great sacrifices, *viz.*, *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (*reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites.”

[For a translation of ll. 30-33, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 33) And it is said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 38) This (*charter*), the *Dātaka* of which is the *Balādhikṛita* Bāvulla, has been written by the *Balādhikṛita* Sahabhata, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Durgabhata.

Recorded in the year 400 (*and*) 60, (*the month*) Āśvayuja (*and*) the dark (*fortnight*) (*and*) (*on the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 1.

This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhata.

Seal

The illustrious Jayabhata

NO. 23; PLATE XVI

KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

THIS plate was discovered by Rao Saheb Gopalji G. Desai of Broach in 1875.¹ He found it with several other plates in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmaṇas of Kāvī, an ancient town in the Jambusar *tāluka* of the Broach District, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the south of the Mahī. Dr. Bühler, to whom its impressions were sent, made personal inquiries at Kāvī in the course of which he came to know the following history of the plates—‘Five or six hundred years ago a small *ṭānk* or receptacle for water, attached to the outside of a house behind a temple of Gaṅgeśvara Mahādēva at Kāvī was cleaned, and among the rubbish at the bottom, seven inscribed copper-plates were found. These were taken possession of by the caste of the Kapilas. During the times of the Musalman rule, in the reign of Mahmud Bigarhā, the Kapilas were sorely oppressed. A portion of the community fled to Gaṅgāsāgara in Bengal and took away two of the plates. The others remained at Kāvī.’² The present plate is the second and last plate of its set. It is still in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmaṇas from whom it was recently taken on loan by a medical practitioner of Bombay. The first plate, which was probably one of the two taken to Bengal, is not now forthcoming. The inscription on the second plate was edited with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff. Its photograph was subsequently published in Fleet’s *Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, Plate 272. Having failed to get a fresh impression of the original plate, I edit the inscription on it from a copy of the photograph in Fleet’s book, kindly supplied to me by the Director-General of Archaeology in India.

‘Originally the plate measured ten inches in height by thirteen in breadth. But not inconsiderable pieces have been broken off from the right and left hand sides, so that

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 109.

² *Loc. cit.* Of the four other plates shown to Dr. Bühler, three forming a set contained a grant of Gōvindarāja of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch (ed. by Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.) and the remaining one, a grant of the Chaulukya Abhayapāla.

the latter has assumed a nearly semi-circular shape¹. Almost all the lost *aksharas*, except those at the end of l. 25 and the beginning of l. 26, can be supplied with the help of the recently discovered Prince of Wales Museum plates² of the same king. 'The plate seems to have undergone very rough treatment, as it is full of indentations. A few letters of the 20th and 22nd lines have been incised with such violence that the punch has penetrated to the other side of the plate. At the back, some lines of illegible letters appear, as if the engraver had first begun his work there, but had afterwards abandoned his attempt. The plate is free from verdigris and oxidization.'³

As said before, this is the second plate of its set and contains, therefore, the latter half of the grant. The extant portion consists of twenty-six lines, all of which are inscribed on the same side. The average size of the letters is .2".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III. The royal sign-manual is, however, in the northern characters. The only peculiarities that call for notice are the long *mātrās* denoting medial diphthongs 'which curl over three or even four *aksharas*', the curling stroke for medial *ri* in *kṛi* which is attached to the horizontal bar of *k*, instead of to its vertical, (see *krishṇa-* and *-kṛita-*, both in l. 4 and *krishṇa-āhayaḥ*, l. 20), and the unlooped *n* in *ndh* of *gandha-*, l. 10 and *-panthā*, l. 12. The sign for the *jibvāmūliya* occurs in l. 22. The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses embedded in the eulogistic portion and six benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in other records of the Early Gurjaras.

The extant portion of this grant begins abruptly with the eulogy of the donor, the illustrious Jayabhata who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of great *sāmantas* or feudatory chiefs. As already stated, the text of the eulogistic portion, so far as it goes, is identical with that of the Prince of Wales Museum plates. This Jayabhata is, therefore, Jayabhata IV of the Early Gurjara Dynasty. Much of the praise bestowed on him is conventional, but there is one important reference in v. 2 to his victory over the Tājjikas or Arabs in the city of the lord of Valabhī. It is said that by the sharp edge of his sword he put an end to their oppression of the people even as a cloud with its showers extinguishes fire which is troublesome to the people.⁴

The inscription records the grant, by Jayabhata IV, of a field measuring fifty *nivartanas* on the south-west boundary in the village Kēmajju situated in the Bharukachchha *viśhaya*. In connection with the boundaries of the field, the record mentions the villages Chhīrakaha, Jambhā, Gōliavali and Sīhu. The object of the grant was to provide for the supply of the materials of worship and repairs to the temple of the god Āsramadēva in the village Kēmajju.

The grant was made on the occasion of the Sun's entering the Karkata-rāśi, i.e., the sign of Cancer, on the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha⁵. The year was mentioned in words at the end of l. 24, but owing to the breaking away of the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 110.

² No. 24, below.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 110.

⁴ This important reference has escaped the notice of all scholars who have subsequently written about this grant; for they adopted Dr. Bühler's translation based on an incorrect reading of ll. 6 and 7, viz., 'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī.' Jayabhata was thus supposed to be an enemy of the contemporary Maltraka king, while, as a matter of fact, he was his friend and deliverer.

⁵ The *tithi* is expressed in words in l. 15.

lower right hand corner of the plate, the expression is partly mutilated. The symbols denoting the same year, which have been preserved in the beginning of the extant portion of l. 25, leave no doubt, however, that it was 486. Like other dates of the Early Gurjaras this must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era.¹ The *tithi*, on which the grant was recorded (*nibaddha*), was also mentioned along with the year in ll. 24 and 25, and like the latter, is partly mutilated. The words *Ashāḍha su...Ādiṣyavāre* are perfectly clear in l. 25. As regards the symbol following *su*, I cannot do better than quote Dr. Kielhorn's remarks: 'In l. 25 the numerical symbol following upon *su* is decidedly indistinct. What is clearly seen both in the impressions and in the photograph is the symbol for 10, as it occurs, e.g., at the end of the Valabhi grant of Dharaśēna II...*minus* the curved line on the right; but there are indications that that curved line had been engraved and that, therefore, 10 was intended.'² It is more difficult to say whether certain marks after the symbol for 10 are accidental scratches or intended to denote the unit 1 or 2.³ The grant was, therefore, recorded on a Sunday, the 10th, 11th or 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the (Kalachuri) year 486.

With the epoch of 248-249 A.C., which Kielhorn at first fixed for the Kalachuri-Chēdi era and which he found applicable in the case of the date of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III, the date of the present plate should fall in 735 or 736 A.C. 'according as the figure 486 denotes the current year or the number of years expired'. Kielhorn found by calculation that 'in A.D. 735 the Karkāṭa-samkrānti took place on Thursday, June 23, which was the 13th of the dark half of a month, while the 10th of the bright half of Āshāḍha had fallen already on Sunday, June 5, i.e., no less than eighteen days before the samkrānti. In A. D. 736, on the other hand, the Karkāṭa-samkrānti took place about 8 hours after sunrise of June 22; and the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha began 21 minutes after mean sunrise of June 22, and ended 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of June 23. The *tithi*, therefore, in all probability, was a *kshaya-tithi*, but, under any circumstances, the Karkāṭa-samkrānti, in A.D. 736, did take place during the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha. June 22, however, was a Friday, not a Sunday; and the nearest Sunday, June 24, was the 12th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, because the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended on it, 20 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise'⁴. Friday, the 22nd June 736 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the grant, and Sunday, the 24th June of the same year, the date of its recording.

The localities mentioned in the grant were fully identified by Dr. Bühler⁵. 'The village Kēmajju is the present Kīmōj or Kīmaj. Straight to the west from Kīmaj at a distance of five or six hundred yards, there is the temple Āsamēśvar, Āsramadēva of our grant. The present temple is a small brick building erected a few years ago; but it contains an ancient *Linga*, and near it to the east are an old well and a depression in the ground which looks like the remnant of a small tank. To the west of the village lies Sigām or Sigām, the Sīhugrāma of the grant; towards the south-west there is the village of Jāmaḍi, called also Sāmaḍi, which corresponds to Jambhā; and to the north we have the ruins of Gōlāl (on the Trigonometrical map erroneously called Galāl), the

¹ Bühler referred it to the Vikrama era and as, according to the calculations of Prof. Bahudēva Sāstri, in 429 A. C. corresponding to V. 486, the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha fell on Sunday when the sun entered the sign of Karkāṭa, Dr. Bühler concluded that it demolished the theory that the Vikrama era was a forgery and was invented after the battle of Kōrur.

² The same symbol is used to denote 10 in the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below.)

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 220.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 221.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 112.

Goliavali of the plate. Chhīrakaha is not to be traced. Sōlepur Sagari occupies the position assigned to it.¹

TEXT¹Second Plate²

1. [तुरङ्गमनिकरमङ्गमासुरो*]³ [इ]तदलितद्विरदकुम्भस्थलका (ग) लितमुक्ताफलनिक[रदन्तु-
रासि*]-
2. [लतामरीचिनिचय*]नेचकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखरः पद्माकर इव प्रकटानेकलका[जो न पुनर्ज*]-
3. [लाशयः क्षपा*]कर इव सकलकलापान्वितो⁴ न पुनर्दोषकर*[:*] सागर इवान्तःप्रवेशितवि-
पक्षभूभूषण[लो] [न*]
4. [पुनर्ग्राहकूलः नारा*]यण इव सुदर्शनचक्रापितविपक्षो न पुनः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृत-
मूर्तिनिचयो [न*]
5. [पुनर्भुजङ्गपरिवृतः*] बालेन्दुबिम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्तमानस्वतनूदयेन [1*] प्रणामकामोत्पकरणे
लोक[:*] कृताञ्ज[लिः*]
6. [कान्तिमता क*][तोयं](यम्)⁶ [॥१॥*] असिधाराजलेन शमित[:*] प्रासवं बलभीपतेः
पुरे] यो(ये)नाशेषलोकसं[ता]पकलापवस्ताज्जिकानलो [ज*]-
7. [यमटजल*]इ एष⁷ [: ॥२॥*] स वि[गी]यति⁸(ते) देवबभूवदम्भ(म्भ)कैर्नृपशतमकुट्टरत्नकि-
(र)णावलिरंजित(न)पादपङ्कजा(जः) समधियतपञ्चम[हाश*]-
8. [ब्दो म*]हासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयमटः कुशली सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकु(क)विषयपतिरा-
ष्ट्रप्राममहत्तराधिकारिकाद(दी)-
9. [न्तम*] नुदशंसत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं(तम्)। यथा मया मातापित्रोका(रा)त्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-
पुण्ययशोभिर्वृद्धये केमज्जु[या][म*]-
10. [नि*]विष्टाश्रमदेवपादेभ्यः गन्धधूपपुष्पदीपप्रदीप्तसंशीतकसत्रप्रवतनसत्माज्जर्जनोदयेन⁹ देवकुलस्य
लण्ड[स्फुटि][त*]-
11. [विशीर्ण*?]¹⁰संस्कारनवकर्माक्ता¹¹द्युत्सर्पणार्थं श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतकेमज्जुग्रामे ग्राम-
स्यापरदक्षिणसीम्नि पञ्चाशद्विवर्त[नप्रमा]-

¹ From Plate 272 in Fleet's *Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kharoshtī Inscriptions*.

² The first plate is lost.

³ The *aksharas* marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets, which are lost owing to the breaking away of the corners of the plate, have been supplied from the corresponding portions of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king (No. 24, below).

⁴ Read सकलकलापान्वितो.

⁵ Read -दोषकरः.

⁶ Metre: *Upajitī*.

⁷ The verse is very corrupt. Its correct reading may be restored as follows:—

असिधाराजलेन शमितः (तं) प्रासवं बलभीपतेः पुरे मेन ।

जनसन्तापकलापवस्ताज्जिकानलो यममटः कलद एषः ॥

Dr. Bühler read असिधाराजलेन शमित(तं) प्रासवं बलभीपतेर्युदि(दे) यो न शेषलोका(क)समापकलापवस्ताज्जिकानलो... कलद. This does not give a satisfactory meaning. Metre: *Gh*.

⁸ Bühler read सविधियंति and proposed to emend it as सर्ववीपते. Our reading विगीयते can be explained as विविधं गीयते 'is extolled in manifold ways'.

⁹ Read -प्रभाससंशीतकसत्रप्रवतनसत्माज्जर्जनोदयेन. Bühler proposed to read प्रभाससंशीतक-.

¹⁰ The *aksharas* are not clear. Bühler's reading पतिर- does not appear to be warranted by the photograph. The last *akshara* appears like *gna*. I propose to read *gāṇḍhī* which generally accompanies *akṣha* and *spṛṣṭa*.

¹¹ Read -कर्मोक्ताद्युत्सर्पणार्थं.

- 12 णं¹ भूखण्डः यस्याघाटनानि पूर्ववट(तः) छीरकहग्रामगामिपन्था दक्षिणतः जम्भाग्रामसीमासन्निभः
अपरतः जम्भाग्रामा[त् गोलिअवलि]²—
- 13 ग्रामगामी पन्था उत्तरतः केमज्जुग्रामासीदुग्रामस्तामी³ पन्था वटवापी च[1*] एवं चतुराघाटनोपल-
क्षितक्षेत्रं सोपरिकदर⁴
- 14 समूतपातप्रत्यायं⁵ सधान्या⁶हिरण्यदेयं सदशापराचं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं अघाटभटप्रावेश्यं सर्व-
राजकीयानामहस्तप्र—
- 15 क्षेपणीयं पूर्वोपरदेवकह्यदायरहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनम-
द्याषाडशु[ड]दश[म्यां]⁷
- 16 कर्कटकराशो⁸ संक्रान्ते रवौ पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गणे देवदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितं [1*] यतो-
स्योचितया तपोवनाचारस्थित्या भुंजतः कृ—
- 17 षतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्याघेषे वर्ततव्य⁹मागामिभद्रनुपतिभिः अस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्याय-
मस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पा[ल]—
- 18 यितव्यश्च [1*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमा[न]कं वानुमोदेत ।¹⁰ स
पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्तोपपातकैः
- 19 संयुति¹¹ [स्या]दित्युक्तं [च] भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] षष्ठी¹² वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता वानुमं—
- 20 [ता] च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदयं¹³ हरन्ति ये [॥४॥] बहु[भिर्व्य*]—
- 21 [सुधा*] भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं-
(लम्) [॥५॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं [भूर्वण्वी*]
- 22 [सूर्यसु*]ताश्च गावः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः¹⁴का¹⁵चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ।
[॥६॥*] यानीह [दत्तानि] पुरा नरैर्द्रव्हानानि धर्मार्थ*—
- 23 [यशस्करा*]णि [1*] निर्मुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरावदीत [॥७॥*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यस्ता[द्रक्ष] युधिष्ठिर । महीं*
- 24 [महिमतां श्रे *]ष्ट दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति । [॥८॥*] श्रीकण्डकणकदूतकं ॥ संवत्सरशत-
तुष्टये ष[डशीत्यधिके आषाढशुद्ध*]—¹⁶

¹ Bühler reads प्रमाणो, but the last *akshara* is clearly णं. Read -निवर्त्तनप्रमाणो.

² I am not certain about the *aksharas* in brackets, which are very indistinct in the photograph.

³ Read केमज्जुग्रामासीदुग्रामगामी.

⁴ Read सोपरिकदर.

⁵ Read समूतवातप्रत्यायं.

⁶ Read सधान्य—.

⁷ The curve for the subscript *y* is faintly seen in the photograph.

⁸ Bühler reads कर्कटकराशौ, but the mark for medial *ā* is quite clear.

⁹ Read वर्त्तितव्य—.

¹⁰ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹¹ There is no superscript *k* here. Read संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तं च ।

¹² The medial vowel is clearly *i* here. Read षष्ठी.

¹³ Read भूमिदयं.

¹⁴ The sign for *jibhāmūlīya*, not noticed by Bühler, is quite clear here.

¹⁵ The *aksharas* in brackets in this and the following line are conjecturally supplied on the analogy of the wording in ll. 49 and 50 of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below).

KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486



21 [जायभट्टो वं*]४०० ८० १ जायभट्ट १० [२]१भावित्यनारे [निबद्धं लिखितं चैत-]
[न्यका*]२.....

26स्वहस्तो नम श्रीजयभट्ट[स्व १*]३

TRANSLATION

[His son is the illustrious Jayabhata (IV)],—[who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of horses....]; the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue [with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword which becomes uneven] with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste; who has manifested many auspicious marks as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes,⁴ [but who, (*unlike a lotus-pool which contains a store of water*),⁵ has not an insensible heart]; who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all the digits, but who, (*unlike the moon that marks the night*),⁶ has no blemish; who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, [but who, (*unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators*), is not affected by greed]; who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army⁷ just as Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) does with his discus Sudarśana, but who, (*unlike Nārāyaṇa who is dark-complexioned*), is not evil-intentioned; who has acquired abundant prosperity as Śiva takes a large quantity of ashes⁸ (*to smear his body with*), [but who, (*unlike Śiva whose body is entwined by serpents*), is not surrounded by dissolute men].

(Verse 1) These people are made to fold their hands and to bow to him, who resembles the disc of the crescent moon, [since he is possessed of brilliance], has an increasing splendour of the body, and levies light taxes (*even as the moon looks lovely, increases in size and sheds tender rays*).

(Verse 2) This is that [Jayabhata], who, with the edge of his sword, has forcibly vanquished, in the city of the lord of Valabhi, the Tājikas⁹ who greatly oppressed all people, even as a cloud extinguishes with its showers the fire that troubles all people.¹⁰

(Line 7) He, the illustrious Jayabhata—who is praised in songs by assemblages of the wives of gods; whose lotus-like feet are reddened by the lines of the rays of jewels (*set*) in the diadems of hundreds of kings; who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*, (*and*) is the lord of the great *sāmantas* (feudatory chiefs),—being in good health, addresses the following order to all king, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*, heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rūshṭras* and villages, officials (*and*) others:—

¹ For the reading of the *sthi*, see above, p. 98.

² The name of the scribe is completely lost. He may have been the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Saṅgulla who wrote the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king about three and a half months later, see below, p. 107, l. 31.

³ The plate shows a stroke like that of medial *ṣ* on the *akṣara* following *ta*. Bühler conjecturally restored the *akṣara* as *dh* (of *dha*), but none of the sign-manuals of Gurjara kings contains a name ending in *dha*.

⁴ There are puns on several words in the eulogistic portion. Here, *s. g.*, *lakṣhaṇa* (n.) means 'an auspicious mark' and *lakṣhaṇa* (m.) means 'a crane'.

⁵ A pun on the word *jaḍ-ālāya* (read as *jal-ālāya* by the rule *ḍaḷyār=abhiḍaḥ*).

⁶ *Dāśākara* is taken as (1) *dāśā-kara*, 'the maker of the night', and (2) *dāśā-ākara*, 'a store of blemishes'.

⁷ Bühler translates 'with his army placed in a well-looking circular battle-array,' evidently understanding *chakra* in the sense of the *chakra-vyūha*, but then, there remains no word meaning 'an army.'

⁸ There is a play on the word *bhūti* meaning (1) prosperity and (2) ashes, and another on *bhujāṅga* meaning (1) a dissolute person and (2) a serpent.

⁹ *I.e.*, the Arabs.

¹⁰ Bühler translated the passage as follows:—'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi,—who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world, and (giving them the fruits of their wishes)—is praised.....'. This translation misses the important historical reference altogether.

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) mother and father as well as of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of **Karkatāka** (Cancer), on the holy day of the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of **Āshāḍha**, granted, with a libation of water as a *dēvadāya*¹, a piece of land measuring fifty *nivartanas* and (lying) on the south-western boundary of the village, in the village **Kēmajju** situated in the famous *viśaya* of **Bharukachcha**, the boundaries of which are,—on the east the road leading to **Chhīrakaha**, on the south the junction with the boundary of the village **Jambhā**, on the west the road going from the village **Jambhā** to the village **Gōliavali**, on the north the road going from the village **Kēmajju** to **Sīhu** and the well near the banyan tree,—the field defined by these four boundaries, together with the *sparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (the fines imposed for) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom; (which is) not to be entered by *chāṣas* and *bhaṣas*; (which is to be) free from interference of all officers of the State; exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and **Brāhmaṇas**; (and the grant of which is to last) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the divine (god) **Āśramadēva** established in the village of **Kēmajju**, in order to defray the expenses of perfume, frankincense, flowers, lamps (and) the morning musical service, of the maintenance of an alms-house, of cleaning the temple, and of the repairs of the broken, rent and dilapidated (portions), (and) of (building) new structures."

[For a translation of ll. 16-19, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 19) And it has been said by the holy **Vyāsa**, the redactor of the **Vēdas**—

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 24) This (charter), the *Dūtaka* of which is the illustrious **Kaṇḍakanaka**, has been written and recorded by [me].....in the year four hundred increased by eighty-six [on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of **Āshāḍha**, the year] 400 (and) 80 (and) 6, (the month) **Āshāḍha**, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 2, on Sunday.

This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious **Jayabhata**.

NO. 24; PLATE XVII

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

"THESE two plates were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1920, when the Society's collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find-spot is not known.' They have been edited before by Mr. G.V. Acharya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff. They are edited here from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. Acharya.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, measure 12·7" by 10." Each

¹ I. e., a gift made in honour of a god.

² Mr. Acharya calls him **Jayabhata III**, identifying **Dadda II-Praśāntarāga** of the **Kairā** and **Saṅkhēḍa** plates (above, Nos. 16-17 and 19-20) with **Dadda-Bāhusahāya**. But this view is incorrect. Apart from the difference in their *birudas*, the former was a devotee of the sun and the latter of **Mahēśvara**. So the two princes were not identical. For some more arguments, see my note on the plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

of them has two holes, 6" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally held them together; but neither the rings nor the seal, which must have been connected with one of them, is forthcoming. Some portion of the upper left-hand corner of each plate has been broken away, which has resulted in the loss of from one to fifteen *aksharas* in ll. 1-14 on the first, and from one to three *aksharas* in ll. 29-33 on the second plate. Besides, a few *aksharas* have become illegible owing to the corrosion of the surface of the plates in some places. The record consists of 51 lines, of which 28 are inscribed on the first, and 23 on the second plate. The average size of the letters is about .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the other grants of the Early Gurjars. It would suffice to draw attention to the following peculiarities of individual letters. The sign for medial (long) *m* in *-nmūlita-*, l. 8, is added to the top of *m* and not to the bottom as is usually done; the medial *ri* of *kri* is formed as in the Kāvī plate only in one place, viz., in *Mahābalādhikṛita-*, l. 50; in other places it appears in its usual form, see, e.g., *-Valadhikṛita-* in the same line; *ḍ* shows a loop in *suchaṇḍa-*, l. 23, but contrast its form elsewhere, e.g., in *-Kaṇḍīnya-*, l. 35; *n* has no loop in *kaṇḍīndu-*, l. 17; *b* is generally rectangular, but in *svabhūja-bala-*, l. 14, it is elongated, and in *bali-*, l. 36, it is roundish. It is generally distinguished from *v*, but in *-Valadhikṛita-*, l. 50, it is indicated by the same sign as that for *v*. Another letter, which is occasionally liable to be mistaken for *v*, is *dh*, see, e.g., the forms of the two occurring side by side in *-ādhirāja-vijrimbhi-*, l. 10. The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses which occur in the eulogy of the donor and six more expressing benediction and imprecation at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It is carelessly written, especially on the second plate. The eulogy of the first four princes given here closely agrees with that in the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates, while a considerable portion of the description of the last prince is the same as in the Kāvī plate. The text of ll. 16-24, however, which describe Ahirōla and his son Jayabhata IV is not known to occur anywhere else. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities noticed in connection with other Early Gurjara grants.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Jayabhata born in the great family of Maharāja Karṇa, who had attained the *pañcamahāśabda* and was the lord of *Mahā-sāmantas* (great feudatory chiefs).¹ The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhata, of the village Mannātha situated in the famous Bharukachchha district. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Achchada², the son of the Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga, of the Hēṭāvuka sub-caste,³ who belonged to the Kaṇḍīnya *gōtra* and was a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā (or White Yajurveda). He had emigrated from the *pathaka* and *dhāra* of Lōhikaksha. The object of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other rites. The *Dātaka* was the illustrious Dēiyaka and the scribe the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Saṅgulla, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Aila.

The grant was made and written on the fifteenth day of the dark half (called *amāvāsyā* in l. 40) of Āśvina in the year 486. The year and the *tithi* are expressed in ll. 49-50, both in words and numerical symbols. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As the Kalachuri year according to my view began on Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date of the present grant would be later than that of the Kāvī plate by more

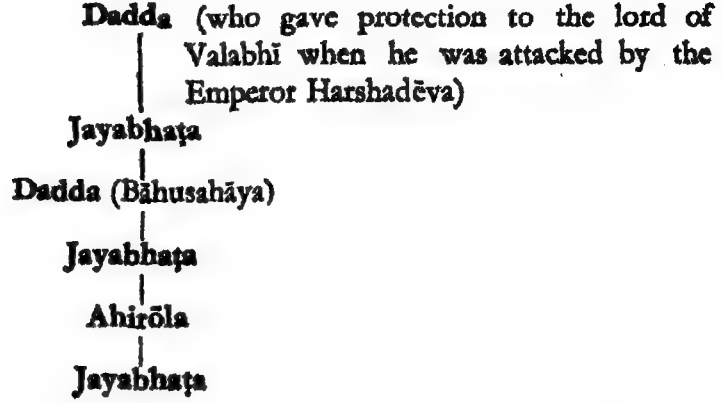
¹ The place of issue is not known, as the first few *aksharas* in l. 1, where we could have expected its mention, are lost owing to the breaking away of the left-hand upper corner of the first plate.

² Mr. Acharya reads his name as *Uchchada*, but there is no trace of any *u* on the left of *ch* in *Bhag. Achchada*, l. 36.

³ See below, p. 109, n. 3.

than three and a half months.¹ Taking the year as expired and the month as *amānta*, the corresponding Christian date would be the 9th October 736 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor—



As stated above, the description of the first four princes is exactly as in the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III. They must, therefore, be identified with Dadda II (*alias* Praśāntarāga), Jayabhāṭa II, Dadda III (*alias* Bāhusahāya) and Jayabhāṭa III. The next prince Ahirōla, the son of Jayabhāṭa, is mentioned in the present plates only. Like his father, he was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of great feudal chiefs. His description in other respects is merely conventional. His son Jayabhāṭa is similarly described. He must be called Jayabhāṭa IV and distinguished from Jayabhāṭa III, who issued the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates and who was his grandfather. The latter portion of his eulogy in the present inscription occurs also in the Kāvī plate. Its historical importance has already been noticed.² The rest is a mere conventional description.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, Bharukachchha has already been identified with Broach. Mannātha the donated village is probably Magnāth³ on the right bank of the Dhādhar about 2 m. south-east of Jambusar, and 2½ m. north of Broach. Lōhikaksha I am unable to locate.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

१ [मिद्धम् [१*] स्वस्ति [१*] . . . सततलक्ष्मी*] निवासभूते ।^५ तृष्णासंताप[हारिणि]
[दिनना]यवि[स्ता]रिता[नुभावे] द्विज[कु-]

¹ This is according to the *amānta* scheme. According to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, the interval would be about two months and a half.

² See above, p. 97.

³ Both *Mannātha* and *Magnātha* are corrupt forms of *Magnanātha* (the submerged Lord) and evidently owe their origin to the presence, in the village, of a temple, probably of Śiva, which was submerged by the Dhādhar. Mr. Acharya identifies Mannātha with 'Manād, about a mile and a half north-east of Mchegam, on the north bank of the river Narmadā' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 148.

⁴ From the photographs kindly supplied by Mr. G. V. Acharya, the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

⁵ The *aksharas* marked with an asterisk in this and the following rectangular brackets, which are lost, are supplied from the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III (Nos. 21 and 22, above).

⁶ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

- 2 [लोपवीज्यमानविभवशालिनि*] ¹ महति महाराजकण्ठान्वये ¹ कमलाकक(र) इव रा-
[जहं]सः प्रबलकलिकाल-
- 3 [मिलसितानाकुलितविमलस्वभावो गं*][वीरो]दारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानसः[प]-
रमे[श्वरश्चीहर्ष]देवानिभूतव-
- 4 [लसीपतिपरिभाषोप*] जातभ्रमद्वयप्रभुभाषविश्रमयसोभितान[*] श्रीदहस्तस्य सू[नुरश-
ङ्कित]गतप्रगयि-
- 5 [जलोपभुक्तविभवसं*]जयोपचीयमानम[वो]निर्वृतिरमेककण्टकबन्धसं²दोहृदाहुस्तुलितप्रतापा-
नलो नि-
- 6 [शितनिस्विशधारा*] दारितारातिकरिकुम्भमुक्त³मुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोऽसुका⁴वगु-
[च्छित]त[धिगव्य]वदनसर-
- 7 [सिजः श्री*]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वयम्भानुष्ठान[प्रवीणो व]-
ज्याश्च-
- 8 [व्यवस्थो*] स्मृतिसकलकलिक(का)लावलेपः प्रणयिजनमनोरथवज्रय⁵व्यतीतविभवसंपाद-
ना[प] नीताश्लेष(व)-
- 9 [पा]त्थिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशाङ्कुशातिर्वसिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्र-
[भा]वो विप-
- 10 [त्र*]पातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिलिललोकविभ्र(धृ)तपरोपकारका(क)रणव्यसनः प्राच्य-
प्रतीच्याधिराजविजृम्भ-
- 11 [त*]महासंभ्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजचटाविचटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्य[वि]स्वातबाहुसहा-
याप-
- 12 [र*]नामा ¹ परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[*] श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरनेकसमरसंघट्टवन-
चटितगजव-
- 13 [टा*]पाटनपटुरसहिष्णुवनगहनदावानलो दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्स्वजनवत्त(वन्धु)कुमुदाकरकोमुदी-
निशाकरो [भागी]-
- 14 [र*]वीप्रबाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः शान्तनुरिव समुद्भूतका(क)लकलाराधमहाबाहिनीपतिरा-
दिव(व)राह इव स्वमुजबल-
- 15 पराक्रमोद्भूतचराधरः परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(व्यो) महासाम[न्ताधि]पति[*]
श्रीजयभटस्तस्य सुतः श्री[र्य]-
- 16 दण्डोदयोत्तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गभूपालमौलिमालाचुम्बितचरणयुगलः सकलाभिगायिकादिगुणानुरागनि-
[र्य]रम-
- 17 नसा स्वयं वृतो राजलक्ष्म्या ¹ कौमुदीन्दुदीपितिषत्रवालविमलयशःशेकरितमेरुशिकरो रणाङ्गना-
गतवरवै-
- 18 रिबारणव[टा]कोटिकुहा(ट्टा)कदोर्हण्डश्चतुर्विधा[धिग]मोप[व]रुहित⁶प्रज्ञातिशयसम्पन्न-
(कप्र)व[त्ति]तनीतिभाग्यानु[रं]जित-

¹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

² Read -वंश-.

³ The Navsāri and Anjanēri plates omit मुक्त.

⁴ Read -यशोवृका-.

⁵ It would be better to read विषय as in the Anjanēri plates.

⁶ Read -पर्वहित-.

- 19 प्रकृतिः प्रकृतिकल्याणाशयत्वादस्पृष्टः क[लि]कालकालिम्ना ।¹ सन्निहितयौवनोपनतानस्तविष-
योपभोगसौख्ये
- 20 सहजशान्ततया वशीकृ[तेन्द्र]यन्नामः वा[द्गुण्य]प्रयोगनिपुणः शक्तिला[न]योपचितमहिमा ।²
परममाहेश्वरः सम-
- 21 [धि*][ग]तपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्त(न्ता)धिपति श्री[मद]हिरोलस्तस्य सकलभुवनतिलकस्या-
त्मजो निजगुणगणमालालं-
- 22 कृतोनेकनरेन्द्रवन्दारकवन्दवन्दितचरणा[र]विन्दद्वयः कुन्देन्दुसितसिन्दुवार[कुसु]मवलयशःसुधाव-
वलितसकलध[रा]मण्डल[*] सुचण्ड³सु[प्र]ताप[पा]नलकवलितासिलजगदुपप्लवो दुध्वार-
शरासारसमुसो[त्ता]रित-
24 सक[ला]रातिचक्रवालः प्रधानप्रधनप्रध(धा)वितप्रकटकरिषटापाटनपटुः चटुरणाङ्गणावङ्गण-
(न)रव⁴-
- 25 णतुङ्गतु[रङ्ग]म[नि]करभङ्गभासुरो ।¹ द्रुतदा(द)लितद्विरदमुक्त²मुक्ता[फ]लनिकरदन्तुरा-
सिलतामरीचिनिच[य]-
- 26 मि(मे)चकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखर पद्माकर इ[व*] प्रकटाण(ने)कलक्षणो न पुनर्जलाशयः
क्षपाकर इव]
- 27 सकलकला[क]लापान्वितो न पुनर्दोषाकरः सागर इ[वा]न्तःप्रवेशितविपक्षभू-
- 28 भृन्मण्डलो न पुनः ग्राहाकुलः नारायण इव सुदर्शनचक्र-

Second Plate

- 29 [क्षपित*] विपक्षो [न पु]नः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृतभूतिनिच[यः] न पुनर्भुजङ्गप-
30 [रिवृत*][ः ।] बालेन्दुबिम्बप्रतिभेन येन प्रवर्द्धम(मा)नस्वतनूदयेन । प्रणामकामोत्पकरणे लो-
31 [कः कृ*] तांजलिः कान्तिमता कृतोयं(यम्) ॥⁵ [१॥*]सुसिधाराजलेन शामितः प्रसभं बल-
[भी]पतेः पुरे योनाशेषलोकसं-
- 32 [ताप*]कलापदतज्जिकानलः जरा(य)भटजलद एष⁶ [ः ॥२॥*] स विगीयते देववधूकद[र्भ]न-
नृपशतमकुटरत्नकिरण[र*]वलि-
- 33 [रं*]जितपादपं[क]जः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभटः कुशली सत्त्वानेव
राजसा-
- 34 मन्तविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो-
35 रा[त्मन]स्वैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।¹ लोहिकक्षपकथाहार²विनिर्गस्ततत्त्रैविद्यसाम (मा)-
न्यकौण्डिन्यसगोत्र-
- 36 वाजि[मा]ध्यन्दिनस[त्र]ह्यचारिहेटावुक[त्रा]ह्यणादित्यनागपुत्रभट्टाच्चवहाय³ । बलि ।⁴ चरुवैदव-
देवाग्निहो[त्रा]तिथिपञ्च-

¹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

² Read प्रचण्ड-

³ Mr. Acharya read here -रङ्ग-

⁴ The corresponding passage in the Kāvī plate reads द्विरदमुक्तमस्थलश(न)लितमुक्ताफल-

⁵ Metre : Upajāti.

⁶ Read the whole verse as follows :-

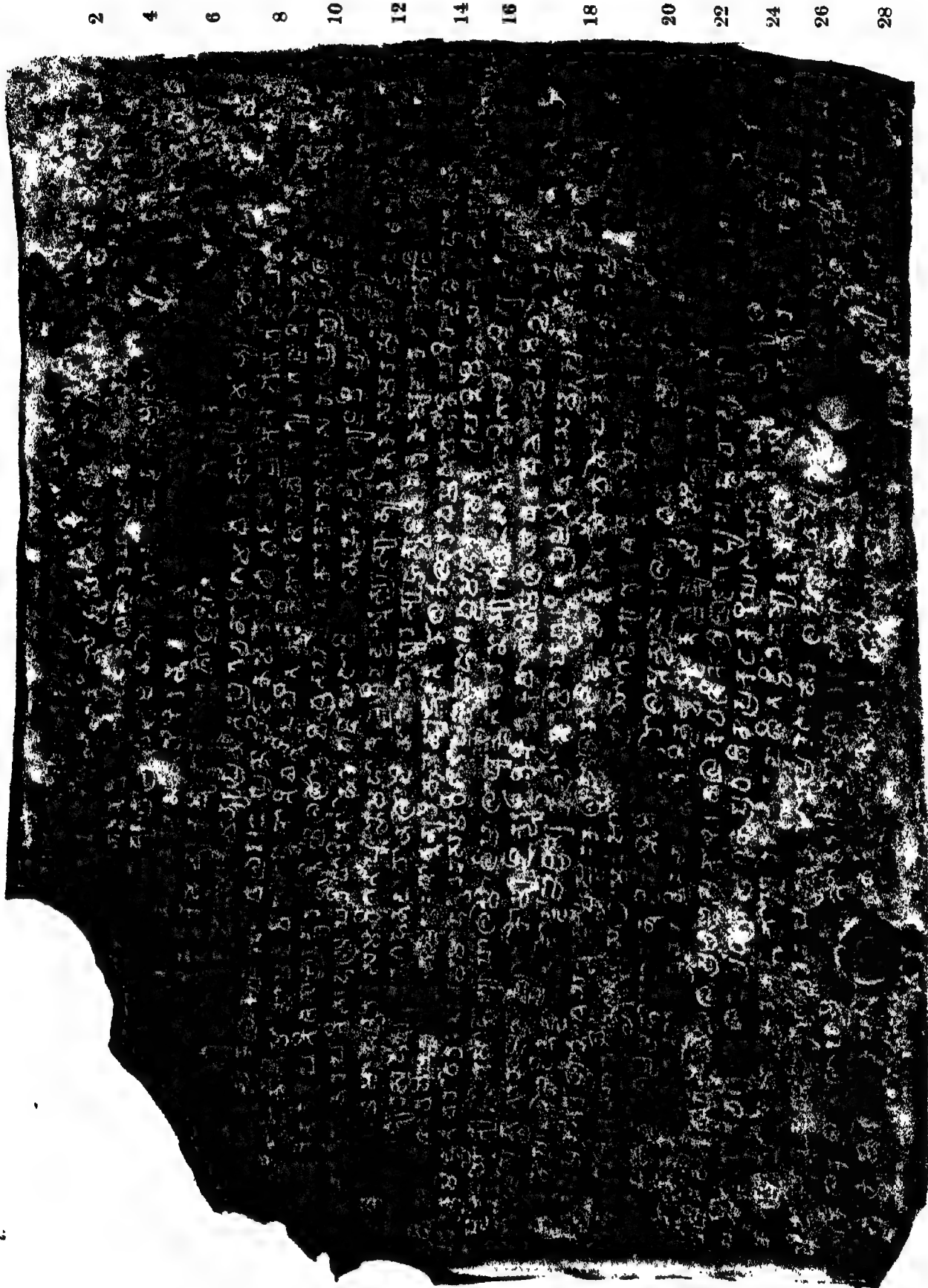
असिधाराजलशमितः प्रसभं बलभीपतेः पुरे येन ।

जनसंतापकलापदताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एषः ॥ Metre : Giti.

⁷ Read -पथकाहार-

⁸ See above, p. 103, n. 2.

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486



B. CH. CHNARMA.
Res. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

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- 37 वि(म)हा[यज्ञा]दिश्रिया(यो)त्सवा(वे)वा[स्वी] श्रीभद्रकण्ठविषयास्तर्गतमत्तायशायः सोद्वङ्गः
सौपरिकरः समुत्पातप्र¹न्या(त्या)य[ः*]
- 38 सचा²महिरण्यादेयः सवचापर(रा)यः सोत्पद्यम(मा)नविष्टिकः अचाटभटप्रवेद्यः सर्वराजकीया-
नामहस्तप्र[क्षे]पनी(पी)-
- 39 यः पु(पु)[र्व]प्रसदेवजहा(दा)यरहितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्र(न्दा)कर्णार्णवमिति स रिस्पब्ध-
तसमकालीनः पुनपोला(वा)म्ब[य]-
- 40 कम्पोप[भोग्यो]वाश्चयुजमसामुवास्या³ उदक्या⁴तिसर्गेण न(न)ह्यदायस्वे[न*] प्रतिपादितो
या(य)तोस्योचितयाप्र(न)ह्य-
- 41 वा(दा)वस्थित्या भुजतः कृपतः कदा(र्ष)यतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न नैविचद्वय(द्वया)सेनं वतितव्यम-
(मा)गामिगद्वनृतिमिरयमवम(स्म)द्वयै-
- 42 [र*] न्यैर्व्यं(र्व्यं) यमक्या(स्म)ह्यमोनुमन्तव्यः प(पा)लयितव्यश्च । यश्चाजानतिम(मि)रपट-
[ला*]वृत्तमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यम[मा]नकं [वा]नुमे(मो)दे[त] स
- 43 [प*]अभिमर्हाप(पा)तकैस्सोपप[पा]तका(कै)श्च संयुक्त[ः*] स्य(स्या)दित्युक्तं⁵ च भगवता
वेदव्यासेन व्य(व्या)सेन । वष्टिवय(र्ष)सहस्र(सा)णि स्वर्गं ति-
- 44 [ष्टति*] भू[मि]व[ः] [ः*] आच्छेत्ता वा(वा)नुम[न्ता] न त(ता)स्वे(न्ये)न नरके वसेत्⁶ [॥३॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीज्वातोयासु⁷ कुष्ककोटरवासिनः [ः*] कृष्णा[ह्यो] हि
- 45 [जा*]यन्ते भु(भू)[मि]शयं हरन्ति ये । [॥४॥*] व(व)हुभिर्व्यसुधा मुक्ता राजभि[ः*]
सगरादिभि[ः] [ः*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [त]दा फलं(लम्) [॥५॥*]
- 46 अग्नेरपत्यं प्र[ध]मं सुवर्णं(र्णं) भूर्ध्वोष्णवी सु(सु)म्य(व्यं)सुताश्च शा(शा)वः[ः*] लोकत्रयं
त(ते)न नवेद्वि दत्तं⁸ ॥⁹ यः काञ्चनं वाञ्च [महीं]
- 47 च दद्यात् [॥६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेभ्यः दानानि धर्म्मैर्व्यशस्कराणि ।¹⁰ नि[र्भु]त-
मत्यप्रतिमनि¹¹ तानि को नाम सा-
- 48 धुः पुनरावदीत ।¹² [॥७॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा या(य)त्नाद्वज्र युधिष्ठ(ष्ठि)र । महीं महिमतां
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनु[पलनमिति](पालनम्¹³ ॥८॥ इति।)
- 49 भट्टवीदेइयकवृत्तकं ॥ संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये वरुणीत्यधिके ।¹⁴ आश्वयुज¹⁵वद[स्या]
- 50 संम्व[त्*] ४०० ८० ६ आश्वयुज व १० ५ [ः*] लिखित¹⁶व(व)रु[ल]विहृता-
ल्लसुतमहाव[लाचिहृत-]
- 51 संगुल्लेन ॥

स्वहस्तो नम श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

¹ Read समुत्पात-

² Read -वाश्चयुजमसामुवास्यायां.

³ Read उदका-

⁴ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

⁵ Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anushubh*.

⁶ Read विन्ध्याटवीज्वातोयासु.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Read वम्मर्त्य-

⁹ Read निर्भुतमात्यप्रतिमानि.

¹⁰ Metre: *Indrajñā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anushubh*.

TRANSLATION

[For a translation of lines 1-13, see above, pp. 87 f.]

(Line 13) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Ahirōla**,—the pair of whose feet was kissed by the crest-wreaths of kings who held their heads on high by reason of (*their*) valour and army; who was freely chosen by the goddess of fortune, her mind being overpowered by love for all his attractive royal qualities and other excellences; who provided the peaks of the Mēru (mountain) with the crest of (*his*) fame, spotless like the mass of lunar rays on the full-moon day; whose staff-like arm was wont to destroy crores of excellent elephant hosts of the enemies on the battlefield; who delighted his subjects with the paths of moral conduct properly laid by his great wisdom enhanced by the acquisition of the four lores; who, noble-minded as he was by nature, was not affected by the blackness of the Kali age; who, being naturally averse to pleasures (*derived*) from the enjoyment of innumerable objects close at hand (*which were*) presented by (*his*) youth, controlled all his sense organs; who was adept in the use of the six measures of policy¹, whose greatness was increased by the triad of powers (*śaktis*)², who was the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, attained the *pañchamahā-śabda* and was the lord of the great feudatories.

(L. 21) The son of him, who was an ornament of the whole world, is the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa (IV)**,—who is adorned with the wreaths of his numerous virtues; the pair of whose lotus-like feet is saluted by many hosts of eminent kings; who has white-washed the whole orb of the earth with his fame, which in brightness resembles *kunda*³ flowers, the moon and white *sindhvāra*⁴ flowers; whose extremely terrible fire of valour has put an end to the troubles of the whole world; who with the showers of his irresistible arrows has routed the hosts of all his foes; who is clever in piercing the crowds of elephants that are openly made to charge in great wars; who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of swift and tall horses that trot and prance about on the battlefield; the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword, which becomes uneven with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste; who has manifested many auspicious marks⁵, as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes, but who, (*unlike the lotus-pool which contains a store of water*), has not an insensible heart; who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all digits, but who, (*unlike the moon that marks the night*), has no blemish; who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, but who, (*unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators*), is not affected by greed; who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army just as Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) does with his discus, Sudarśana, but who, (*unlike Nārāyaṇa who is dark complexioned*), is not evil-intentioned; who has acquired abundant prosperity just as Siva takes a large quantity of ashes (*to smear his body with*), but who, (*unlike Siva whose body is entwined by serpents*), is not surrounded by dissolute men.

[For a translation of ll. 30-34, see above, p. 101.]

(L. 34) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today on the new-

¹ These are *sandhi* 'peace,' *vigraha* 'war' *yāna* marching, *āsana* 'sitting encamped,' *dauidābhāva* 'duplicity' and *saustraya* 'alliance with a more powerful king.'

² These are *prabhutva*, 'power derived from one's royal position', *mantra*, 'the power of good counsel' and *utsāha*, 'personal energy'.

³ *Jasminum multiflorum*.

⁴ *Vitex Negundo*.

⁵ For the explanation of the puns in this and the following clauses, see above, p. 101, notes 4-8.

moon day of the month Āsvina granted with a libation of water as a *brahmadāya*,¹ the village Mannātha situated in the famous *vishaya* of Bharukachcha,—together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom; (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*; (*which is to be*) free from interference of all officers of the state; exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brāhmanas; (*which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land;—to Bhaṭṭa Āchchada² the son of the Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga of the Hēṭāvuka³ (sub-caste) of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyya, who has emigrated from the *dhara* and *pathaka* of Lōhikaksha and belongs to the community of the Trivēdins of that place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *balī*, *śarna*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*, (*and the reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites.

[For a translation of ll. 40-43, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 43) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 49) This (*charter*), the *Dātaka* of which is the Bhaṭṭa, the illustrious Dēiyaka, has been written by me, the Mahābalādhikṛita Saṅgulla, the son of the Balādhikṛita Alla, on the fifteenth (*nīhi*) of the dark fortnight of Āsvayuja in the year four hundred increased by sixty,—the year 400 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 6, (*the month*) Āsvayuja, the dark (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Me, the illustrious Jayabhata.

¹ I.e., a gift made to a Brāhmaṇa. Villages or lands so granted had special privileges.

² See above, p. 103, n. 2.

³ In later times Hēṭāvuka came to signify 'a horse-dealer'. The *Mitāksharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, ch. II, v. 30 mentions the Hēṭāvukas together with betel-sellers, weavers and shoemakers as persons who formed guilds, and the commentary *Bālamhaffi* explains that the Hēṭāvukas are dealers in horses. They sell them either personally or through their agents in different places. The commentary adds that the word is well-known in the *Garjara-dāta*. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 187 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 64.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SENDRAKAS

No. 25; PLATE XVIII

KASARE PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 404

THESE plates were discovered in 1937 at Kāsārē, a village thirty-four miles almost due west of Dhulia in West Khandesh, Bombay State. They are now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. I edit the inscription here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Maṇḍala.¹

They are two copper-plates measuring 7·7" in length and 5·5" in breadth. At the top of each there is a roundish hole about .4" in diameter for two rings which hold them together. One of them carries a conical seal with a circular face measuring 1·5" in diameter, which has the legend *Sri-Allasakti*. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 108 *talas*. The record consists of thirty-three lines, of which fourteen and fifteen are incised on the inner sides of the first and the second plate respectively, and the remaining four on the outer side of the first plate turned upside down. The writing is in a state of good preservation almost throughout. The size of the letters varies from .1" to .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the grants of the Early Gurjaras. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are of uneven size and are carelessly formed; those on the outer side of the first plate are more than double the average size of the rest. Besides, the *aksharas* originally engraved in ll. 20 and 21 were subsequently beaten in, and others much larger in size incised over them. The earlier *aksharas* have, however, been left over through inadvertence between ll. 19 and 20. Some more can be read with patience and perseverance here and there from the traces left behind. It is not possible to say definitely when the record was thus tampered with, or altered by authority; but the form of the letters subsequently engraved indicates that the alteration must have been made in the same period, to which the rest of the inscription can be referred on palaeographic grounds.² As regards individual letters, we may notice that the writer has confounded *v* and *b* in some places, see *prabhabati*, l. 6, and *bhagabatō*, l. 27. The cursive subscript *m* occurs in *brāhmaṇa-* and *-brahmachāri-*, both in l. 22. Both the forms of *l* have been used,—the northern with a shortened right limb as in *lōkānāri*, and *lōkapālah*, both in l. 9, and the southern with the right limb bent to the left as in *prithivīvallabha* and *kusali*, both in l. 18. A peculiar form of *dh* occurs in *Ashāḍha*, l. 32. The sign for the *jihvāmūliya* is used in ll. 8 and 18, and that for the *upadhmāniya* in ll. 10, 17 and 27. The symbols for the numbers 400 and 4 occur in l. 31.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for three verses embedded in the eulogistic

¹ Since this article was written, the plates have been published by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 66 f.

² One of the reasons for alteration was perhaps the omission of some portion of the record in l. 20 as originally written, for the space between *yathā mayā Brāhma-* in l. 20 and *yaya ch-āghāṭanāni* in the next line is not sufficient to contain the mention of the *jākhā*, *gātra* and name of the Brāhmaṇa donee and the name of the donated village, the boundaries of which were introduced with the words *yaya ch-āghāṭanāni*. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the present text is only a revised form of the earlier grant, for it differs materially from it; there are, for instance, no boundaries of the granted village mentioned in the later text.

portion and one more added at the end to convey benediction and imprecation, the record is in prose throughout. It is written in an ornate style,¹ but contains two grammatical blunders² in the second verse. As regards orthography, we may notice that the medial *ri* is in many places written as *ri*; see *nighrishṭa*, l. 4, *drishṭvā*, l. 5 etc.; *v* and *b* are generally expressed by separate signs, but in *prabhavati* l. 6, and *bhagavatō*, l. 27, *v* is indicated by the sign for *b*; the consonant following *r* has been correctly reduplicated in several places, but in *varshaka*, l. 27 it violates Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 49.

The plates were issued by Allasakti of the family of the Sēndrakas, who had attained the *pañchamahāsabha* and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The *virudas* Prithivivallabha and Śrī-Nikumbha³ are mentioned in connection with his name. The charter in its revised form purports to record the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land to the south of the river Pa(?)ṇandha⁴ in the village Pippalakhēṭa, in honour of the deity Alaṅghyēśvara. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bālaprasita of the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, who was a student of the Mādhyandina *sākhā* of the Vājasaneyā or White Yajurveda. The grant was written by Dēvadinna by the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the illustrious Vāsava.⁵ It was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the new moon day of Āshāḍha in the year 404, expressed in numerical symbols⁶ only, of an unspecified era.

In the eulogistic portion we are told that Allasakti was the son of Ādityarāja, who was himself the son of the illustrious Nikumbha. The description of these princes is quite conventional and mentions no historical event. Another grant of the Sēndrakas found at Mundkhēḍ near Chalisgaon in West Khandesh has been published by the late Mr. G.K. Chandorkar.⁷ It gives the following genealogy—

Bhānuśakti (Śrī-Vallabha)

|
Ādityaśakti

|
Nikumbhallaśakti (Satyāśraya, Prithivivallabha, who attained the *pañchamahāsabha*)

|
Jayaśakti (Satyāśraya, Prithivivallabha, Vikramāditya, Nikumbha)

¹ Notice, for instance, the puns in v. 2, which make the comparison of Ādityarāja with the sun possible and the description of Allasakti in ll. 15-17 in which the names of all the Pāṇḍavas are cleverly interwoven.

² *Viz.*, the ungrammatical form *chakṣvā-bhātāḥ*, l. 9 and the wrong *sandhi* *-suts* = *ādityarājah*, l. 10.

³ That *Nikumbha* is a *viruda* is shown by the fact that the royal name occurs without it in the legend on the seal, as well as in l. 17.

⁴ The first *akṣara* of this name is uncertain.

⁵ The text reads *Śrī-Vāsanatara-samādāṭṭi* but the *akṣaras* *sara* seem to have been repeated by mistake.

⁶ Of the symbols, the first denoting hundreds is clearly a sign for 400 and the second, except for the curve at the top, is the usual sign for 4. It may be noted that a similar curve is attached to the top of the symbol denoting 4 in the date of the Surat plates of Śrīśraya-Śilāditya, No. 19, Pl. XXII. The symbol would have to be taken as denoting 40 if the following symbol denotes a unit number like 7, but in that case its date (K. 447 or 696 A. C.) would be later than the date Śaka 602 or 680 A. C. which we have for Allasakti's son Jayaśakti in his Mundkhēḍ plates. I, therefore, prefer to take the last sign to denote *de*, corresponding to *di* (*dina*) which occurs before the symbol of the *tithi* in early Brāhmī records. It is noteworthy that the scribe of the present grant wrote also the Bagumrī plates of the same king and the *Mahābalādhikṛita* was also the same in both, (see p. 121, n. 41, below). The names of both are mentioned in another grant of Allasakti (see N. I. A., Vol. I, p. 747.) The date of the present grant must, therefore, be within a few years on either side of the date K. 406 of the Bagumrī plates.

⁷ This grant has been published twice, but without a facsimile, first in the Marāṭhī monthly *Prabhat*, Vol. I (pub. in 1908), and again in the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhodhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1254. The plates are not forthcoming now.

The use of *Nikumbha* as a *biruda* prefixed to the name of *Jayaśakti* suggests that the word is a *biruda* in the name *Nikumbhallāśakti* also and, therefore, the real name of the prince was probably *Allāśakti*. Of the four princes named in the *Mundkhēḍe* plates two,—*Ādityaśakti* and *Allāśakti*,—are thus common to our grant. This shows that *Nikumbha* was another name or title of *Bhānuśakti*, and he being the founder of the family, it was used as a *biruda* by his descendants. It is again plain that *Jayaśakti* was the son of the *Allāśakti* who issued the present plates. As stated above, *Allāśakti*'s present grant was made in the year 404, while *Jayaśakti*'s *Mundkhēḍe* plates were issued in the year 602. The only way in which we can reconcile these two dates is to refer the former to the *Kalachuri* era and take it to correspond to 653 or 654 A.C., and the latter to the *Saka* era, corresponding to 680 A.C. As *Jayaśakti* was the son of *Allāśakti*, the interval of nearly twenty-six years between the two dates appears quite natural.

Referring the date of the present grant to the *Kalachuri* era, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the new-moon day of the *pūrṇimānta* *Āshāḍha* in the current *Kalachuri* year 404 fell on Saturday, the 1st of June 653 A.C. when there was a solar eclipse¹ as stated in the present record. There was no solar eclipse either in *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* *Āshāḍha* in 652 A.C. or 654 A.C. The date of the present plates is noteworthy, because it is one of the two early verifiable dates of the *Kalachuri* era which cite a current year,² and secondly its month was *pūrṇimānta*,³ while the prevailing custom in *Gujarat* and the *Deccan* was to cite *amānta* months. The *Kalachuri* year, as shown elsewhere, was *Kārttikādi*. From an examination of several dates of the *Vikrama* era, *Kielhorn* came to the conclusion that the southern (*Kārttikādi*) year of the *Vikrama* era was joined with the *pūrṇimānta* as with often as with the *amānta* scheme.⁴ It should, therefore, cause no surprise if we find that the *Kārttikādi* year of the *Kalachuri* era also was occasionally and exceptionally joined with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme in *Gujarat* and the adjoining country.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present grant, *Pippalakhēṭa* is probably *Pimpalnēr*, about 9 miles west of *Kāsārē*. The river *Parṇandha* may be the *Panjhrā* which flows along the northern boundary of *Pimpalnēr*. The land to the south of it was, therefore, within the boundary of the village as stated in the present grant.

TEXT⁵

First Plate: Inner Side

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] मेरुमहीष[र]शिखरस्त्रि[र]चिरसमुत्तते विकसितयशसि
- 2 महति सेन्द्रकराजामन्वये⁷ अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजचटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्ट—

¹ The eclipse was a total one and was visible in India.

² For the other early *Kalachuri* date citing a current year, see the *Nasik* plates of *Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha*, No. 28, below.

³ The month in the *Anjanēri* plates of *Jayabhaṭa III* is *amānta* as shown above. In the later *Kalachuri* dates from North India and *Madhya Pradesh*, the months are invariably *pūrṇimānta*.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 401. For a later date in a *pūrṇimānta* month from *Gujarat*, see the *Kaṭī* copper-plate inscription of the *Chālukya Mūharāja*, dated V. 1043, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 192. See also *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 166.

⁵ From the photographs of the plates kindly supplied by the Secretary of the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saśhodhaka Maṇḍala*, Poona.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read सेन्द्रकराजामन्वये.

3. सव्यविजयो विजितामोवसिपुषा[:*] स्वभुवचकनिकमकान्त¹महीमण्डल[:*]
 4. प्रणतावेषसमन्तशिरो[मु]कुटमिषिष्टपादपङ्कजो² पुनरभि च[:*] [भाओ] नि-
 5. [मि] सकु[म्भ]प्रगलितरुधिर[व्या]प्तमूत्रो हता[श्वे] ³ 1³ शिष्टमा⁴ सङ्गा⁵कशु⁶भालं क्षरदन-
 6. न(मं) अ[ल्लु]रुकिशुव(य)नं(मम्) । स्वातु(तु) सप्रोवि वेवां प्रचच(म)ति न रणे
 साप्रिमा⁷धुन(स)ताना
 7. राजासीच्छ्रीनिकुम्भ[:*] [सु]स्पतिसत्रियो⁸ वंशज⁹ सेन्द्रकाजा(वाग्)¹⁰ [11१॥*] विभ्राण(णो)
 [भा*]मुसाम(यं)
 8. जय(न)हितसन्नं सर्वदा शानुराग¹¹भुव्वागिप्रोक्तना¹² [पु]स्कटकभिर(मृतां) भूय-
 9. ता(तां) [मू]क्ति(विष्ण) वादं(यम्) [1*] लोकानां यक्षभूत¹³क्षामितजनतमा लोकपालः
 मि(पु)सिन्ध्या(व्या) मि(शी)मा(यान्)
 10. विख्यातकीर्ती रविरिव विम[ल*]स्तत्सुतोदित्यराज¹⁴[: ॥२॥*] तस्यात्मज¹⁵प्रबलरिपुव-
 11. लोद्भूतविम[व]प्रभंसहेतुः शरदमलयशा कुमण्डलामलयशाः
 12. सुरपतिरिव विद्याधरजनगन्ध[र्व]निषेवितस्सेव्यो रम्या(म्य)ज्ञानकर्मभावितम-
 13. नाश्च गच्छ इव विनतानन्दजन(न)नो राम इव परिसमाप्तसीता-
 14. विग्रह[:*] यस्य विप्राविष्ठितसम्पदाहितभुक्¹⁶.

Second Plate

15. [पु]यविमण्य(दः) सदा [धी]मानर्जुनकर्मभावितमना[:*] सही(ह्री)मस(से)ना-
 16. न्वित[: 1*] धर्मात्मा सहदेव[पु]जितवपु[:*] स[सा]मान्य[वा]नस्सदा[मित्रा?] कृ[ष्ण¹⁷]क-
 17. [लो*] [यु]धिष्ठिरसमो रा[जा]लक्ष्मणी¹⁸ क्षितौ¹⁹ [॥३॥*] मातापितृपादानुदधात[:*]
 परममाहेश्वर²⁰पर-
 18. मन्त्रहण्य[:*] समावाप्त²¹[प*]ञ्चमह(ह)वाब्द[:] प्रियिबीवल्लभ²²धी निकुम्भाललक्ष्मि²³कुशली
 सव्यनिव राजसाम-

¹ The cognate Bagumta plates (No. 26) read विजितामकान्त-.

² Read -निपुष्टपादपङ्कजः.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read दुष्टमा.

⁵ Read सङ्गा.

⁶ Read सावुषा.

⁷ Read -सदुषी.

⁸ Read वंशजः.

⁹ Metre: *Shugdhara*.

¹⁰ Read >प्रोक्तानां.

¹¹ The correct grammatical form would be यक्षभूतः which would not, however, suit the metre. Read नेत्रभूतः.

¹² The correct *sandhi* of तत्सुतः and वादित्यराजः would be तत्सुत वादित्यराजः, but this would go against the metre. Read तत्सुतवादित्यराजः. Metre: *Shugdhara*.

¹³ Read -यक्षभूतः.

¹⁴ The reading of these four *aksharas* is uncertain.

¹⁵ Read राजालक्ष्मणी.

¹⁶ Metre: *Shugdhara*.

¹⁷ Read सव्यनिव.

¹⁸ Read पुनिकुशली.

- 19 न्तविषयभोगिक[बो]रोद्धरनिकदण्डपाशिकदूतस(व)मागभिकप्रागमहतराशिकादि(रि)कादी[नृ]
 20 समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु¹ व[ः*] संविदितं यथा² मया पिप्पलखेटमा[मा*]न्तर्गत-
 21 [प]र्णम्भदि(दी)दक्षिणत[ः*] भूनिवर्तमानि वर्तमानि³
 22 पञ्चाशतः⁴ ब्राह्मणवाजि(ज)सनेयसब्रह्मचारिमाद्वधन्दिनकि(क)ष्णात्रेयसबोवबालप्र-
 23 वसिताय⁵ भूच्छिद्रन्वायेन्या(ना)बन्नावर्काणी[व]मितिस्थितिसमकालीनत्वेन पुण्यो[मा]-
 24 न्वयभोग्यतयालङ्घ्येश्वरदेवपादोपयोगाय(या)स्मै⁶
 25 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिनि(वृ)द्धये⁷ उदका-
 26 तिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितो⁸ यतोस्मद्वज्रजै⁹रप्यै(न्यै)वर्गार्गा(गा)मिश्रि(नृ)पतिभिरस्मदा-
 27 योनुमन्तव्य*प्रतिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं¹⁰ भगव(व)तो(ता)व्यासेन¹¹ व्यासेन [ः*] वष्टिम्बवर्ष¹²स-
 28 ह्मणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [ः*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक(के)
 29 वसे [त*]¹³ [॥४॥*]क¹⁴छारामतलभो[ग्य](ग्या)नि [स*][दा] मय्यदिया [ः*]

First Plate : Outer Side

- 30 महाबलाधिकृत¹⁵ श्रीवासवसवसमादेशा¹⁶[त*]
 31 लिखितमि[द*] देवदिग्नेनेति [ः*] सं ४०० ४ दे¹⁷
 32 आषा[ड]¹⁸ व आमा[व]स्या¹⁹ सूर्यग्रहो-
 33 परागो [ः*]

Seal

श्रीअस्तुशक्ति [ः*]

¹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

² The *aksharas* from here onwards up to ब्राह्मण in l. 22 are written in a much larger form and are engraved over other previously written *aksharas*, which, though beaten in, can be read here and there. Between lines 19 and 20, the *aksharas* यथा मया ब्राह्म which were previously written and were meant to be connected with अस्तु वः संविदितं in l. 20 can be read quite clearly. Similarly, between lines 20 and 21, the words यस्य चाषाटनानि are still legible. The following portion of that line lay under the *aksharas* पिप्पलखेट etc. and can be read with some diffidence as उत्तरते(तः) स(?)न्यनदी पूर्वं [तः]... याणक-. In the next line which lies partly between ll. 21 and 22 and partly below the *aksharas* in l. 21 one can read ग्राम[ः] दक्षिणतः... पश्चमत[ः] त(?)टाकीस(?)मेतो. Traces of some five *aksharas* can be seen after वर्तमानि in l. 21 of the text, which may be read एवं चतुरा-.

³ These four *aksharas* are superfluous.

⁴ Read पञ्चाशद्.

⁵ Read -वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारि... ब्राह्मणबालप्रवसिताय

⁶ Read -यास्मत्पिबो-.

⁷ Read -वृद्धय.

⁸ Read प्रतिपादितानि so as to agree with भूनिवर्तमानि in l. 21.

⁹ Read -स्मद्वज्रजै-.

¹⁰ Read -श्चेति । उक्तं च ।

¹¹ Read वेदव्यासेन.

¹² Read वष्टि वर्ष-.

¹³ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

¹⁴ The *aksharas* are quite clear here, but I am not certain about the meaning. Perhaps कच्छारामतलभो भोग्यानि सदा मय्यदिया is meant.

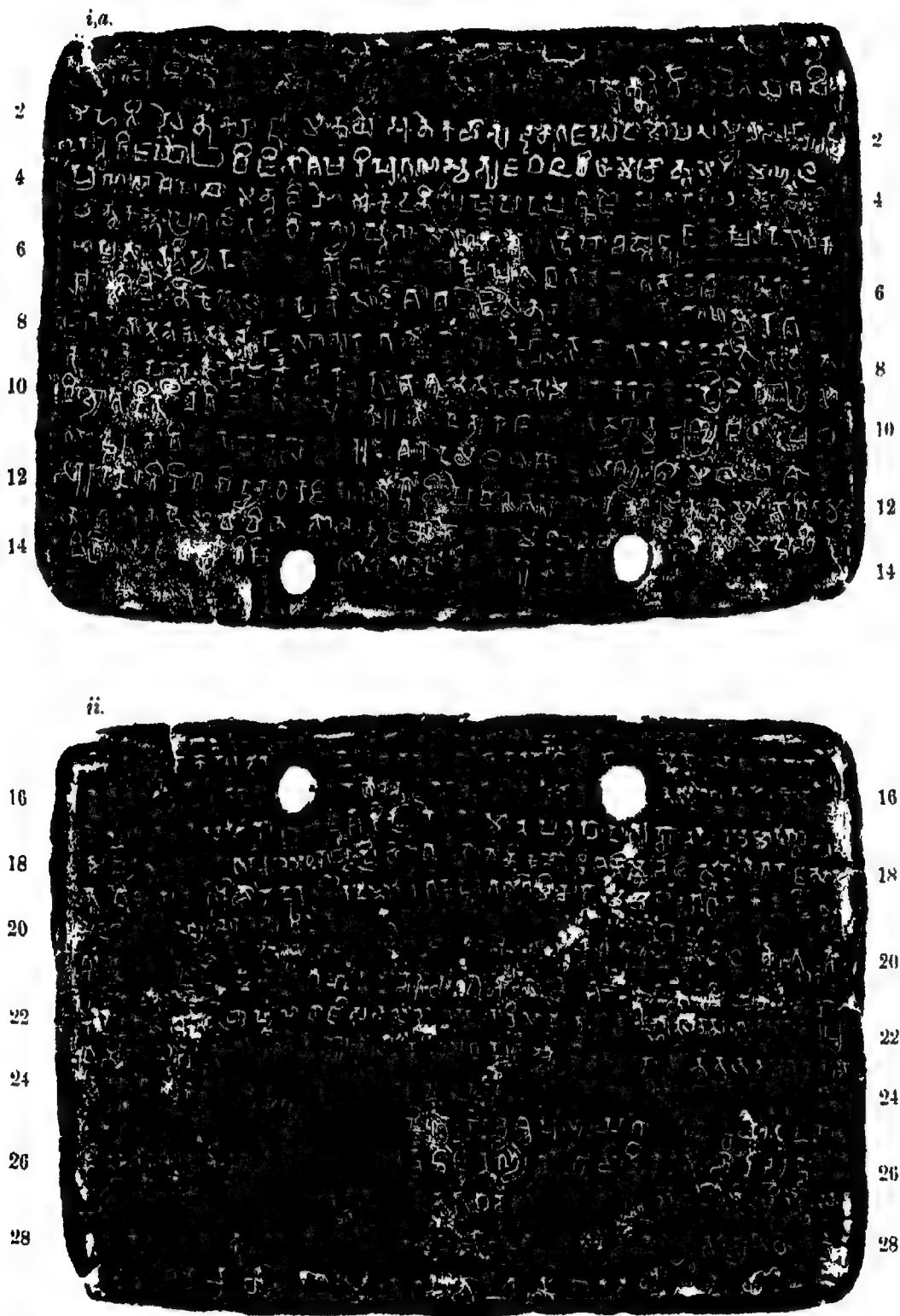
¹⁵ The engraver first incised नि which he later altered into कि. Read महाबलाधिकृत-.

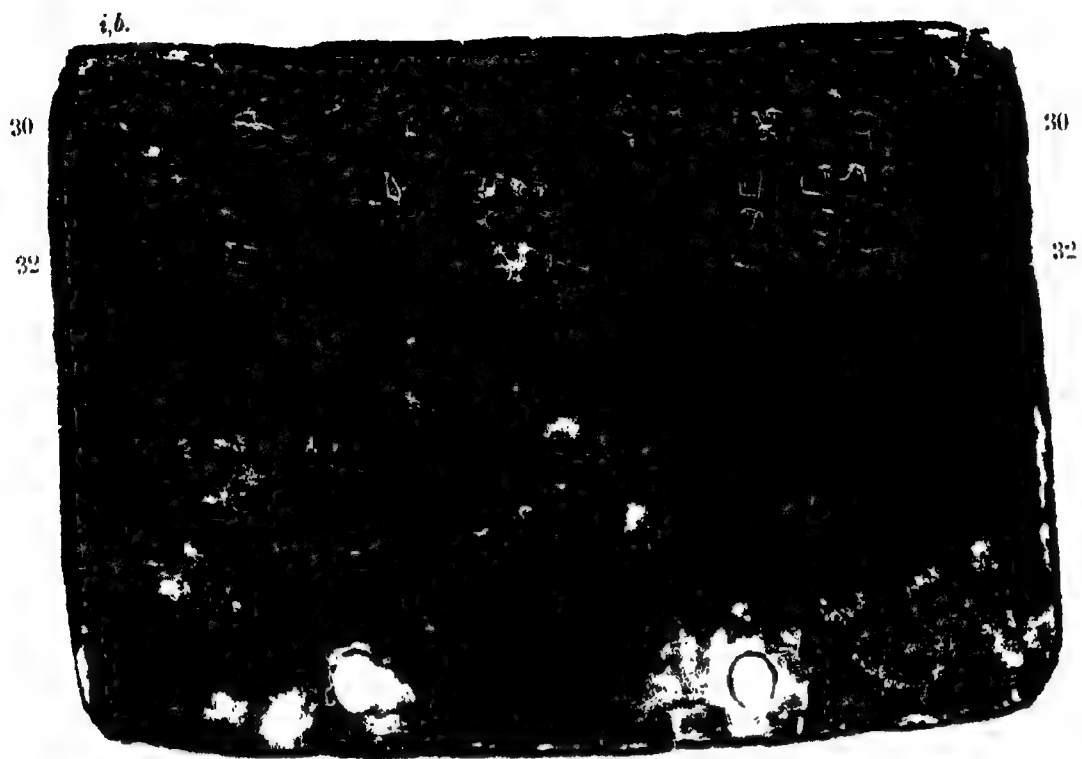
¹⁶ Read श्रीवासवसमादेशात्. There is a redundant and unconnected curve on the left of *श*.

¹⁷ This *akshara* is superfluous.

¹⁸ The form of this *akshara* is unusual.

¹⁹ Read वयावस्याया.





Seal



(From a photograph)

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! In the great lineage of the Sēndraka kings which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Māru, (and) the fame of which has become expanded, (there was the illustrious Bhānufakti¹), who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants; who conquered the multitude of all his foes; who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms; whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all the feudatories who bowed to him. And again.—

(Verse 1) Born in the family of those eminent Sēndrakas,—seeing the mass of lustre of whose swords, emitting sparks of fire and resembling flashes of lightning, even Sakra can not hold his ground, fighting on the battlefield where horses lie slain and the ground of which overflows with blood flowing from the cut-off frontal globes (of the hostile elephants)—there was the king, the illustrious Nikumbha, who resembled Indra.

(V. 2) His son (was) the illustrious Ādityarāja, the guardian of the people,—whose fame spread (all) over the earth; who was stainless like the sun; who had the splendour of the sun; who with affection always thought of the well-being of the people; who placed his foot on the heads of great kings who had large armies, even as the sun casts his rays on the summits of high mountains having extensive ridges²; (and) who, being like the eye of the people as the sun is of the worlds, has destroyed the ignorance of the people (even as the sun dispels darkness).

(Line 10) His son (is) the Prithivīnallabha, illustrious Nikumbha, Allaśakti³, who has caused the destruction of the greatness, due to might, of his powerful adversaries; whose stainless fame is like the orb of the spotless autumnal moon; who is waited upon by learned men and musicians even as the lord of gods (i.e., Indra) is served by the Vidyādharas and Gandharvas⁴; (who is) fit to be served; who has his mind purified by delightful knowledge and actions; who causes delight to the humble even as Garuḍa did to (his mother) Vinatā; who has put an end to disputes about (the possession of) ploughed fields⁵ as Rāma finished fighting for (the rescue of his wife) Sītā;⁶ who, again, is—

(V. 3) The king Allaśakti who on earth bears resemblance to Yudhisṭhira, because his fortune is governed by the Brāhmaṇas, (because) he honours the elders, (and) is always at the head and ready; because his mind is purified by righteous deeds even as

¹ This name does not occur in the text, but is supplied from the corresponding passage of the cognate Bagumci plates. The repetition of the expression *Sēndrakāpām vaitijah* in v. 1 below shows that the verse is to be taken separately and not to be connected with the preceding expressions in prose.

² There are puns on the words *bhābhṛt* meaning 'a king' and 'a mountain,' *pāda* meaning 'the foot' and 'a ray' and *kafaka* meaning 'an army' and 'the ridge of a mountain'.

³ Though the expression *śrī-Nikumbha* seems to be inseparably joined to *Allaśakti*, the legend on the seal shows that the royal name was *Allaśakti* only.

⁴ This and the following expressions in the original admit of a double interpretation on account of puns on some words occurring in them.

⁵ The *Arthasastra* of Kauṭilya has a chapter entitled *Śrīdhyaśa* which deals with agricultural matters.

⁶ Or, if we take *vigraha* in the sense of 'the body,' it may mean 'as Rāma put an end to Sītā's bodily form' the reference being to the disappearance of Sītā underground as described in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Yudhishthira's was by the (*valorous*) deeds of Arjuna¹; because he is pious-minded and is followed by an excellent army as Yudhishthira was called Dharma² and was accompanied by (*his brother*), the noble Bhīmasēna; because his gifts are always shared by the Brāhmaṇas (*lit.*, those whose person is worshipped) together with the gods, even as Yudhishthira's person was honoured by Sahadēva and his gifts were shared (*by all*); because his family is friendly and untarnished, even as Yudhishthira's brother Nakula exterminated his foes.³

(L. 17) He, the Prithivīvallabha, the illustrious Nīkumbha Allāsakti,—who meditates on the feet of *his* mother and father; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) very pious; and who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*,—being in good health, addresses the (*following*) order to all the kings, feudatories, heads of *vishayas*, *Chawṛādhikarīkas*, *Danda-pāśīkas*, *Dūtas*, *Gamāgamīkas*,⁴ the *Mahattaras* of the village, officials and others:—

(L. 20) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (My) parents and Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, fifty *nivartanas* of land to the south of the Parṇandha river in the village of Pippalakhēṭa,—to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmaṇa Bālapravasita of the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā (or White Yajurveda), for the use of the god Alaṅghyēśvara.

(L. 26) Wherefore future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve (*this*) our gift."

It has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor (*of the Vēdas*),—

(*Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse*).

(L. 29) The banks, groves and tanks (*in the donated land?*) are to be enjoyed at all times according to the (*proper*) custom.

This (*charter*) is written by⁵ Dēvadinna by the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the illustrious Vāsava. In the year 400 (*and*) 4, on the new-moon day in the dark (*fortnight*) of Āshāḍha, on (*the occasion of*) a solar eclipse.

Seal

The illustrious Allāsakti

¹ This and the following expressions, in which the names of the Pāṇḍavas are cleverly interwoven, are intended to be construed with Allāsakti and Yudhishthira.

² In the case of Yudhishthira, *dharm-ātmā* is to be explained as *dharmah ātmā* (*svarūpam, nāma vā*) *yasya*. He was known by the name Dharma.

³ In the case of Allāsakti, the *pada-chchēda* is *mitra-akṛishṇa-kulō* and in that of Yudhishthira it is *amitra-akṛishṇa-Nakulō* (*amitrān ākarshati iti tādṛishṇa Nakulō yasya*). The correct grammatical expression in the latter case should, however, be *amitr-akṛishṇa-Nakulō*.

⁴ The *Gamāgamika* (*lit.* he who superintends the egress and ingress of travellers) was evidently an inspector of passports. The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya mentions a similar officer called *Mudrādhyaṅksha*.

⁵ See the discussion about the date above, p. 112.

No. 26; PLATE XIX

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI : (KALACHURI) YEAR 406

THE plates were found in 1881 together with several others¹ by a labourer of Surat, 'who was engaged in excavating the *pro tempore* kitchens for a large wedding party at Bagumrā² (Zilla Balsar) in the Gackwad's territory.'³ They were edited by Dr. G. Bühler first in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Band CXIV, pp. 169 ff. and subsequently with some emendations and a translation accompanied by excellent lithographs in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs as well as from fresh ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

"The grant is engraved on two copper-plates,—now in the British Museum,—each measuring about 7½" by 5½". The rims are raised. Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates have been inscribed; the first has nineteen, the second twenty lines. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other. The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxidisation'⁴.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the inscriptions of the Early Gurjaras. Owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver, the same letter appears in varying forms in different places. Contrast, e.g., the form of *d* in *-dāna-*, l. 5 with that in *-dākshinya-*, ll. 5-6; of *t* in *pranāt-*, l. 4 with that in *-gatih-*, l. 13; of *bh* in *-vallabha-*, l. 15 with that in *-gabhīrō-*, l. 12; of *m* in *-dama-*, l. 5, *-Nikumbh-*, l. 15 and *maya*, l. 18 with the cursive one in *-Lakshmi-*, l. 9, *Brāhmaṇ-*, l. 17 etc.; of *n* in *-kālinah-*, l. 22 with that in *gagana-*, l. 1. It is noteworthy that *t* shows a vertical stroke at the top in *-paṭal-*, l. 30, *Vindhy-ātavi-*, l. 33 etc.; *y* appears in a transitional form without a hook in its left limb, while *l* shows both the northern form as in *-Lakshmi-*, l. 9, *-maṇḍal-*, l. 7, *-bala-*, l. 8, and the southern one as in *kal-paluma-*, ll. 7-8, *-pālana-*, l. 10. The language is Sanskrit, and except for a verse in praise of the sun in the beginning and the usual benedictive and imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The ignorance of the person who drafted it is disclosed by the innumerable mistakes of grammar which disfigure the record from the beginning to the end. He uses, for instance, *-amala-yasasah*, l. 7 as the nominative of *amala-yasas* instead of the correct form *amala-yasāḥ*, seems to be ignorant of the rule that the words connected by *iva* must be in the same case, for he writes *Kalpadrūmam-iva... jan-ūpabhūjamāna-vibhavō*, ll. 7-8, *Janārdanam-iva... rājya[b*]*, ll. 8-9, and employs wrong declensional forms like *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarām* for *Brāhmāṇ-ōttarān*, l. 17, *-dhikarik-ādīm* for *-dhikārik-ādīn*, l. 18 etc., and incorrect compounds like *rajaḥśrī* for *rājyaśrī*, l. 29, *apahritam-*

¹ Bühler gives the royal name as *Nikumbhallasakti*, but as shown above, (p. 112), *Nikumbha* was only a *virudh* and the proper name was *Allasakti*. A grant of the same king recently discovered in Khandesh calls him *Nikumbhallasakti*, (*N. I. A.*, Vol. I, p. 747).

² These were the plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva II, dated Śaka 798, *Ind. Ant.* (Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.) and those of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa, dated Śaka 810 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff.).

³ The ancient name of this place was *Uwars*, see l. 50 of the Bagumrā grant No. 1 of Indra III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 32.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 179.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 265.

aśēsha-bala-rājyaḥ for *apahṛit-aśēsha-bali-rājyaḥ*, ll.8-9. Besides these, there are several mistakes of *sandhi* and omissions and transpositions of syllables and words which are pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. As regards orthography, we find that *ri* is used instead of the vowel *ṛi* in several places, see, e.g., *-prithu-*, l. 1, *-āvrīta-*, l. 30, *krīṣṇ-*, l. 33; the letter preceding and following *r* is correctly repeated in *-vikṛam-ākkrānta-*, l. 4, *-kriy-ōtsarppa-*, l. 21, *sarv-ādāna*, l. 23 etc., but wrongly in *varshsha-*, l. 34.

The plates were issued by the illustrious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Nikumbha Allāśakti* of the family of *Sēndraka* kings, who was the son of the illustrious lord of men, *Ādityaśakti*, and the grandson of the lord of men, the illustrious *Bhānuśakti*. No place of issue is mentioned in the grant. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village *Balisa* in the *āhāra* of *Trēyaṇṇa*. The donee was *Bappasvāmin* of the *Bhāradvāja* *gōtra* and the *Mādhyandina śākhā* of the *Vājasaneyā* or White *Yajurveda*. He was then a resident of *Vijay-Āniruddhapurī*. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The *Dātaka* was *Srīvallabha Bappa* and the scribe the *Sandhivigrahādhipikṛita Dēvadinna*.¹ The grant was written by the order of a *Mahābalādhipikṛita* whose name is imperfectly written here, but who was probably identical with the illustrious *Vāsava* mentioned with the same title in the *Kāsārē* grant. We learn from lines 38-39 that the scribe, *Dēvadinna*, was his younger brother.

The date of the grant is expressed in words as the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of *Bhādrapada* in the year 406 of an unspecified era. Like the date of the *Kāsārē* plates, this date also must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year² 406, to the 10th August 656 A.C. In the absence of the necessary details it does not admit of verification.

Of the place-names in the present grant *Trēyaṇṇa* was identified by Dr. Bühler with the village *Tēn* near *Bārḍōli* in the Surat District of Gujarat. It is evidently identical with *Trēnna* which is mentioned as the headquarters of an *āhāra* in the *Bagumrī* plates³ of *Dhruva II* of the Gujarat *Rāshtrakūṭa* branch and with *Tēnna* mentioned in the *Bagumrī* plates (second set)⁴ of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king, *Indra III*. In the latter grant the place is said to be situated near *Kammanijja* in the *Lāṭa* country and was bounded on the east by *Vāraḍapallikā*. This description completely agrees with the situation of *Tēn* which is only about 15 miles south-east of *Kāmrej*, the modern representative of *Kammanijja* and lies only about a mile to the west of *Bārḍōli*, the ancient *Vāraḍapallikā*. *Balisa*, the village granted in the present plates, is plainly identical with *Valisā* or *Balisā* which is mentioned as defining the western boundary of the village *Tēnna* in the *Bagumrī* plates (second set) of *Indra III*. It can be identified with the modern *Wanēsa* which lies about two miles south-west⁵ of *Tēn*. *Vijay-Āniruddhapurī* cannot be identified, but it must have been situated not very far from *Tēn*. It is mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates⁶ of *Vyāghrasēna* and was probably the capital of the *Traikūṭakas*.

¹ He is the writer of the *Kāsārē* plates (No. 25, above). Both *Vāsava* and *Dēvadinna*, again, figure in another grant of *Allāśakti* found in Khandesh (*N.I.A.*, Vol. I, p. 749).

² If the year was current, the date of the grant would correspond to the 22nd August 655 A.C.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 36.

⁵ The identification was suggested by Dr. Bühler who pointed out that 'the change of *la* to *na* is very common in Gujarāṭi, e.g., in *nabān* for *labān*.' *Wanēsa* is not, however, to the south-east of *Tēn* as stated by Bühler.

⁶ Above, No. 9; see p. 27.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] प्रथमदिकसरसीप्रियु³ पंकजं गगनवारिधिविद्रुमपल्लवं(वम्) [1*] त्रिदश[रक्त]-
जपाकुसुमं नवं
- 2 दिशतु वो विजयं रविमंडलं[लम्]⁴ ॥ [१॥*] स्वस्ति [1*] मेरुमहीधरविजर⁵स्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते
विकसि-
- 3 तमहति यशसि⁶ सैन्यकराज्ञा⁷मन्वये⁸ नैकजाम् (तु) ह्यन्तगजच[टा]टोपसमर⁹सकुट्टल-
- 4 ध्वविजयो विजिताशेरिपुगणः स्वमुज्ज्वलविक्रमात्मकान्तमहीमंडलः प्रणताशे-
- 5 वसामन्तशिरोमुकुट¹⁰ [1*] मिषुष्टपदपंकजः नयविनयसत्त्वधौचाचारदमदयादानवा-
- 6 [क्षि]प्यधीशंपुपेतो नरपतिः श्रीमद्भाषु(नु)शक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो(तः) शारदम-
- 7 लक्ष्मीकर्मकामकयशसः¹¹ सवितास्मिबोदयवन्तमनुरक्तमंडलं¹² च कल्पलु-
- 8 ममि¹³बाभिविजिताशेषजनीपमुज्ज्वल(मा)नकिमवो जगद्गनमिवापहृतमशेषव[ल]-
- 9 राज्ञ¹⁴ परचक्रानुरक्तलक्ष्मीकः श्रीमन्नरपतिः¹⁵ आदित्यशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात[1*]
- 10 श्रीमान्व[क्षि]प्यगुरु[गुरु]बाहुदंडः प्रियिवी¹⁶पालनक्षत्रो व्यपगतसजलजल¹⁷जलधर-
- 11 पटलव्योमतलगतसारदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोविता(ता)नलधिताभोधि य¹⁸ पर
- 12 परमगभीरो दिवद्विजाततवजनबंधवापमुज्ज्वलमनविमवो¹⁹ भवसूनुरिवाग्र-
- 13 तिहृत[ग]तिः²⁰ सति²¹रिबोपातराज्यः समदद्विरदवरसलीलगेतिरर्जुन इवाशेषसं-
- 14 ग्रामविजयी जनवरतविक्रमात्साहसकतपनः²² काम इव समद्वन²³युवतिजा(ज)न-

¹ From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Bühler's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 26; ff., and ink impressions supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read -पुषु-

⁴ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁵ Read -शिवर- as in the Mundkhêdê plates of Jayasakti published in the *Prabhâta*, Vol. I, No. 12, p. 1 ff.

⁶ Read विकसितयशसि महति as in the Mundkhêdê plates.

⁷ Read सैन्यकराज्ञान-.

⁸ Bühler read समद and remarked, "The connection of समद 'furious' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before *ga*." But the correct reading is *samara* as in the Mundkhêdê plates.

⁹ The same reading occurs in the Mundkhêdê plates. Read -मलयशाः.

¹⁰ Read सविबोदयवन्तमनुरक्तमंडलस्य.

¹¹ Read कल्पद्रुम इवा-

¹² Read जगद्गन इवापहृताशेषवसिराज्यः.

¹³ Read श्रीमन्नर-

¹⁴ Read वक्षिप्यगुरुबाहुदण्डप्रियिवी-

¹⁵ The *aksharas* जग are unnecessarily repeated.

¹⁶ The engraver wanted to incise -संविताभोधिः शिया, but omitted the शिः by mistake and unnecessarily repeated the *aksharas* पर. In the corresponding passage, the Mundkhêdê plates have संविताभोधिपरापरः (पारावारः ?).

¹⁷ Read देवद्विजाततवजनबंधवापमुज्ज्वलमनविमवो as in the Mundkhêdê plates.

¹⁸ Bühler read इव प्रतिहृताशक्तिः, but the *aksharas* वा in इवा is clear in his lithograph and the letter that follows *sa* is certainly *ga*, as *r* ends in a serif in the present record. The Mundkhêdê plates have भवसूनुरिवाग्रतिहृतशक्तिः in the description of Ādityasakti.

¹⁹ Read सति-

²⁰ Read -विजयोत्साहसकितपनः.

²¹ Bühler reads समद-, but our reading is clear in his lithograph.

- 15 नयनन(नं)दनः श्रीमप्रीथिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भल्लशक्तिः¹ सर्वानिव यथा स(सं)बध्यमा-
 16 नका[न्*] राजराजस्थानीयचोरा(रो)द्वरणिकदाडपाशिकदूतगमगमिक²भटच(चा)टसि(से)-
 17 वकादी[न्*] ब्राह्मणोत्तरां वणिगदनपदामन्याश्च³ विषय [प*]तिराष्ट्रग्रामरू(कू)-
 18 ट[टा] युक्तकमहत्तराधिकारिकादीमनयुत्पस्तु⁴ वो विदित(तं) मय(या)
 19 परलोकावेक्षत्वम(मं)गीक्रि(कृ)त्य

Second Plate

- 20 मह[त्फ]लं⁵ [च] श्रुत्वा दतः⁶ त्रेयण्णाहारांतर्गतविषये⁷ बलिसमाप्नो
 21 बलिचरुवैवदेयाग्नी(गि)होत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्प्यणार्थं(र्थं) मातापित्र(त्रो)रात्मनश्च पु-
 22 ण्ययशोन्नि(वृ)द्धये आच(चं)ब्राह्मर्ता(वर्का)र्णवक्षितित्यति⁸समकालीनः पुत्रपो(पौ)त्रान्वयक-
 म(मो)-
 23 पभोग्यः सभूतवातप्रत्ययोपरिकरः⁹ सर्वादानदित्यविष्टिप्र(प्रा)तिभेदिकापरिहीनः(णः)¹⁰
 24 भूमिच्छिन्नन्यायेनाच(चा)टभटप्रवेद्य[ः*] सोद्वङ्गः सपरिकरः¹¹ आद्रपदपौष्णंम[मा]स्यां विज-
 25 यानिरुद्धपुरीवास्तव्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि(ज)सनेयम[मा]ध्यंदिनसब्रह्मचारिणे बप्सस्वामि-
 26 न(ने) दीक्षितस्त्वित्ये¹² उदकातिसर्गणे प्रति¹³प्रतिपादितः [1*] यतोस्मद्वशजे¹⁴रन्यैर्वर्वा-
 27 गाम(मि)न्नि(नृ)पतिभिर्नैलव(वे)शुकवलीसारं संसारं जलबुद्बुदोपमं च जीवितमवधार्य
 28 शिरीषकुसुमसद्विशाकंपा¹⁵ च यौवन(नं) गिरिनदीसलिलगत्वरणि चैवय्ये [ग्या]णि प्रवस(ल)-
 29 पवनाहताश्चत्पत्रचंचलां च रजःश्रीरित्यय¹⁶माकलय्यायमस्महायोनुमंतवः(व्यः)
 30 प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो बाह्मानपटलान्नित¹⁷मतिराच्छिन्नावाच्छिद्यमानं व(वा)नुमोदेत
 31 स पंचभिर्मह[हा]प[पा]तकैः सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं च¹⁸ [भग]वता [पारा]शर्येण
 वे-
 32 दव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्का(क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिर्व्व्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[ः*]
 33 तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)¹⁹ ॥ [२॥*] विध्याटवीषु(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] क्रि-
 (कृ)ष्णा[ह्यो हि] जायन्ते भूमिद(दा)-

¹ Read श्रीमत्प्रीथिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भल्ल-.

² Read -गमागमिक-.

³ Read ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् वणिग्भानपदामन्याश्च.

⁴ Read -दीननुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

⁵ Dr. Bühler reads महार्थं व(च), but महत्फलं is the correct reading which occurs also in the Mundkhēḍē plates.

⁶ Read ततः. In the Mundkhēḍē plates Mr. Chandorkar read शुद्ध ततः which also may be श्रुत्वा ततः.

⁷ The name of the *vishaya* is inadvertently omitted here. Perhaps the intended reading is त्रेयण्णाहारविषयांतर्गत-.

⁸ Read -स्थिति-.

⁹ Read -प्रत्यायः- and delete परिकरः, as सपरिकरः occurs in the next line.

¹⁰ In the corresponding passage of Gurjara grants, (e. g., No. 16, l. 34, above), the expressions used are सर्वादानसंवाह्यः सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीनः.

¹¹ Read सोपरिकरः.

¹² Read दीक्षिताय, or perhaps दीक्षितस्त्वित्ये.

¹³ Delete प्रति.

¹⁴ Read -स्मद्वशजे-.

¹⁵ Read -कुसुमसद्विशापायं.

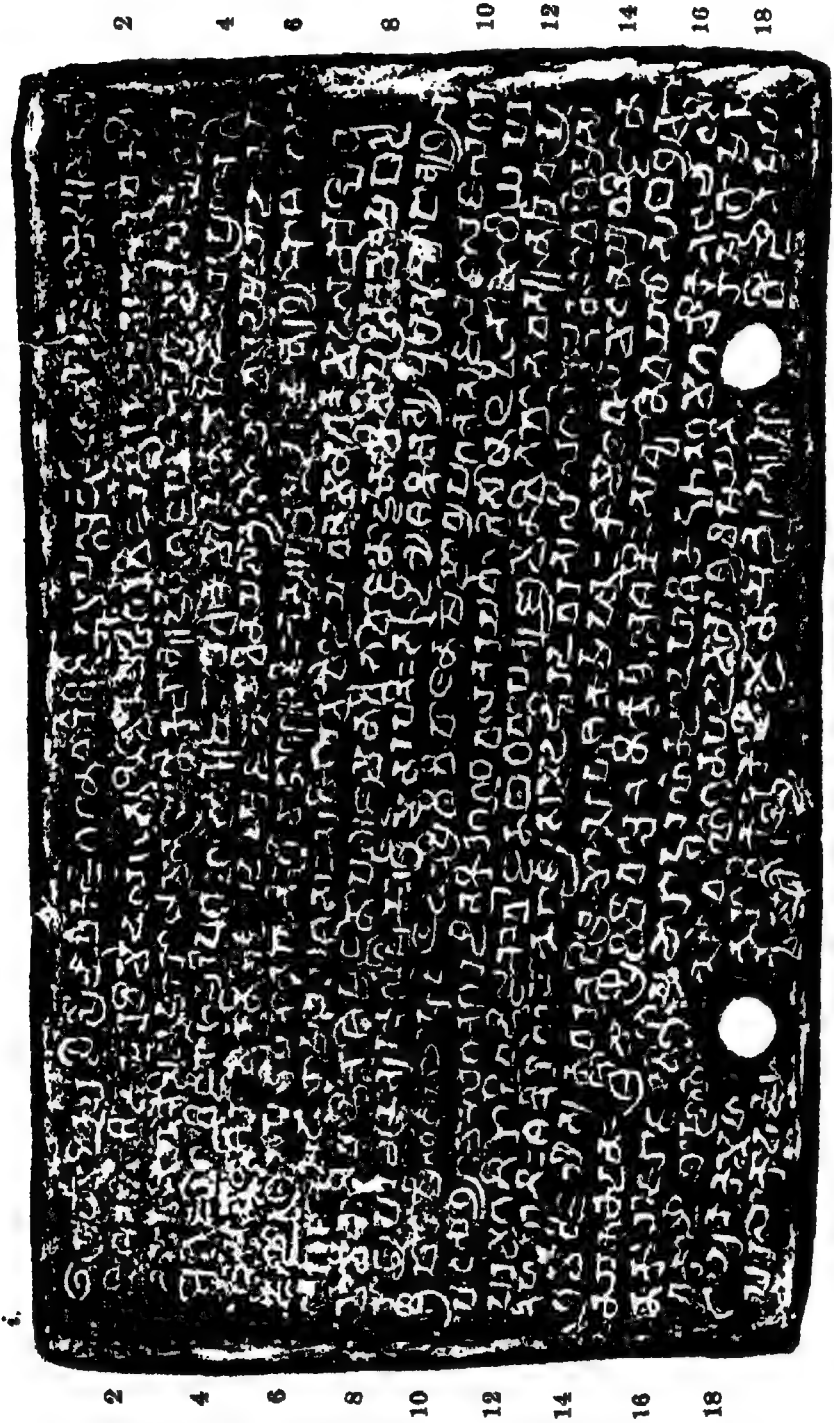
¹⁶ Read -वचसा च राज्यश्रीरितीद-.

¹⁷ Read -वृत्तमिति-.

¹⁸ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

¹⁹ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushtubh*.

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 406



ii.

20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38

20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38

- 34 [बं हर्*] ति* ने ॥ [३॥*] षष्टि वर्ष (वं)सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोक्षति भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता
या[नुमन्ता*] च ताव्येव नरक(के)
35 वसे[त् ॥४॥ स्वर्गा पर*]वत्ता(ता) बं(वा) यनात्र* युधिष्टि(ष्ठि)र (१*) मही(ही)
महिमतां [क्षेष्ट दानाच्छेयो*] नृपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*]
36 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रानि चर्म्मार्त्त्य[क्ष*]स्कराणि [१*] नि[र्भुक्तमात्मप्रति*]मानि
तानि की
37 नाम [तापुः पुनरावर्त*] ॥ [६॥*] संवत्सरस्तत्तुष्टये बहुतरे [मात्रपदशुद्ध]पञ्चदस्या-
(द्वया)
38 दूतकोन श्रीवत्सभव[प्यः] [१*] महावकाचिकि(क)तमासमादेशाम* लिखितमिदं तस्यैवानु-
39 [जे]न स(सं)धी(धि)विग्रहाचिकि(क)तदेवदिमेनेति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May the orb of the sun, the large lotus of the lake of the first (*i.e.* eastern) quarter, the coral leaf of the ocean of the firmament, the fresh jasmine flower of the gods, grant you victory !

(Line 2) Hail ! In the great lineage of the Sēndraka kings, which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Mēru, (*and*) whose fame has become expanded, (*there was*) the illustrious Bhānuśakti, the lord of men, who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants; who conquered the multitude of all his foes; who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms; whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all feudatories who bowed to him; who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, character, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, courteousness and excellent fortune.

(L. 6) His son (*was*) Ādityaśakti, the illustrious lord of men, who meditated on his feet; whose glory was spotless like the orb of the clear autumnal moon; who, being possessed of prosperity and having (*his*) kingdom devoted to him, resembled the sun which (*also*) rises and has a red orb; who, with his wealth desired and enjoyed by all people, was like the wish-fulfilling tree; who took away the kingdoms of all powerful (*kings*) as Janārdana⁵ took away the entire kingdom of Bali; and whose fortune was fond of the enemies' kingdoms.⁶

(L. 9) His son, the illustrious Prithivīvallabha, Nikumbha Allasakti,—who meditates on his feet, who is glorious (*and*) is capable of protecting the earth with his staff-like right arm; whose canopy of glory, which is whiter than the rays of the autumnal moon (*shining*) in

¹ The *akṣaras* marked with an asterisk in rectangular brackets in this and the following lines have been almost completely damaged by rust.

² Read वत्सवत्स.

³ Mēre: *Indraśakti*.

⁴ Perhaps like the scribe, this officer also was the same as in the Kāśī plates. If so, the reading should be -वासवसमादेशाम्.

⁵ *I.e.*, Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation. There is a play on the word *bali* meaning (1) 'a powerful prince' and (2) 'Bali, the king of demons'.

⁶ This means, as Bühler has suggested, that 'his Fortune was not contented with his empire, desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them'.

the sky from which water-laden clouds have disappeared, has stretched beyond the ocean; who is extremely deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brāhmanas, friends and relatives; who, like the son of Bhava,¹ has his progress unchecked; who, like Śakti,² has obtained a kingdom, whose gait is graceful like that of a choice rutting elephant; who, like Arjuna, has obtained victory in all battles; who is endowed with unfailing prowess, energy, and might; who, like Cupid, delights the eyes of love-lorn ladies³,—addresses the (following) order to all the kings, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Chaurōddharanikas*, *Dāṇḍapāśīkas*, *Dūtas*, *Gamāgamikas*, *bhaṭas*, *chāṭas*, servants and so forth, merchants and residents of the Janapada, the foremost of whom are Brāhmanas, and others, heads of *vishayas*, those of *rāshṭras* and villages, *Ayuktakas*, *Mahattaras*, officials and others, according as it might concern them⁴:—

(L. 18) “Be it known to you that having regard to the other world and having heard of the great reward (*of gifts of land*), I have granted, on the full moon day of Bhādrapada with a libation of water, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (My) mother and father and of Myself, the village Balisa situated in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of Trēyanna,—together with duties on commodities manufactured or imported (*into the village*), with *udraṅga*, with *uparikara*, being exempt from all dues, gifts, forced labour, and special rights; which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the *dīkṣita* Bappasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyya (or White Yajurveda) and a resident of the victorious Aniruddhapuri, for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaitvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 26) Wherefore, future kings whether born in our family or others, having realized that wordly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as reeds, bamboos and plantain trees (*possess sap*), and that life is (*evanescent*) like a water-bubble, and having considered that youth is liable to fade like a *śirīsha* flower, that prosperity slips away like water of a mountain stream, and that fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an Aśvattha tree which is struck by a very strong wind, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! But he who with his mind shrouded by the veil of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with minor sins!”

(L. 31) And the holy Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, the redactor of the Vēdas, has said—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 37) In the year four hundred increased by six, on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Bhādrapada. The *Dūta* for this (*charter*) is Srivallabha Bappa. By the order of the Mahābalādhipikṛita [Vāsava]⁵ this (*charter*) has been written by his own younger brother, the Sandhivigrahādhipikṛita Dēvadinna.

¹ I. e., Kārttikēya.

² The Purāṇas mention Śakti as a son of Vasishṭha by his wife Arundhati, but there is no particular legend about his having obtained a kingdom. If the reading is *śaktyaiv-ōpāttarājyaḥ*, it would mean ‘who obtained his kingdom only by his prowess’.

³ Bühler’s rendering ‘who, like Cupid, is the joy of the eyes of the courtezans’ is incorrect. It was based on the mislection *sa-māna* for *sa-madana*.

⁴ Bühler’s translation ‘however they may be connected with him’ does not appear to be correct. The royal order is addressed to all who may have anything to do with the donated village.

⁵ See above, p. 118, n. 1.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

No. 27; PLATE XX

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA:
(KALACHURI) YEAR 481

THESE plates were found at Navsāri, the headquarters of the Navsāri division of the Surat District, in the Bombay State. They were first edited, with a lithograph and a translation, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1 ff. They were subsequently published, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 229 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-lithograph.

Dr. Fleet has given the following description of the plates :—

"The copper-plates are two in number, each about 8½" long by 3" broad at the ends, and 4½" in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The ring is about ⅜" thick and 1½" in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about 1½" in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Sri-āśraya*. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs.; and of the ring and seal, ⅝ oz.; total, 2 lbs. ⅝ oz."

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs at the top of the letters. *V* and *dh* appear closely similar in some places, compare, e.g., *v* in *vīkrama*, l. 6 with *dh* in *yudhi*- in the same line; *b* is rectangular in *bala*-, l. 3 and roundish in *brahmachāri*, l. 13. A final consonant is indicated by a slanting stroke or a curve at the top, see *phalam*, l. 20. The sign of the *jihvā mālīya* occurs in l. 12 and the numerical symbols for 400, 20 and 1 in l. 21.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and one benedictive verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The inscription is very carelessly written. Not only have rules of *sandhi* been frequently neglected, but letters and even words have in some places been omitted, as will be seen from the transcribed text. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for *ri* as in *Mātrīsthavira*, l. 13, and of the guttural nasal for the *anusvāra* in *vinśaty*-, l. 21.

The plates were issued from Navasārīkā by the *Yvarāja* (crown-prince) Sryāśraya-Śilāditya, the son of Dharāśraya-Jayasīmhavarman of the Chālukya family.² The Chālukyas, we are told, were sons (i.e., descendants) of Hārīti and belonged to the Mānavya *gōtra*. They are said to have been brought up by the seven Divine Mothers, to have attained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya and to have obtained the boar ensign. About Dharāśraya-Jayasīmha we are told that his prosperity

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 230.

² As in the following grant (No. 28), the dynastic name occurs here as *Chālukya*.

was increased by his elder brother, the illustrious **Vikramāditya** who bore the *birudas* **Satyāśraya** and **Prithivīvallabha** and the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*. **Vikramāditya** is further described as the conqueror of the **Pallavas** and as a devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Nāgavardhana** and was the son of the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha**. **Vikramāditya** and his father **Pulakēśivallabha** are plainly identical with **Vikramāditya I** and **Pulakēśin II** of the Early Chālukya dynasty. The former was the suzerain of **Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha** whom he placed in charge of South Gujarat. As for **Nāgavardhana**, Mr. A.M.T. Jackson thought that he was a successor of **Pulakēśin II**, and ruled in the period between 640 A.C. and 669-70 A.C. Pandit Bhagvanlal, on the other hand, accepted Dr. Fleet's opinion that **Nāgavardhana** may be the name of a god or *guru*.¹ The use of *paramamāhēśvara* in addition to *Nāgavardhana-pād-ānudyāta* as an epithet of **Vikramāditya** indicates that **Nāgavardhana** was probably the *guru*² of **Vikramāditya I**.

The object of the inscription is to record the donation of the village **Āsaṭṭi** in the **Kaṇhavalā āhāra** of the **Bāhirikā vishaya**. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Bhōgikka-svāmin** of the **Kāśyapa gōtra**, a student of the **Adhvarayū (vēda)**³ who was residing at **Navatārikā**. The charter was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious **Dhanasījaya**.

The date of the grant is given both in words and numerical symbols as the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of **Māgha** in the year 421 of an unspecified era. The grant was evidently made during the reign of **Vikramāditya I**, who is the last king mentioned in it with imperial titles and who flourished from about 654 A.C. to 680 A.C.⁴ Its date must, therefore, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year⁵ 429, to the 28th January 671 A.C. It does not admit of verification, but it clearly falls in the reign of **Vikramāditya I**.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, **Navasārikā** is clearly **Navsāri** where the plates were found. I identify **Kaṇhavalā**, the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which the donated village was situated, with **Kaṇhi**, 6 miles south of **Bārḍōli**. The village **Āsaṭṭigrāma** was identified by Dr. Bühler with **Astgām**⁶ which lies only about 10 m. south-west of **Kaṇhi**. The **Bāhirikā vishaya** of which **Kaṇhavalā āhāra** was a subdivision means the Outer District. It was probably so called with reference to the neighbouring one, *viz.*, **Antarmandalī vishaya** mentioned in the **Pārḍi** plates of **Vyāghrasēna**, which bordered it on the east. To the north of **Kaṇhavalā āhāra** lay the **Trēyappa āhāra**, mentioned in the **Bagumrā** plates of **Allasakti**⁷ and the Gujarat **Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva**⁸ which was probably another sub-division of the **Bāhirikā vishaya**.

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 111-2.

² Similarly in his **Nāsik** plates (below, No. 28, line 12) **Dharāśraya-Jayasinhavarman** is described as meditating on the feet of his parents and of the illustrious **Anivārita**. The latter was evidently his *guru*.

³ *I. e.*, the **Yajurveda**.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102. *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 24.

⁵ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 9th January 670 A.C.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 198. Fleet objected to the identification on the ground that "in the **Bombay Postal Directory** the name is spelt 'Ashtgām,' which suggests **Ashtagrāma**, not **Āsaṭṭigrāma**". *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 231, n. 4. I find the name as **Astgām** in the **Degree Map No. 46 H**. Besides, the fact that **Astgām** is situated not far from **Kaṇhi** (ancient **Kaṇhavalā**), and no other village of a similar name can be traced in the neighbourhood, supports the identification proposed by Bühler.

⁷ Above, No 26.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्ध्वराहं सोमिताम्³ [व*]म् [1*] दक्षिणोन्न-
तद(दं)ष्ट्राग्रवि-
- 2 शा(श्रा)न्तमुवन(नं) वपुः⁴ (॥१॥*) श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तुयमान*मानव्यसगोत्रा-
णाम्(णं)
- 3 हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभि[रभि*]वद्वितास⁵ कास्तिकेयप-
- 4 रिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्माराय[व*]प्रसादसमासादितवराहल-
- 5 ञ्छनिकणे रक्षणे वशोकृताशेष*महीभूतां चलिष्यानामान्वये⁶ निजभुजबलपराजिता-
- 6 सिलरिपुमहिपालसमेतिनिरामयुषिष्टोपमाव⁷ सत्यविक्रम[*] श्रीपुलकेशिवत्सलमः [1*] तस्य
- 7 पुत्रः परममाहेस्वरमातापितृवीर्यामवर्द्धनपादानुद्धृष्टातमीविक्रमादित्यसत्त्व(स्व)-
- 8 भयपुषिभीरुलक्ष्मणहारायविराजपरममाहेस्वरभट्टारकेव⁸ अनिजगरितपीरुषा-
- 9 कृत*पल्लवान्वयेन व्यायसा भ्रात्रा समवर्द्धितविभूतिर्द्धा(र्द्ध)रात्रयश्रीजयसिंह-
- 10 वम्मं(म्मा) [1*] तस्य पुत्रः शरदमलसकलप्रासादरमरोभिमालाभितानविशुद्धकीर्तिपताका-

Second Plate

- 11 विभासितलम्बन्तदिव्यतराहः¹⁰ प्रकाता रोजराज¹¹ [इ*]व रु[प*]लावज्जसी-
- 12 भाग्यसम्पन्नप्रकाशदेव [इव*] सकलकलाप्रवि(वी)णः पीरुषवाग्मिवाचरचक्र-
- 13 वसिष्ठ¹² व्याधयश्रीशीलादित्यमुवराज(जो) नवसारिकामविषसत्(न) नवसारि-
- 14 काव(वा)स्तव्यकाश्यपसमोजयोमिस्वामिनः¹³ पुत्रः स्वा(सा)मन्तस्वामी । तस्य पुत्रा-
- 15 य¹⁴ माभि¹⁵स्वविर[*] तस्यानुजभ्राता¹⁶ किमकस्वामिदः¹⁷ भोगिककस्वामिने भव्यर्यु[स]महा-
चारि-
- 16 जे बाहिरिका¹⁸विषयास्तर्गतकण्ठबलाहारविषये¹⁹ आसद्विग्रहं शोभकं सव-

¹ From the photo-lithographs facing p. 232 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre: *Anushpbb.*

⁴ Read -वद्वितानां.

⁵ Read -वराहलाञ्छनेक्षणकणवकीकृताशेष- as in No. 28, below p. 129.

⁶ Read -मन्वये.

⁷ Read -रिपुर्महीपालसमिति रामयुषिष्टोपमानः.

⁸ Read -भट्टारकेव.

⁹ Read -कृत-.

¹⁰ Read -समस्तदिव्यतराहः.

¹¹ Read -राजराज.

¹² Read -वक्रवर्तीव.

¹³ Both Pandit Bhagwanlal and Dr. Hultzsch read -समोजयोमिस्वामिनः, but I think the stroke connected with व properly belongs to गा, though owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver it is not connected with it.

¹⁴ Read पुत्रः. Dr. Hultzsch however construes this with भोगिककस्वामिने which occurs later on.

¹⁵ Read मायु-.

¹⁶ Read तस्यानुजभ्रातुः.

¹⁷ Some word like पुत्राय is omitted here. Dr. Hultzsch proposes to supply विष्वाय.

¹⁸ Pandit Bhagwanlal read the name as *Tishavika*, but in several other records we meet the round *as* here.

¹⁹ The second विषये seems to be superfluous. Read कण्ठबलाहारः. Pandit Bhagwanlal read the name as कण्ठबलाहारः, but the subscript letter in the second *ashara* is exactly like the fifth *ashara* in this expression which is undoubtedly ह.

- 17 रिकरं उदकोत्सर्गपूर्वम्¹ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिबुद्धये दत्तवान् [1*]
 18 बाताहतदीपशिखाचञ्चला(लां) लक्ष्मी(क्ष्मी)मनुस्मृत्य सर्व्वरागामिनृपतिभि बम्मदायो²—
 19 नुमन्तव्यः [1*] बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः[1*] सगरादिभिः[1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भू—
 20 मिः[1*] तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्³ [11211*] मास(च)शुद्धत्रयोदश्यां किञ्चित्तमिदं सान्निविग्रह—
 (हि)कशीघन(नं)जयेन
 21 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकविंशत्यधिके⁴ ४०० २० [१]⁵ [11*] सिद्धम्⁶[1*]

Seal

श्रीलाभय [1*]⁶

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boat form, which agitated the ocean, and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk.

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious Chalukyas,—who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (*i.e.* descendants) of Hārītī; who were brought up⁷ by the Seven Mothers,⁸ who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—there was the illustrious Pulakēśivallabha (II) who possessed unfailing prowess; who, by the might of his arms, vanquished all his foes; and who, in the assembly of kings, could be compared to Rāma and Yudhisṭhira.

(L. 7) His son (*i.e.*) Dharāśraya, the illustrious Jayasimha, whose prosperity has been augmented by his elder brother, the *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious *Vikramāditya Satyāśraya*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father who were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara and (*on those of*) the holy Nāgavardhana, and who has overcome the family of the Pallavas by his unchecked prowess.

(L. 10) His son, Śryāśraya, the illustrious Śīlāditya, the crown-prince, who has brightened the regions between all quarters by the banners of his glory, white like the spreading multitude of rays of the spotless full moon; who is liberal like Kubēra, endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness like the god of love, proficient in all arts and valorous like the Emperor of the Vidyādhara;⁹—(*he*) residing at Navasārikā,

¹ Read —नृपतिभिर्बम्मदायो. Dr. Hultzsch proposed to read नृपतिमिरयस्मदायो as in line 29 of the Surat plates (No. 29), but this is unnecessary.

² Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Read एकविंशत्यधिके.

⁴ There are faint traces of the unit visible in the photo-lithograph.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read श्याभयः.

⁷ *I.e.* made prosperous.

⁸ The seven divine mothers are named as Brāhmī, Māheshvari, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmūṇḍā. Some enumerate eight divine mothers, adding Charchikā or Kālasaṅkarshipī to the above list. See Kshirāsvamin's and Bhānuji Dikshita's commentaries on *Amarakōśa* I, 1, 33. Halāyudha says they are only seven in number.

⁹ *I.e.*, Naravāhanadatta, see *Kaṭhāsāritsāgara*, p. 513.

has granted, with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (his) mother and father and of himself, the village *Āsaṭṭi* in the *Kaphavala āhara*¹ which is situated in the *Bāhrikā vishaya*, together with *adraṅga* and *aparikara*, to Bhōgikkasvāmin, (the son) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Mātṛisthavira (who is) the son of Sāman-tasvāmin, (who is himself) the son of Gōmisvāmin² of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, who is a student of the *Adhvārya (Veda)* and a resident of *Navasārikā*.

(L. 18) (This) religious gift should be consented to by all future kings, bearing in mind that wealth is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp struck by wind.

(Here follows a benedictive verse).

(L. 20) This (charter) has been written by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious *Dhanāñ-jaya*, on the thirteenth (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of *Māgha* in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one, (in figures) 400 (and) 20 (and) 1. Success!

Seal
Śrīyāśraya

No. 28; PLATE XXI

NASIK PLATES OF DHARASRAYA-JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 436

THESE plates were discovered at Nāsik the head-quarters of the Nāsik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to light by Rao Sahab G. S. alias Babasaheb Deshpande of Poona, who made them over to the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala*, Poona. They have been published before, with lithographs, by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I (1930), pp. 8ff. I am grateful to the authorities of the Maṇḍala for permission to include them in this volume. I edit them here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

The copper-plates are two in number, each measuring 8" broad, 4.7" high and 1" thick. They are held together by a ring which passes through a hole .4" in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. This ring has a circular seal with the legend *Sri-Dharāśraya* in relief. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. A few *akṣaras* have, however, been damaged by veridgris in lines 10-14 and 25-29, and some more have been completely lost by the breaking away of a small piece in the upper right corner of the first plate and the perforation of a large hole in lines 2-4. Fortunately, nothing of historical interest has been lost. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fifteen are inscribed on the first, and the remaining fourteen on the second plate. The average size of the letters is .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the *Ābhōṇa* and other grants of the Early Kalachuris. The record has been carelessly written, the rules of *sandhi* and the distinction of long and short vowels not being properly observed in several places. Some *akṣaras* have, again, been irregularly or imperfectly formed, see, e.g., *āminḍayā-* for *āchchhindyād-* in l. 21, and *-la (?) -tadā-* for *-vairvadā-* in l. 17. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke at the top in *nasit*, l. 24. The sign of the *spadhamāṇya* occurs in l. 21, and the numerical symbols for 400, 30, 10 and 6 in l. 28.

¹ See above, p. 125, n. 19.

² *Lac. cit.*, n. 13.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for a verse in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and three benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after *r*, the use of the dental for the lingual sibilant in *varsa-*, 1.23, and that of the guttural nasal for the *anusvāra* before *h* in *Jayasimha-*, 1.13.

The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, which generally occurs in the beginning of the grants of the Early Chālukyas.¹ This is followed by a description of the Chālukya family as in the preceding grant (No. 27). The first historical member of this family mentioned here is Kirtivarman (I). He bore the *biruda* *Prithivīvallabha* and the Imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, and had his body sanctified by the *avabhrītha* bath in an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. His dear son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha* (II), who obtained the title of *Paramēśvara* by defeating the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the lord of Uttarāpatha (North India). His son *Jayasimhavarman* granted the present plates. He is said to have obtained victory in several battles with four-membered armies² and to have vanquished and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows, the entire army of *Vajjaḍa* in the country between the *Mahī* and the *Narmadā*. He was a devotee of a saintly person whose name has been partially lost in line 11. The ending *-śiva* which can still be read shows that he was an ascetic probably of the *Saiva*, as distinguished from the *Pāśupata*, sect. He is described as the author of a (Sanskrit) play entitled *Harapārvaṭīya*. As its name signifies, the play treated of some incident in the life of *Siva* and *Pārvati*, probably their marriage. *Jayasimha* is further said to have been meditating on the feet of his father, mother and the illustrious *Anivārita*, who was probably his *guru*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by *Jayasimha*, of the village *Dhōṇḍhaka* in the *Nāsikya viśhaya* on the occasion of the *Vishuva* or vernal equinox which fell on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa* *Trivikrama*, the son of *Pritiśarman*, who belonged to the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and the *Vājasaneyā śākhā*. The record was written by *Māna* (?), the son of the *Bhōḡika* *Nāgabhaṭa*.

The inscription contains a date in line 28, which has not been noticed before. It is expressed in numerical symbols only, as the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* in the year 436 of an unspecified era. As *Dharāśraya-Jayasimha*, who made the present grant, was a son of *Pulakēśin II* who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.C., this date must evidently be referred to the *Kalachuri* era. It corresponds, for the current *Kalachuri* year 436, to the 21st March 685 A.C., but as no week-day or *nakshatra* is mentioned with it, it does not admit of verification. But the statement in line 19 that the grant was made on the occasion of the vernal equinox which fell on the same date, *i.e.*, on the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Chaitra*, is important; for it gives us some details for verification. This *tithi* in the current *Kalachuri* year 436 ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 21st March 685 A.C.³; but the *Vishuva* or *Mēsha-saṅkrānti* had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day, *i.e.*, the

¹ The dynastic name occurs here as *Chalukya*. See also, above, No. 27.

² See below, p. 131, n. 1.

³ This is according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., which suits other verifiable early dates of the era. In the expired year 436, the *saṅkrānti* occurred 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th March 686 A.C., but the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* had ended ten days before, 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 10th March 686 A.C.

20th March. The saṅkrānti thus did not take place during the *sithi* of the date, but such slight discrepancies in regard to the moment of saṅkrāntis are not infrequently met with. Besides, the auspicious moment (*puṇya-kāla*) of the Mēsha saṅkrānti extends to as many as fifteen *ghaṭikās* before and after the saṅkrānti¹. It would seem, therefore, that though the saṅkrānti took place a little before noon of the 20th March 68; A.C., the gift was made in the evening when the tenth *sithi* was current². Hence the latter is coupled with the saṅkrānti in the present grant³.

Of the geographical names occurring here, the rivers Mahī and Narmadā are too well-known to need identification. Nāsikya is plainly identical with Nasik, the well-known holy place in the Bombay State. Dhōṇḍhaka, the donated village, is, as already pointed out by Mr. Khare, clearly identical with Dhōṇḍgāon, 12 miles north by west of Nasik.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णा(णो)व्वा(व्वा)राहं क्षोभितार्णव(वम्) [1*] इ[मि]-
चोन्नतदंष्ट्रा[म][विश्व*]-
- 2 स्तयुवनं वपुः⁶ [11१11*] श्रीमता सकलभुवनसा(सं)स्तूय[मानमा]न⁷व्य[सगोत्राणां*]
- 3 हारि(री)तीपुत्राणा(णां) सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा[तृ][भिरभि*]वदितानां का[तितके]-
- 4 अपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणवरम्पराण(णां) अगव[क्षारा*]यणप्रसादक्षमा[सा]-
- 5 वित[वा]राहलास(छ)नेक्षणस(स)नवक्षि(क्षी)क(क)साशेषमहीम् [तां] व[लि]क्यना⁸कुलमल-
(लं)क-
- 6 रिष्णोरस्वमेवावभूय(य)स्नानपावित्रिक्रित⁹भात्रस्य पुयिषि(वी)वत्सलमहाराजाधिरा-
- 7 अपरमेववत्त्रि(त्री)किर्त्तिवर्म्मराजस्व¹⁰प्रियात्य(त्य)जा(ज) उत्तराप[वा]धिपतिभि(त्री)हर्ष-
वद(दं)नपरा-
- 8 जयोपल[व्व]परमेस्वरापरनामव(वे)य[:*] सप्त(स)त्याश्रया(य)भि(क्षी)पुलकेशिवत्सलमहा-
राजस्त-
- 9 त्सु[तोने]कचातुर्दन्तयुद्धलब्धविजयो महि(ही)नर्म्मदान्तरालधवलफलनि(नि)लि(ली)मु-
- 10 लज्जालविजितवि[नि]हतवज्जड¹¹समस्तसैन्या(न्यो) हरपाव्येति(ती)यनाटककरववि-
- 11 श्यातकवि¹² शिवमट्ट(ट्टा)रका(क)मिशवयवर्चनमुद्रा¹³विधानमसृणितकरत-

¹ Cf. मेघे सूर्यसङ्क्रान्ती प्रागूर्ध्वं च पश्चदक्ष पश्चदक्ष घटिकाः पुष्पकाः । See *Dharmasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgar Press), p. 160.

² It began 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th March 68; A. C.

³ For a similar case of a saṅkrānti occurring before the commencement of the stated *sithi*, see the date of the Bijapur stone inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 11; ff.

⁴ From photographs.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ The curve on *an* has been cancelled.

⁸ Read वलिक्यना.

⁹ Read -पवित्रीकृत-

¹⁰ Read -कीर्त्तिवर्म्मराजस्व.

¹¹ In the photograph before me, this *akṣara* appears like *pa*, but it is clearly *pa* in the lithograph accompanying Mr. Khare's article in *J. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 8 f.

¹² About four *akṣaras* are gone here.

¹³ Read शिवसट्टारकमिशवयवर्चनमुद्रा-. The sign of the medial *ṣ* in *ṣṣ* is clear in Mr. Khare's lithograph.

- 12 लाजु(ञ्ज)लिः परम[ब्रह्म]ण्यः¹ मातापितृधीमवनिधारितपादानुदधातो वरा—
 13 अयश्चि(श्री)जयसिद्धवर्म्मराजः² सा(स)ध्वनिव विषयपा(प)तिप्रामकट—
 14 महत्तराधिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति³ [१*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिजा(र्जा)सि—
 15 क्यविषये ङोण्डकग्रामः सोद्वङ्गः सपरिवारः⁴ पूर्वषाटनवि—

Second Plate

- 16 शुद्धः आचन्द्रावर्णीर्णवक्षतस्थिति⁵समकालीनः पुत्र[वी]त्र(त्रा)न्द(न्व)य(यो)प—
 17 भोग्यः बलिचरु[ल]तुदेवा⁶ग्निहोत्रक्रियोत्सप(पं)णाय मातापित्रोरा—
 18 स्मन[श्च] पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये नासिक्यवास्तव्या(व्य)वाजसनेयभरद्वाजस—
 19 गो⁷त्राया(य) [धि](श्री)तिशर्म्मपुत्रत्रा(त्रि)विक्रमाया(य) [चै]त्रमासशुद्धदशम्या विषुए(वे)
 उदक—
 20 पूर्व प्रतिपादितः [१*] या(य)तोस्मद्वैरन्यैर्वर्गागमिनुपतिभिरयमस्महायो—
 21 नुमन्तव्य⁸पालयितव्यश्च [१*] यो बाह्मनतिभिरपटला⁹धृतमतिरामीन्द्राया⁹—
 22 च्छिद्यमानं बानुमोदेत स पञ्चभि[मं]हापातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्युक्तं¹⁰
 23 च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि(ष्टि) वर्स(वं)सहस्राणि स्वाग्ने¹¹ मोदति भू—
 24 मिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्यो(न्ये)व नरके वसेत्¹² ॥ [२॥*] विन्ध्याटवि(वी)व्य—
 (व्य)तोयासु
 25 शुष्ककोटरवासि[नः] (१*) कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [३॥*] व—
 26 हुमिर्व्वसुधा [भुक्ता] राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त—
 27 स्य तस्य तदा फ [लं](लम्) ॥ [४॥*] पूर्ववत्तां [द्विजा*]तिभ्यो यत्नाद्रष(क्ष) युधिष्ठिर [१*]
 महीं महिम—
 28 ता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छे]योनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*] सं ४०० ३०¹³ ६ [चै] शु १० ॥
 लिखितमिदं न(ना)—
 29 गमट [भोगिक] पुत्रमा [ने?] नेति ॥

Seal

अ(श्री)[ध]राभय [१*]¹⁴

¹ Read परमब्रह्मण्यो.

² Read -श्रीजयसिद्धवर्म्मराजः.

³ Read -महत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति.

⁴ Usually the reading is सोपरिकरः.

⁵ Read -जितिस्थिति—.

⁶ Read -वैद्वदेवा— as in other plates of the time.

⁷ There is a redundant *visarga* after गो.

⁸ There is a redundant dot after ला.

⁹ Read -राष्मिन्द्रादा—.

¹⁰ Read -स्यादिति । उक्तं.

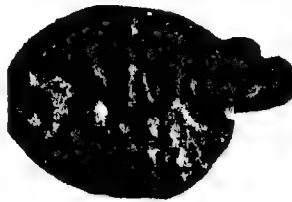
¹¹ Read स्वर्गो.

¹² Metre of verses 2-5: *Anushtubh*.

¹³ This symbol is slightly different from the usual one for 30. It occurs exactly in this form on Kshatrapa coins. See the first and fifth symbols for 30 in Plate LXVI, *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1913-14.

¹⁴ Mr. Khare says that there are two lines on the seal, the second of which contains the *akshara* *śrī*, but I fail to see clear traces of any *aksharas* in that line. On the other hand, the first *akshara* of the legend appears to be an imperfectly preserved *śrī*, its upper curve denoting medial *r* being now damaged. The following *akshara* *dha* is also partly mutilated by a depression which has since been formed in its place. It may be noted that the legend on the seal of the Surat plates (No. 29, below) of *Yavārāja Śrīśāraya Śīlāditya* also is *Śrī-Dharāditya*.

Seal



2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14

16	16
18	18
20	20
22	22
24	24
26	26
28	28

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested bear form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) *(There was)* the *Mahārāja Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Pulakēśivallabha* (II), who obtained the other title of *Paramēśvara* by vanquishing the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the lord of *Uttarāpatha*; who was the dear son of the *Prithivīvalabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Kīrtivarmanarāja*, who had his body sanctified by the *avakṣritha* (*bath*) in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice; who adorned the family of the illustrious *Chalikyās* who are of the *Mānavya gōtra*, which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (*i.e.* descendants) of *Hārītī*; who were brought up by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikēya*; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the bear-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) *Nārāyaṇa*.

(L. 9) His son, *Dharāśraya*, the illustrious *Jayasimhavarmanarāja*,—who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother, father and the illustrious *Anivārita*; (*who is*) very pious; who has obtained victory in several battles with four-membered¹ armies; who defeated and exterminated with (*his*) bright-tipped arrows the whole army of *Vajjaḍa* in the country between the *Mahī* and the *Narmadā*; the palms of whose folded hands were softened by performing the *mudrās*² for the worship of the religious mendicant *Bhaṭṭāraka-śiva*, a poet who has attained celebrity by his composition of the play *Harapārvaṭīya*,—addresses all heads of the *viśayas* (districts), the headman of the village, *Mahattaras*, officials and others (*as follows*):—

(L. 14) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and *Ourself*, We have granted, on (*the occasion of*) the *Vishuva* (vernal equinox) on the tenth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*, by previously (*pouring a libation of*) water, the village *Dhōṇḍhaka* in the *Nāsikya viśaya*, together with the *udranga* and (*other*) appurtenances,—which has clear previously (*determined*) boundaries; which is to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth would endure; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons;—to *Trivikrama*, the son of *Pritīsarman* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and *Vājasanēya* (*śūkhā*), who is a resident of *Nāsikya*, for the performance of the (*religious*) rites of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* (*and*) *agnihōtra*.

(L. 20) Wherefore, future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins !”

(L. 22) And it has been said by the holy *Vyāsa*, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 28) The year 400 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 6, (*the month*) *Chaitra*, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10. Written by *Māna* (?), the son of the *Bhāgika Nāgabhaṭa*.

Seal

The illustrious *Dharāśraya*.

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 178, n. 4. In line 3 of the Bagumrā plates of *Allasakti*, *chāturdanta* qualifies *gaṇa* and has, therefore, to be taken to mean ‘four-tusked.’

² *Mudrā* is a particular position of fingers practised in religious worship.

No. 29; PLATE XXII

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA:
(KALACHURI) YEAR 443.

THESE copper-plates were found in the possession of a merchant at Surat, the chief town of the Surat District in the Bombay State. They were published together with the Navsāri plates of Pulakēśirāja¹ by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Arische Section, pp. 211 ff. His article on them was accompanied by a lithograph and a translation. I edit the inscription here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India through the good offices of the Curator of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, where the plates are now deposited.

'The plates are two in number and measure 10½" by 7½". The outer sides are left blank; on the inner sides the lines run breadth-wise as on the Valabhī plates. Two rings, a plain one and one with a seal attached, held the plates together, passing through the holes in the bottom of the first and in the top of the second. The former has been lost, while the latter remains in its proper position. The seal has the shape of an inverted cone with a round top, 1½" in diameter.... It bears the inscription *Sri-Dharāśraya*, the name of the donor's father. Below this is the representation of a flower resembling a blown lotus'.² To judge from the impressions the plates are in a state of excellent preservation throughout.

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Navsāri plates of the same donor.³ There are small knobs at the top of letters. The initial *ē* which is open on the left closely resembles / which has everywhere a short vertical and is distinguished from it only by the absence of a knob at the top. The forms of the rare initial *ō* in *Osumbhalā*, l. 21, and of the looped *ḍ* in *Sāṇḍilya*, l. 19 are noteworthy. The sign of the *jihvāmālīya* occurs in ll. 10 and 26, and that of the *upadhīmāṇīya* in ll. 13, 14 and 29. Punctuation is marked by single or double dots, in ll. 1, 23, 36 etc., by a small circle in l. 32 and by the vertical strokes in ll. 1, 18 etc. The numerical symbols for 400, 40 and 3 occur in l. 36 and those for 10 and 5 in l. 37.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses in the beginning, one in praise of the boar incarnation and the other glorifying the donor's suzerain Vinayāditya, and four benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the formal part of the grant contains in ll. 26-28 several expressions copied *verbatim* or with slight changes from the earlier Sēndraka records,⁴ and in ll. 28-29 some more taken from the Kalachuri grants.⁵ The record is correctly written almost throughout, solecisms being very few. As instances of the latter, we may notice that the gender of *puṇyē* in l. 25 does not agree with that of the noun *tithau* which it qualifies, and the affix of the comparative is prefixed (and not suffixed) to the adjective *subhaga* in l. 31. As regards orthography, we may note that the class-nasal is almost always used in place of the *anusvāra*; the *visarga* after *vikrama* in l. 2 is dropped in accordance with *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII. 3. 36; the guttural nasal is incorrectly used for *anusvāra* in *Narasinha*, l. 2,

¹ No. 30, below.

² P. V. O. C., pp. 211-212.

³ Above, No. 27.

⁴ In place of *nala-vāṇu-kadalī-sāraṁ* in l. 27 of the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allāśakti (No. 26, above), the present plates have *kadalī-garbha-sāraṁ*, the following expressions up to *rājya-lakṣmī* (a variant for *rājya-śrī*) being the same in both.

⁵ These are *śaśi-kara-rucīraṁ . . . yataśchichitshubhī*. See Nos. 12, 14 and 15 above.

-*Jayasimha*-, l. 14 and -*chativārintad*-, l. 36; and the consonant following *r* and that preceding *y* and *r* are doubled in some places, see *Kārmamāyā*-, l. 3, -*anuddhyātō*-, l. 11 and -*chakkrā*-, l. 15.

The plates were issued by the *Yuvarāja Sryāśraya-Silāditya* from his victorious camp at *Kusumāśvara* near *Kārmanēya*. The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, which generally occurs at the beginning of the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas. The next verse eulogizes *Satyāśrayavallabha*, the illustrious *Vinayāditya*. In the prose portion which follows, we are told that in the family of the Chālukyas¹ there was the *Mahārāja Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Pulakēśivallabha*, whose head was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* bath in the *Bakuswarnaka* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices, and who obtained the war-standard of the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the lord of the entire *Uttarāpatha* (North India). His son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Vikramāditya-Satyāśrayavallabha*, who exterminated the family of the Pallava ruler of *Kāñchi*, and conquered the three kingdoms.² His son was the illustrious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Bhaṭṭāraka Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya*. His paternal uncle was *Dharāśraya*, the illustrious *Jayasimha*, who attained pure fame by his victories in many battles, and who was a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*. His son was the *Yuvarāja Sryāśraya-Silāditya* who made the present grant.

The first three princes mentioned in ll. 3-12 of the present inscription with the title *Mahārāja* or *Mahārājādhirāja* are evidently *Pulakēśin II*, his son and successor, *Vikramāditya I*, and the son and successor of the latter, *Vinayāditya*, of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. The last of these, who is identical with the *Vinayāditya* glorified in the second verse in the beginning of this record, was clearly the suzerain of *Dharāśraya-Jayasimha* and his son the crown prince *Sryāśraya-Silāditya*, when the present grant was made. The title *Yuvarāja* of the latter prince and the legend *Śrī-Dharāśraya* on the seal indicate that *Jayasimha* was then living and *Sryāśraya* was making the grant on his behalf.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of a field situated on the eastern boundary of the village *Ōsumbhalā* in the *āhāra* and *viṭhaya* of *Kārmanēya* to the *Brāhmaṇa*, the *dīkṣita* *Matrīśvara*, the son of the *Brāhmaṇa* *Nanṇasvāmin*, who belonged to the *Sāṇḍilya gōtra* and the community of the *Chaturvēdins* of *Kārmanēya* and was a religious student of the *Kāṇva sākha* of the *Adhvaryu*, i.e., *Yajurveda*. In connection with the boundaries of the field is mentioned the village *Allūṛaka*. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The *Dūtaka* was the *Balādhikṛita Ammagōpa*. The charter was written by the *Balādhikṛita Chēlla*.

The grant is dated in ll. 36-3, both in words and numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi (*pauṣṇamāsī*) of the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* in the year 443 of an unspecified era. As the known dates of *Vinayāditya* range from 687 to 695 A.C., the date of the present grant must be referred to the *Kalachuri* era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired³ year 443, to the 23rd July 693 A.C. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, *Kārmanēya* was identified by Pandit *Bhagvanlal*⁴ with *Kāmrej*, about 10 m. north-east of *Surat*. Further, Dr. *Bühler* has shown⁵ that *Ōsumbhalā* is modern *Umbhel*, about 7 miles south of *Kāmrej*, and

¹ The dynastic name occurs as *Chalukya* in this and the next grant (No. 30).

² These were the Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms of South India.

³ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 2nd August 692 A. C.

⁴ P. V. O. C., p. 215. *Karmasijja*, the Prakrit form of the place-name, occurs in the Bagumrā plates (two sets) of *Indra III*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 32 and 36.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 198.

Allūraka which bounded it on the east is still called Alurā and lies about 4 miles from Umbhēl. Kusumāśvara, which has so far remained unidentified, is probably Kōsmārā, about 6 m. south-west of Kamrēj¹ and 3 m. north-west of Umbhēl.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहक्षोमिताण्णवम् । दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राप्रविश्रान्तमुवनं
वपुः⁴ ॥ [१॥*]
- 2 नरसिंह⁵ विष्कम स्तुतविमलयशा जगति विजयते वीरः[1*] स्थिरबलविनयादित्यः सत्याश्रयव-
- 3 ल्लभः श्रीमान्⁶ ॥[२॥*] स्वस्ति [1*] काम्मणेयोपकण्ठकुसुमेश्वरावासितविजयस्कन्धावा-
राच्छ्रीमतां स-
- 4 कलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृमिस्सप्तमा-
- 5 त्मिरहरहरभिवर्द्धितानां कृत्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणाम्मगवन्नाराय-
- 6 णप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषे (व) महीभृताञ्चलुक्यानां कु-
- 7 लमल कूरिण्णुब्धसुवर्णकाश्वमेधयागावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतशिरा नृगनहुषययाति-
- 8 धुन्धुमाराम्बरीषप्रतिमस्सकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनलब्धयुद्धपताकस्सत्याश्रय-
- 9 श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्धघातोनिवारितवीर्य्यविलङ्घितान्या-
- 10 लङ्घ्यारिभूपालबलकाञ्चीपुरीषपल्लवान्वयप्रमाथी परिगृहीतत्रैराज्यराज्यः श्री-
- 11 विष्कमादित्यसत्याश्रयवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य पुत्रस्तन्वरणानुद्धघातो विनयाद्यसाधारणरा-
- 12 जगुणालङ्कृतो विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रिषिबी⁷वल्लभमहाराजाविराजपरमेश्वरमहा-
- 13 रकस्तस्य पितृव्यस्यानेकसमरविजयसमुद्भूतविशुद्धकीर्त्तेः परममाहेश्वरस्य वराध-
- 14 यश्रीजयसिंह⁸वर्म्मण⁹पुत्रस्तन्वरणकमलाराधनपरो नयप्रतापविजृम्भितान्यमहीपा-
- 15 लचक्रस्सकलकलाप्रवीणो रतिचतुरविलासिनीजनमनोहारिरूपलावण्यसौभाग्यस-
- 16 मेतो विद्याधरचक्रवर्त्तीव श्याश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराजस्सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तविष-
- 17 यपतिग्रामभोगिकमहत्तरादीन्यथासम्बद्धमानकान्तमाज्ञापय-
- 18 त्यस्तु वस्संविदितम् ॥ मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

- 19 काम्मणेयचातुर्व्विद्यशालासामान्यशाण्डिल्यसगोत्राध्वर्य्यकाण्वस-
- 20 ब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणनणस्वामिपुत्रदीक्षितमातृश्वराय¹⁰ भूमिच्छिद्र-

¹ This identification may be opposed on the ground that it is not near enough to Kamrēj to suit the statement in the present grant, but we must remember that Tēnna, which is described as situated near Kammanijja in the Bagumrā plates (second set) of Indra III, is as much as 13 miles distant from it.

² From impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Read नरसिंह—.

⁶ Metre: *Āryā*.

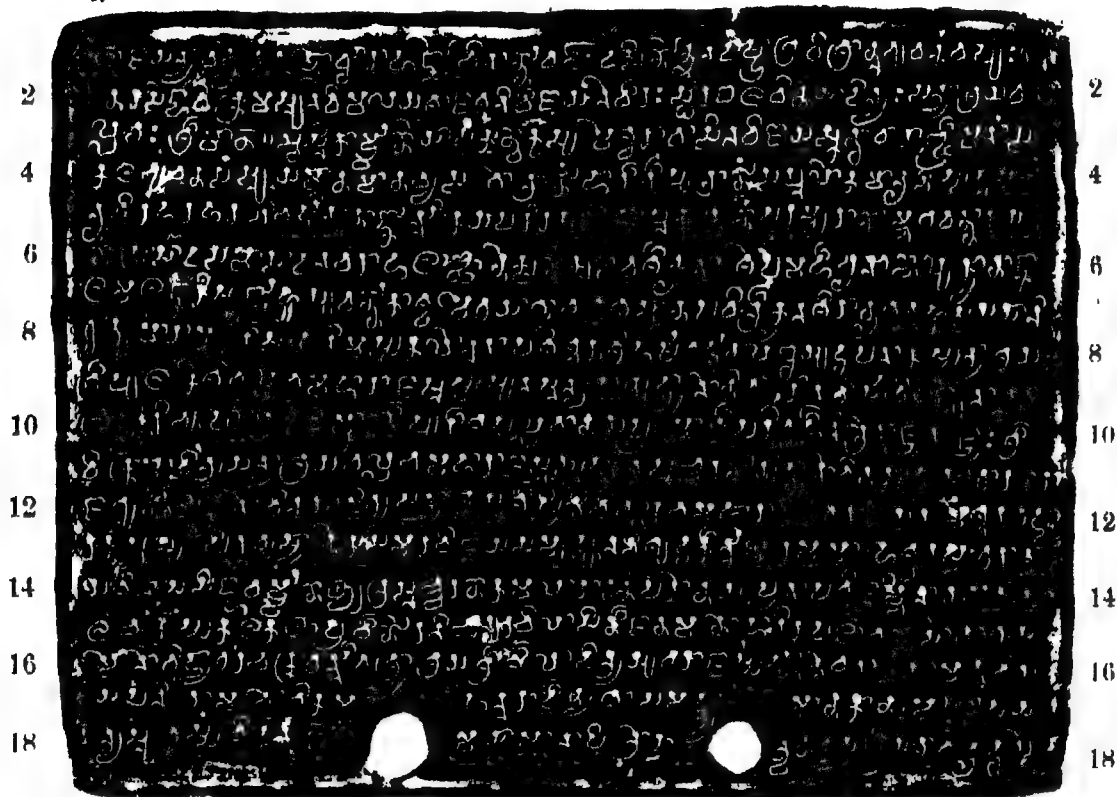
⁷ Read —पृषिबी—.

⁸ Read —श्रीजयसिंह—.

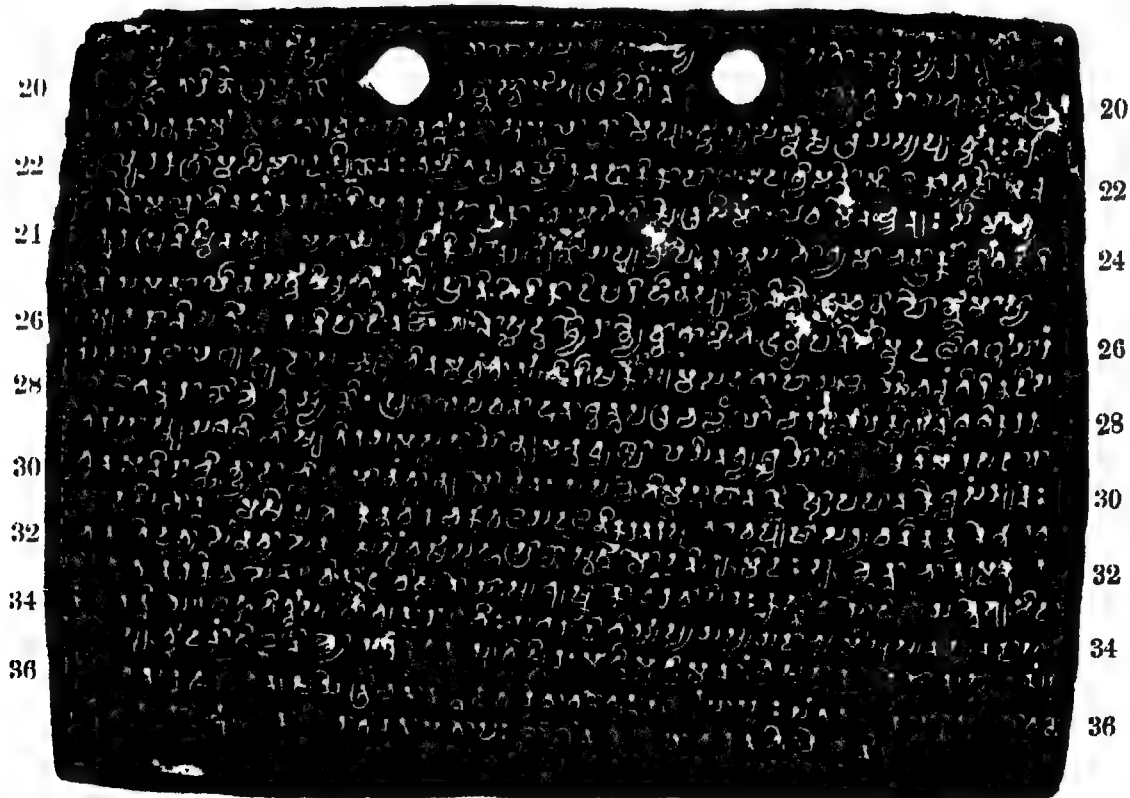
⁹ Read —मात्रीश्वराय.

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA (KALACHURI) YEAR 443

i.



ii.



- 21 व्यायेन काम्मेयेवाहार¹विश्वान्तर्गततोसुम्भलाप्राप्ते² पूर्वस्था सीम्नि क्षेत्रं यस्य पूर्वतः अ-
 22 स्फुरकप्रामसीमा ।³ दक्षिणतः समीपुषावलीकृतडाकिकापालिः पश्चिमतोम्बिलकावृक्षौ उत्त-
 23 रतो मल्लावितडाकपालिमयुक्तडाकिकाप्राप्तवेवीक्षेत्रसीमा ।⁴ एवमेतच्छतुःसीमाभ्य-
 24 स्तरप्रतिष्ठितम्पञ्चमहायज्ञादिनिक्रयोत्सर्पणाय पुत्रपौत्राभ्यमोग्यमाचम्राकर्णवसिति-
 25 स्थितिसमकालीनं सर्व्वविश्वविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकाविपरिहीनं⁵ पुण्ये तिथौ⁶ आचणपौर्णमास्या-
 26 मुक्कतिसरर्वेण प्रतिपादितम् । यतोस्मद्भक्ष्यै⁷रन्यैर्भ्यामिभन्नपतिभिः⁸कवलीमर्भसार्
 27 संसारं जलबुधुदोष[म*]⁹ञ्च क्षीयितमवधाय्यं शिरीषकुसुमसदृशापायञ्च यौवनं गिरिनदीस-
 28 लिलगत्वरणि चक्षव्याणि ।¹⁰ प्रबलपवनोहताश्चरत्पत्रञ्चला च राजलक्ष्मीरिति शशिकर-
 29 चिरं स्वास्तु यशस्विनीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यं ¹¹पारुयितव्यञ्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
 30 द्युतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोद्रेत ।¹² स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्तोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः
 31 स्यादपि चोक्तमुधिप्रवेने¹³ विकच [कु] बलयदलनिकरतरसुभग¹⁴वपुषा सत्यवतीनन्दनेन भग-
 32 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । वष्टि कर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिवः [।*] आच्छेता वानुमन्ता च
 33 तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁵ ॥ [३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्का¹⁶कोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो
 34 हि जायन्ते भूमिदा-
 35 यं हरन्ति ये ॥ [४॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुषा मुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्व्व्यस्त्य¹⁷ यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 36 तदा फ-
 37 लं (लम्) ॥ [५॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष मुधिष्ठिर । महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छे-
 38 योनुपालनं (नम्) ॥ [६॥*]
 39 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये त्रिचत्वारिंश¹⁸दधिके आचणकुपौर्णमास्या (स्याम्) ॥ संवत्सर ४००
 ४० ३ आचण-
 37 शु दि १० ५ [।*] दू[त]को बलाधिकृताम्मणोपः [।*] लिखितञ्च बलाधिकृतचेल्लेनेति ॥

Seal

श्रीचराभय [ः।*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishnu's manifested boar form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(V. 2) Triumphant in the world is the illustrious Saryāśrayavallabha-Vinayāditya of firm valour, a hero of renowned (and) stainless fame, who is like Narasimha in heroism !

¹ Read काम्मेयेवाहार—.

² Read —गतीसुम्भलाप्राप्ते.

³ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

⁴ Read —परिहीनं.

⁵ Read पुण्यतिथौ.

⁶ Read —स्मद्भक्ष्यै—.

⁷ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

⁸ Read स्वात् । अपि चोक्तमुधिप्रवेने.

⁹ Read —निकरसुभगतर—.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Read शुष्का—.

¹² Read —स्वगरादिभिः । यस्य

¹³ Read त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिके.

(Line 3) From the victorious camp fixed at **Kusumēśvara** near **Kārmaṇēya**,¹—

Adorning the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the **Mānavya gōtra**; which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of **Hārīti**; who were brought up² day by day by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of **Kārttikēya**; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) **Nārāyaṇa**,—there was the **Mahārāja** the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha (II)**, whose head was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha*³ bath in the **Bakusvarṇaka** and **Aśvamēdha** sacrifices; who is equal to **Nṛiga**, **Nahusha**, **Yayāti**, **Dhundhumāra** and **Ambarisha**; who has won the war-standard from the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of the entire **Uttarāpatha**⁴ (North India).

(L. 9) His son (*was*) the **Mahārāja**, the illustrious **Vikramāditya (I)**, **Satyāśraya-vallabha**, who meditated on his feet, who, by his irresistible valour, vanquished the armies of hostile kings unconquerable by others; who exterminated the family of the **Pallava (king)**, the lord of the city of **Kāñchī**, and who conquered the three kingdoms.

(L. 11) His son (*is*) the illustrious **Prithivīvallabha**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, **Paramēśvara**, **Bhaṭṭāraka** **Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya**, who meditates on his feet and is adorned by humility and other uncommon royal excellences.

(L. 13) The son of his paternal uncle, the illustrious **Dharāśraya-Jayasimha-varman**, whose pure fame has sprung from his victories in many battles, and who is a devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**,—(*viz.*) the crown-prince the illustrious **Śrīyāśraya-Śīlāditya**,—who is intent on worshipping his lotus-like feet; who has defeated⁵ the armies of other kings by his political wisdom and valour; who is proficient in all arts; who, like the Emperor of the **Vidyādhara**⁶, is endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, attractive to the minds of coquettish women clever in amorous sports,—addresses the (*following*) order to all kings, feudatories, heads of *vishayas*, *Bhōgikas* of villages, *Mahattaras* and others, according as they may be concerned⁷:—

(L. 18) “Be it known to you (*that*) for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) mother and father and of *Myself*, I have granted with a libation of water on the holy day, (*viz.*) the full-moon day of **Śrāvaṇa**, a field on the eastern boundary of the village **Ōsumbhalā** situated in the *āhāra* (*and*) *vishaya* of **Kārmaṇēya**,—to the east of which is the boundary of the village **Allūraka**; to the south, a *śamī* tree, an ant-hill (*and*) the dam of a small tank; to the west, two *ambīlakā*⁸ trees; to the north the dam of the *mallāvi* tank, the small tank called *Madhuka*, (*and*) the boundary of the field dedicated to the village goddess,—the field lying within these four boundaries, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons, according to the maxim of waste land, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, exempt from all gifts, forced labour and

¹ The sentence is continued below in the words ‘the son of his paternal uncle’ in l. 13.

² *I.e.*, made prosperous.

³ *I.e.*, the final bath, taken after the sacrifice is over.

⁴ **Rājasekhara** (*K. M.*, p. 94) says that the country beyond **Prithūdaka** (modern **Pēhoā** in the **Karnal District** of the **Panjab**) is **Uttarāpatha**. Here, however, the whole of North India is meant.

⁵ *Vijṛimbbita* ‘expanded, manifested’, appears to be used here in the unusual meaning of ‘defeated’. **Pandit Bhagvanlal**, however, translates the expression as ‘who has pleased the multitude of other kings’.

⁶ This is **Naravāhanadatta**.

⁷ **Pandit Bhagvanlal** translates *yathā-sambadhyamānakān* by ‘wherever posted’.

⁸ These are tamarind trees according to **Pandit Bhagvanlal**.

special rights,—to the *śiṣya* Matriśvara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Nannasvāmin, who is of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and a student of the Kāṇva (*śākhā*) of the Adhvaryu (*i.e.*, Yajurveda), and belongs to the community of the Caturvēdīna of Kārmanṛēya, for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 26) Wherefore, gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, having realized that worldly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as the interior of a plaintain tree (*possesses sap*), and that life is (*evanescent*) like a water-bubble, and (*having considered*) that youth is liable to fade like a *śiṣṭa* flower, that prosperity is as fleeting as the water of a mountain stream, and that royal fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an *asvattha* tree which is struck by a very strong wind, and being desirous of accumulating lasting fame lovely like moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, will incur the five great sins together with the minor sins."

(L. 31) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the son of Satyawatī, the best of sages (*and*) the redactor of the Vēdas, whose body was more lovely than an assemblage of the petals of a full-blown lotus :—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 36) On the full-moon day in the bright (*fortnight*) of Śrāvaṇa in the year four hundred increased by forty three—the year 400 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 3, (*the month*) Śrāvaṇa, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. The *Dātaka* (*of this charter is*) the *Balādhikṛita* Ammagōpa. And (*this charter*) has been written by the *Balādhikṛita* Chēlla.

Seal

The illustrious Dharāśraya.

No. 30; PLATE XXIII

NAVSARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 490.

THESE copper-plates, two in number, were sent to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji by a Parsi gentleman of Navsāri. They were published, with photo-types and a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal in the *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Arische Section, pp. 211 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-types. The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner sides only, measure each 11½" by 9½". They are held together by two rings, one of which has a seal, showing two figures in relief, 2" in diameter, which, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal,¹ were intended to represent the donor's parents. The seal bears the legend *Śrī-Avanijanāśrayaḥ*, on the left of the male figure. Except for some letters here and there which have become much worn, the inscription is fairly well preserved. The record consists of fifty-one lines, of which twenty-five are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-six on the second. The average size of the letters is .12".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Sryāśraya Śilāditya. As regards individual letters, we may notice that the rare *jh* occurs in *śarajha*, l. 23; the subscript *th* has a notch in *sthātavyam*, l. 41, but not in *-sthityā* in the same line; the superscript *r* is horizontal like the *mātrā* for medial *r* in *-vimardyamāna*, l. 26; and the sign for | occurs in *-Kāñchalā* and *-Gōvindaḥ*, in l. 38. A

¹ P. V. O C., p. 212. Pandit Bhagvanlal did not notice the legend on the seal.

final consonant is indicated by its short form with a horizontal line at the top, see *vasāt*, l. 45. The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in ll. 7, 16, 28 and 30, and that of the *upadhāniya* in ll. 7, 10, 14, 17 and 20. The sign-manual of the donor is in the northern characters with wedges at the top.

The language is good and, on the whole, correct Sanskrit. The fierce fight with the Arab invaders is graphically described in ll. 23-33. It is noteworthy that in its eulogistic part the inscription contains in ll. 18-19 one long compound expression, copied for the first time from Gurjara records. No such borrowing from Gurjara grants is noticed in the earlier inscriptions of the Sēndrakas, nor even in those of Pulakēśin's elder brother Sṛyāśraya-Silāditya. Except for the *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation and four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the close, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we find the consonant following *r* doubled in many cases, see, e.g., *Vishṇūr=vvārāham*, l. 1, -*Kīrttivarmma*-, l. 6, etc. The guttural nasal is used for the *anusvāra* before *ś* in -*nistrīṇśa*-, l. 19, *gh* for *h* in; *Jayasīṅgha*-, l. 17 and the *jihvāmūliya* for *sh* in -*nīhkrayikṛita*-, l. 28. The vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in -*nistrīmśa*-, l. 8 and *vice versa* in -*Prthivī*-, l. 34. On the other hand, the somewhat rare *sandhis* in -*vaksha-sthala*, l. 22, and -*dashṭōshṭha*-, l. 28, are in accordance with the *vārttikas* on Pāṇini's rules VIII, 3, 36 and VI, 1, 94 respectively.

The plates were granted by the illustrious Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja of the Gujarat branch of the Early Chālukyas. The inscription opens with the usual verse in praise of the boar incarnation. Then comes the genealogy of the donor. In the family of the Chālukyas¹ who are described here as in the grants of Sṛyāśraya-Silāditya,² there was the *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Satyāśraya-Kīrtivarmanrāja*, whose body was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. His son was the illustrious *Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and obtained formidable power by his defeat of the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the lord of the Uttarāpatha. His son was the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious *Satyāśraya-Vikramāditya* who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. He regained his kingdom with the help of his excellent horse *Chitrakaṇṭha* and vanquished the three kingdoms, Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya. His younger brother was the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious *Dharāśraya-Jayasīṅghavarmanrāja*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. His son was the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious *Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and reconquered his own dominions by the might of his arms. His younger brother, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja, who was a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, made the present grant.

Of the six princes mentioned above, the first three, Kīrtivarman, Pulakēśivallabha and Vikramāditya, are plainly identical with Kīrtivarman I, Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I respectively, of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. The next three, viz., Dharāśraya-Jayasīṅgha, Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, though here mentioned with the high-sounding title *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, were of a feudatory rank and owed allegiance to the Imperial house of Bādāmi. The name of Sṛyāśraya-Silāditya, whose Navsāri and Surat plates bear earlier dates, is omitted here, probably because he predeceased his father Dharāśraya-Jayasīṅgha.

In ll. 23-33 the record describes graphically the Arab invasion of the Chālukyan kingdom and the fierce fight which was fought in the *vishaya* of Navasāri. We are told

¹ See above, p. 133, n. 1.

² Nos. 27 and 29, above.

that the Tāṭika army which had conquered the Sakadava, Kachchhella, Saurāshtra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings, invaded the district of Navasārikā during the course of its campaign to conquer all southern kings. There they were opposed by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. A fierce battle was fought, in which Pulakēśin won a decisive victory. Thereupon the illustrious Vallabha-narēndra, who was plainly the contemporary Chālukya suzerain, in token of his appreciation of Pulakēśin's heroism, conferred upon him the following four titles, viz., *Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra* (the Pillar of the Deccan), *Chalukakulālanhāra* (the Ornament of the Chalukya family), *Prithivīvallabha* (the Lover of the Earth), *Anivartakamivartayitri* (the Repeller of the unrepellable).

The vigorous style of the description of the battle, which is unique in inscriptional literature, suggests that the present record dated K. 490 was composed soon after it was fought. Again, as shown above, in its eulogistic portion, the record has, for the first time, incorporated a passage which is known to occur only in Gurjara grants. This makes it probable that it was composed after the Gurjara kingdom was annexed. The last date of the Gurjara is K. 486 (736 A.C.). The Arab invasion must therefore be dated during the period K. 486-490 (736-739 A.C.)¹ and may have taken place in 737 A.C. The contemporary Chālukya Emperor, who appreciated Pulakēśin's heroism, was probably Vikramāditya II (circa 734-747 A.C.).

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village Padraka in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of Kārmanēya on the Mahākārttikā (*i.e.*, the full-moon day of Kārttika) for the performance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindaḷi, the son of the Dvivēda Brāhmaṇa Kāñchalē, who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was a student of the Taittiriya *śākhā*. He had emigrated from Vanavāsī.

The grant was intended to be dated both in words and numerical symbols, but the former have, for the most part, been omitted through inadvertence, and the date is given in numerical symbols as the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 490. Like the dates of Sryāśraya-Silāditya's grants, this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired² year 490, to the 21st October 739 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Vanavāsī, from which the donee had emigrated, is a well-known place of the same name in North Kanara. Navasārikā and Kārmanēya have been already shown to be identical with the modern Navsāri and Kamrāj.³ The village Padraka may be represented by the modern Pārḍi, 4 miles east of Navsāri.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [१*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वराहं क्षोभिता[र्ण]व(वम्) । दक्षि[णोत्तरद]ष्टाद-
[वि]श्रा[न्त]मुवनं व[पुः]⁶ ॥ [१॥*]

¹ The Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhata IV were dated towards the close of the Kārttikādi Kalachuri year 486, while the present inscription was incised in the beginning of the Kalachuri year 490. Hence there is a difference of only three years between the Christian equivalents of the two dates.

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 1st November 738 A.C. There was a lunar eclipse on that day, but there is no mention of it in the present grant.

³ Above, pp. 124 and 133.

⁴ From the photo-types accompanying Pandit Bhagwanlal's article.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

- 2 श्रीमता सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां स[प्ललीक]मातृभिस्स[प्लमातृभि]रभिष-
 3 ङिता[नां] [का]स्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्पारायणप्रसादसमासादि-
 4 तवराहलोष्ठनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषभूभृतां चलुष्यानां कूलमलंकरिष्णु[रश्वमेधा]वभूत¹-
 5 स्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रोनेकनरपतिमकुटतटवटितमणिगणकिरणसमु[ल्लसितो]द्योतित²चर-
 6 णकमलयुगलस्तस्याश्रयप्रिषिबी³बल्लभ⁴महाराः⁵जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकीर्तिवर्धराजस्तस्य
 7 सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यात⁶परम⁷देवताविश(शे)षवद्वंदनीयतमस्सकलशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञ⁸करिक-
 8 रनिष्ठुरप्र[कोष्ठ]करकलितनिशितनिस्तुंश⁹प्रहारदलितप्रमुखागतवैरिवारणकुंभस्थलोच्छल-
 9 त्प्रत्यग्रधवलनिर्मलमुक्ताफलप्रकरकुंभस्तवकसमम्यच्चितसमरघरिनीतलः श्रीमदुसराप-
 10 [धाधि]पतिश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धोग्रप्रताप¹⁰परममाहेश्वरोपरनामा सत्याश्र-
 11 यः¹¹ श्रीपुलकेशिबल्लभस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातोनेकनरपतिसामन्तमकुटकोटिभूषण-
 12 णारविन्दयुगलो मेरुमलयमन्दरविध्यसमानधैर्योहरहरभिवर्द्धमानवरकरितुरगरथ-
 13 पदातिबलो मनोजवैकचित्रकंठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमेणोपाज्जितस्वराज्य[ः*] विजितचेरधोलपा-
 14 ङ्यक्रमागतराज्यत्रय¹²परममाहेश्वर¹³परमभट्टारकस्तस्याश्रयः श्रीविक्रमादित्यराजस्तस्या-
 15 नुजो विजितसकलारातिपद्मश्चतुरुदधिपथ्यन्तमालामेखलायाः क्षितेर्मण्डनभूतो मत्ते-
 16 भकुंभमण्डलविदारण¹⁴केसरिकिशोरै¹⁵रिव विक्रमैकरसस्तमस्तदिदमंडलप्रख्यातकीर्तिः प-
 17 [र]ममाहेश्वर¹⁶परमभट्टाः¹⁷रकधराश्रयः श्रीजयसिङ्ग¹⁸वर्धराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
 18 ध्यातस्सकलजनमनानंद¹⁹भूतोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधू-
 19 प्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंश²⁰प्रतापो निजभुजप्रभावोपाज्जितस्व-
 20 कीयभूभागमण्डल²¹परममाहेश्वर²²परमभट्टारकजयाश्रयश्रीमङ्गलरसराजस्तस्यानु-
 21 जस्तत्पादपंकजा[रा]वनानुध्यात[ः*] प्रतिदिनमुपचीयमानोदयः शैशवादेव समस्तगुणगणा-
 22 धिष्ठानभूतः स्वयंवरयैव राजलक्ष्म्या समासादितवक्षस्थलो बबलयशोवितानविमलीकृतस-
 23 कलजगन्मण्डलः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः शरत्²⁴धिर²⁵मुद्गरोद्गारिणि तरलतरतारत-
 रवारिदा²⁶
 24 रि[तोदित]सैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्र[चा]द्योटकमौर्यगूजर्जरा[दि]रा[जे] निःशेषवाशिष्ठात्यक्षिति-
 पतिजि-

¹ Read -धावभूत-.

² Read -तोदयति-.

³ Read -पृथिवी-.

⁴ The engraver first incised *b* and then corrected it into *bb*.

⁵ This *visarga* is superfluous.

⁶ Between परम and देवता there appear two dots horizontally placed which indicate that the engraver at first wanted to incise some letter there, but changed his mind afterwards.

⁷ Read -तत्त्वज्ञ-.

⁸ Read -निस्त्रिंश-.

⁹ Read -माहेश्वरः सत्याश्रयापरनामा.

¹⁰ Read -किशोर इव.

¹¹ This *visarga* is superfluous. Read -भट्टारक-.

¹² Read श्रीजयसिंह-.

¹³ Read -मनमानंदभूतो-.

¹⁴ Read -निस्त्रिंश-.

¹⁵ There appears only one dot after *jha*. Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, read शरत् and took it as referring to Pulakāśirāja.

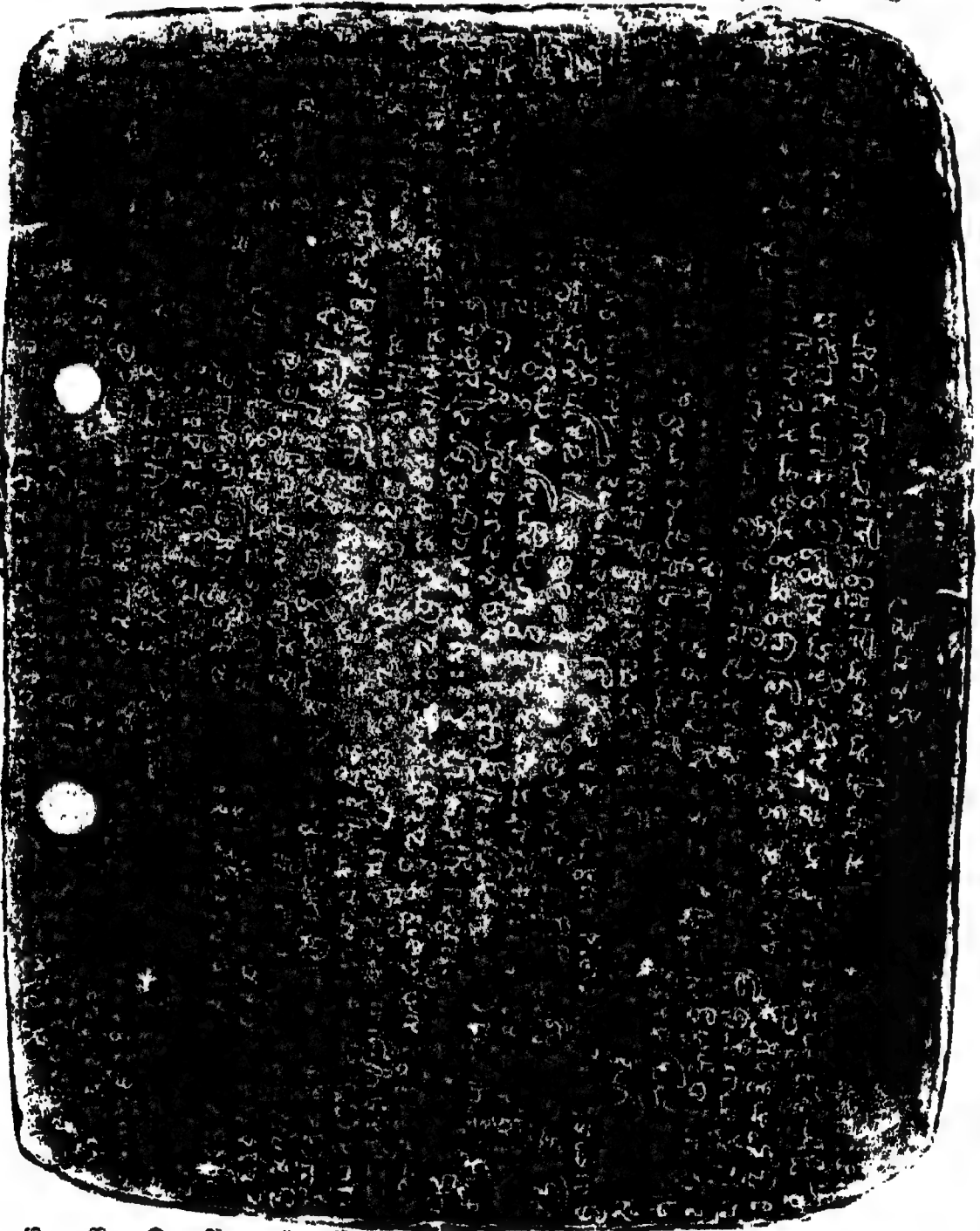
¹⁶ Bhagvanlal read this word as सीर-. *Jhashira* is derived from \sqrt{jhash} to hurt.

¹⁷ There is some mistake here. Perhaps the intended reading is तारतरासिद्धारितोदित-.

NAVASARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 490



26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50



26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50



Seal
From a photograph

- 25 [भी]व[सा दक्षिणापवसा]विश्वामिनि¹ ॥ प्रथममेव नवसारिकाविषयप्रसाधनायागते
[स्वरित]—

Second Plate

- 26 तुरगप्रभुवरसुरोत्सातथर[भि]ष्टु²लिखूस्वरितदिगन्तरे कृत्तप्राप्तमितान्तविमर्द्यमानर[भ]सामि-
वाभि]लो—
27 इटस्मूलोदरविबरविनिर्गतानप्रोषु³सररुधिरधारारंजितक[वच]भीष[ज]वपुषि ।⁴ स्वामिमहा-
28 स[न्मा]नदालग्रहणनि⁵कमीकृत⁶स्वशिरोमिमुखभापतिर[व]मदक्षनाप्रदष्टोष्ट⁷पुटेरने-
29 कसमराभिरुधिरवारि(वैरि)करिकटितटह⁸(?) विषटनविगलितचनरुधिरप[टल]पाटलितपटु-
कृपाणपट्टेरपि महा—
30 मोवेरलम्बपरभाषीः विपदाक्षपणाक्षेपक्षिप्रक्षिप्सतीक्ष्णक्षुरप्रहारविलूनवैरिशिर⁹कमलगलमालंरा-
31 ह्वरसरभसरोमाचकचुकाच्छादिततनुभिरनेकैरपि नरेद्रुददंशरकैरजितपूर्व¹⁰ ॥¹¹ व्यमगतमस्माक-
32 [म]ममेन स्वामिनः स्वशि¹²प्रदानेनाथ तावदेकजन्मीयमित्येवमि[वो]पजातपरितोषानन्तरप्र-
हृतपटुप—
33 टह्रवप्रभुसकवन्वद्वारासमंडलीके ।¹³ समरशिरसि विजिते ताधिकानीके शौर्यानुरागिणा श्रीव-
ल्लभनरे—
34 ब्रेण प्रसादीकृतापरनामचतुष्टयस्तद्यथा दक्षिणापवसाधारचलुक्किकुलालंकारप्रिषिषी¹⁴वल्लभानि-
वर्त्तकनिब—
35 संधिग्रथनिजनाश्रयश्रीपुलकेशिराजस्सर्वानिवात्मीयानस्महं (नात्मव)¹⁵शजामन्याश्च यथासंबध्यमान-
कान्निव-
36 [म]पतिप्रामभोगिक ।¹⁶ वासावकामुक्तविनिमुक्तकादीन्तमनुदर्शयत्यस्तु¹⁷ वः संविदितं (तम्) ।
यथास्वामिर्मातापि—
37 मोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिबुद्धये ।¹⁸ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्वणार्त्¹⁹ वनवासि²⁰-
विनिर्गतवत्स—
38 सगोत्रतैत्तिरिक²¹सब्रह्मचारिणे द्विवेदब्राह्मणकाञ्चले²² ब्राह्मणमोर्विदलि²³सूनुने²⁴ । कार्मणेयाहार-
विषयांसर्वत—
39 पन्नकन्नामस्सोद्वंगस्सपरिकर²⁵स्सदानप्रदानकः अचाटमटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिन्नन्यायेनोदकातिसर्गेण
महा—

¹ Bhagvanlal read जिज्ञासमानाः, but the correct reading given here was suggested by Bühler. The following marks of punctuation are superfluous.

² Read —पुष्टु—.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read निजमीकृत.

⁵ Bhagvanlal read —दष्टोष्ट—, but the medial vowel of the second *akshara* is certainly not *an*.

⁶ Perhaps हस्त is intended.

⁷ Bhagvanlal read —सुरप्र—, but the second *akshara* is clearly *ru*. Read —सुरप्र—.

⁸ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

⁹ Read —पुषिषी—.

¹⁰ Read स्वमुदर्शयति । वस्तु.

¹¹ Read वयवासी—.

¹² Read —तैत्तिरीय—.

¹³ Read —कनकलोच—.

¹⁴ This is probably the intended reading, though the last *akshara* of the name appears more like # than #.

¹⁵ Read —सूनुने. The following mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁶ Read —स्वपरिकर—.

- 40 कार्तिक्या पुत्रपौत्रान्वययोग्यः पूर्वप्रवत्तवेवब्रह्मदामवर्जो धर्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितो(तः ।) यतोस्या-
 41 ग्रहारस्थित्या भुंजतः क्रियतः¹ कर्षयतो वा न कैश्चिद्विधाते स्वातव्यमागामिमद्रूपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यै-
 रन्यैर्व्या
 42 विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि तृणाप्रलनजलबिन्दुचंचलमायुरवेक्यास्मदायोनुमंतव्योनुपालमित-
 व्य-
 43 इच [१*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं² बानुमोवेत स पञ्चभिर्महा-
 पातकैस्सो[प]पातकै-
 44 स्संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं³ च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि⁴ स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः
 [१*] आच्छेत्ता चा-
 45 नुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁵ ॥ [२॥*] विध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [१*] कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
 46 हर[न्ति] ये ॥ [३॥*] बहुभिर्व्यसुवा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः[१*] । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [४॥*]स्व[व]र्ता
 47 परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्भक्ष्य⁶ युधिष्ठिर । महीन्महिमतां⁷ श्रेष्ठ दामाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*]
 यानीह भुक्तानि⁸ पुरा न-
 48 रेंद्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयज्ञस्कराणि [१*] निर्मुक्तमात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददी[त]⁹
 ॥ [६॥*] सम्वत्सरका¹⁰-
 49 त ४०० ९० कार्तिकशुद्ध १० ५ [१*] लिखितञ्चैतन्महासान्विविग्रहिकप्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्द-
 सामन्तश्रीवप्प[भ]-
 50 [टि] [ना¹¹ महाबला]धिकृतहरगणसूनुना [१] न्यूनाक्षरमधिकोक्षरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणं(णम्) ।
 सिद्धम्¹² ॥ सिद्धम्¹² [१॥*]
 51 स्वयमाज्ञा [१*]

Seal

श्रीअवनिजनाश्रयः [१*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishnu's manifested boar-form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) Adorning the family of the illustrious Chalukyas,—who are of the Mānavya gōtra, which is being praised by the whole world; who were brought up¹² by the Seven Mothers (who are) the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained continuous prosperity

¹ Read कृतः.

² Read -वाच्छिद्यमानं.

³ Read -स्याविति । उक्तं च.

⁴ Read षष्टिं वर्ष-.

⁵ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushtubh*.

⁶ Read -द्वक्ष.

⁷ Read महीन्महिमतां.

⁸ Read वस्तानि.

⁹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁰ Read संवत्सर-. The writer has inadvertently omitted many words here. Read. संवत्सरस्तत्पुष्टये नवत्यधिके कार्तिकशुद्धपञ्चमवर्षा संवत्.

¹¹ Perhaps -महिना was intended.

¹² Expressed by a symbol.

¹³ I.e., made prosperous.

through the protection of Kārttikēya; (and) who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nāriyana, —(there was) the *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Kṛtivarmanarāja* (I), whose body was sanctified by the *avabhritha* bath in an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, (and) the pair of whose lotus-like feet shone and looked resplendent with the rays of clusters of jewels set on the sides of the crowns of many kings.

(L. 6) His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious *Pulakēśivallabha* (II), whose other name was *Satyāśraya*; who was a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*; who was most adorable like a great and pre-eminent god; who knew the import and the principles of all *Sāstras*; who worshipped the surface of the battle-field with clusters (of flowers poured out) from pots, in the shape of multitudes of fresh, white and spotless pearls from the frontal globes of attacking hostile elephants, which were rent with the strokes of the sharp sword wielded by his hand, the forearm of which was hard like an elephant's trunk; (and) who attained formidable power by defeating the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the illustrious lord of *Uttarīpatha* (North India).

(L. 11) His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* *Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Vikramādityarāja* (I), who was a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*; the pair of whose lotus-like feet were rubbed by the edges of the crowns of many feudatory princes; whose firmness was like that of the *Mēru*, *Malaya*, *Mandara* and *Vindhya* (mountains); whose army, (consisting of) excellent elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, was increasing day by day; who acquired his kingdom by means of his excellent and peerless horse, *Chitrakaṇṭha*, which had the speed of the mind; (and) who conquered the three hereditary¹ kingdoms *Chēra*, *Chōla* and *Pāṇḍya*.

(L. 14) His younger brother (was) the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* *Dharāśraya*, the illustrious *Jayasimbhavarmanarāja*, who was a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*; who conquered all allies of his enemies; who was an ornament of the earth which has the flowery girdle of the surrounding four oceans; who, like a lion's cub, rent open the frontal globes of rutting elephants; who took delight only in valour; (and) whose glory is well-known in the circuit of all quarters.

(L. 17) His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* *Jayāśraya*, the illustrious *Maṅgalasarāja*, who was a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*; who was the joy of the minds of all people; the prowess of whose spotless sword was celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring kings who were killed when they opposed him in many dangerous battles², and who, by the might of his arms, acquired his own territory.

(L. 20) His younger brother, who is intent on propitiating his lotus-like feet, (is) the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* *Avanījanāśraya*, the illustrious *Pulakēśirāja*, who is a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*; whose power is increasing day by day; who has, since his very childhood, become the abode of all good qualities; whose breast is occupied by the goddess of royal fortune who was quite free to choose her lord; who has made the whole-world spotless by spreading his white fame; who was favoured by the illustrious king *Vallabha* who is fond of heroism, with the following four titles, viz., the *Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha* (South India), the *Ornament of the family of the Chalukkiis*, the *Beloved of the Earth*, the *Repeller of the unrepellable*,

¹ With *krama-āgata* used here, compare *krama-prāpta* (inherited) in *krama-prāpta-nripa-sriyaḥ* of the *Vākāṭaka* seals.

² This expression is copied from a *Gurjara* grant. See, e.g., lines 26-27 of the *Kaira* plates (first set) of *Dadda II-Pratāparāga*.

when the army of the Tājikas,—which poured forth arrows, javelins¹ and iron-headed clubs; which destroyed, with its rapidly brandished and glittering swords, the prosperous Saindhava, Kachchhella, Saurāshtra, Chāvōtaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings; which, desiring to enter Dakshināpatha (South India) with a view to vanquish all Southern kings, came,² in the very first place, to conquer the *vishaya* of Navasārikā; which rendered the regions between the quarters dusky with the dust of the ground raised by the hard and noisy hoofs of its galloping horses; the bodies (*of warriors*) in which appeared dreadful as their armours were reddened by very large streams of blood (*gushing*) from the intestines which came out of the cavities of their big bellies, as they impetuously rushed forth and were completely pierced by spear-heads; which had not previously been vanquished even by numerous eminent chiefs among hosts of kings, who offered their heads in return for high honour and gifts they had received from their lord; who opposed it, biting mercilessly both their lips with the tips of their teeth; who, though they were great warriors and had their sharp swords reddened by the mass of blood that flowed when the sides of the loins and the trunks of hostile elephants were rent on several extensive battlefields, could not attain success; who cut off the necks of their enemies' heads, as though they were plucking the stalks of lotuses, hitting them with their horse-shoe-shaped sharp arrows which were quickly discharged for the destruction of their adversaries; whose bodies were covered with a coat of bristling hair on account of their martial spirit and excitement,—was defeated³ in the forefront of the battle in which headless trunks began a circular dance to the accompaniment of the loud noise of drums beaten continuously in joy caused, as it were, by the thought 'To-day at least we have, by laying down our heads, paid off the debt we owed to our lord in (*this*) one life!'

(L. 35) (*He*) addresses the (*following*) command to all his officers born in his family and others according as they may be concerned,—to the heads of *vishayas*, headmen of villages, residents, *Vāsāvakas*, *Āyuktas*, *Viniyuktakas* and others:—

"Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourselves, we have given, as a religious gift with a libation of water on the *Mahākārṣṭikī*, the village Padraka situated in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of Kārmanēya,—together with *udraṅga* (*and*) *uparikara*, together with (*the right to*) minor and major gifts, not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons according to the maxim of waste land, exclusive of gifts previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas,—to the Brāhmaṇa Kāñchala who has studied two Vēdas, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindaḷi, of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who is a student of the Taittiriya *śākhā* (of the Black Yajurveda) and has emigrated from Vanavāsī.

(L. 40) Wherefore, none should cause an obstruction while he is enjoying, cultivating or causing it to be cultivated in the manner of an *agrahāra*. Gracious kings of the future, whether born in our family or others, considering that fortune is impermanent and unsteady like a flash of lightning, and that life is as inconstant as a drop of water adhering to the tip of a blade of grass, should consent to and preserve this Our gift. And he, who, with his mind obscured by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, will confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins".

And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

¹ *Jhashira* is derived from *jhash* to hurt, and means some weapon like a javelin which could be thrown against the enemy.

² The subject is 'the army of the Tājikas', above, p. 143.

(L. 48) The year—hundred,¹ 400 (and) 90, (the month) Kārttika, the bright (fort-night) (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5. This (charter) is written by the illustrious Bappabhāṭṭi, the Mahāsādhinīgṛhīta and Sāmānta, who has attained the pañcamahāśloka and is the son of the Mahābalādhipati Haragana. All (in this charter) (is) authoritative, whether (any) letters are wanting or redundant. Success! Success!

Our own command.

Seal

The illustrious Avanijanāśraya.

¹ Some words are inadvertently omitted here. See above p. 142, n. 10.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

No. 31; PLATES XXIV-XXV

ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGASAKTI : (KALACHURI) YEAR 461

THIS set of three copper-plates was discovered, together with two others¹ in 1936, in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri, a village near Trimbak in the Nasik District. The inscriptions were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

The plates, except the first, are inscribed on both the sides. They measure each 12.5" broad and 8" high. Their ends are slightly raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. On the outer side of the first plate is incised an ornamental lotus-like figure with a diameter of 3.6". On the second sides of the second and third plates there appear inscribed, in the midst of letters, the small figure of a boar running to the right and the large one of a conch² respectively. The plates are held together by two rings passing through the holes near their upper side. The ends of one of them are not soldered, while those of the other are secured into the bottom of a seal, having the shape of an inverted cone, the round surface of which, measuring 1.5" in diameter, contains in high relief, in the centre of a circle of knobs, the figure of a lion with the right front paw raised, and the tail twisted over his back. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 308 *tolas*. There are sixty-four lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on each side, except the second sides of the second and third plates which have thirteen and nine lines respectively. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4". The letters on the second side of the third plate which were written subsequently and by another hand, are bolder and more deeply incised than those on the other sides.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. The letters are in most cases embellished with small circles as in the Bannahaḷli plates³ of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman II. These circles appear not only at the top of letters like the box-heads in Vākāṭaka inscriptions, but also at the corners and lower ends; in *hā* of *-mahā-pātakaḥ* =, 1.46, for instance, as many as five circles are used to embellish the *akshara*. The letters in ll. 56-64, however, do not show these circles, but have instead knobs at their top as in other early inscriptions from the Nasik District. As regards individual letters we may notice that the rare lingual *ḍh* occurs clearly in *vōḍhavyaḥ*, 1.48; the lingual *ḍ* shows in some places a looped curve as in the Kaira plates⁴ (of K. 380) of Dadda II, see *-maṇḍal-* 1.5, *-shaṇḍa-*, 1.19 and *khaṇḍa-*, 1.32; *b* is round in *brahmaṇya-*, 1.12, but rectangular

¹ These were the following grant of the same king and the grant (dated K. 460) of the Gujara king Jayabhaṭa III, (above, No. 22). The present plates have since been edited by Messrs. Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f. and 292 f.

² The figure of the conch appears inverted with reference to the letters, because the inscription on that side is a post-script which was subsequently incised on the plate turned upside down. It may be noted that the figure of a conch is incised on the second side of the Lucknow Museum plate of Kirtipāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 97), the first side of which contains the figure of the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, the plates facing pp. 18-9.

⁴ No. 16, above.

with a notch on the top or the left side in other places; see *-bala-*, 1.9 and *-bōdhitō*, 1.20; similarly *th* is round in *-yāth-*, 1.18, but rectangular in *-sthiti-*, 1.28; the initial *ṣ* is distinguished from *l* by lengthening its vertical or by giving it a turn to the right, see *ṣva*, 1.11, and *ṣāw*, 1.49. The medial *ṣ* (long) as added to *r* appears in as many as three different forms, see *rūpaka* in ll. 36, 38 and 39. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see *bhābhṛt*, 1.21. The sign for the *upadhmanīya* occurs in line 44 and the numerical symbols for 400, 200, 100, 60, 50 and 1 in lines 34, 38 and 39.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the initial verse in praise of the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and four benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 50-53, the record is in prose throughout. The initial *maṅgala-slōka* and the description of the Chālukya family that follows are taken from the records of the Early Chālukyas. The eulogy of the donor Bhōgaśakti *alias* Pṛthivīchandra is couched in an ornate *kāvya* style resembling that of the Gurjara and Sēndraka records. As regards orthography, we may notice that the consonant, which precedes or follows *r*, has been doubled, see e.g., *Viṣṇūr-vārāham* 1.1-, and *-parākkram-ākkram-*, 1.14; the guttural nasal is wrongly used in place of the *anuvāra* when followed by a sibilant or *h*, see *vanśasy-*, 1.6; *ṣṛi-Sīṅhavarmma-* 1.9 *etc.*; the *visarga* is superfluously retained in *-ālanīkārabbhūtaḥ-śarad-*, ll. 6-7, and wrongly elided when followed by a sibilant in ll. 49, 58 *etc.*

After the usual *maṅgala slōka* in praise of the boar incarnation and the description of the Chālukya¹ family, the record mentions the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramāśvara*, the illustrious *Vikramāditya*. It then proceeds to state that the illustrious Svāmīchandra, who was an ornament of the family of Hariśchandra and was treated as his own son by the Chālukya Emperor *Vikramāditya*, ruled over the entire *Purī-Kōṅkapa* country comprising fourteen thousand villages.² His son was the illustrious *Sīṃhavarmma-rāja*. The latter's son *Bhōgaśakti*, who had the second name *Pṛthivīchandra*, made the present grant. His eulogy, to which as many as fourteen lines (11-25) are devoted, is wholly conventional. The only important information we glean about him is that he was always devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu and, like *Bhīmasēna*, had gained his entire dominion by valour.

The royal order is addressed to (the residents of) *Gōparāśhṭra*, *Eastern Trikutā*, *Āmrarājī*, *Mairikā*, the *Eastern and Western Mahāgiriḥāras* and *Palluśūḍhāmbaka* district extending as far as *Prētaḥrada* (?). The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by *Bhōgaśakti*, of eight villages, *viz.*, *Jayagrāma*, *Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa*, *Pālitta-pāṭaka*, *Kōkilākshaka*, *Kalahaka*, *Mudgāhitaka*, *Kaḥmagiraka* and *Ānnagrāma*, for providing materials for the worship of the god *Nārāyaṇa*, for the repairs of his temple and for the maintenance of a *sattra* in the town of *Jayapura*. The god was named *Bhōgēśvara*, which suggests that he was installed by *Bhōgaśakti* and named after himself. The record next assigns, in ll. 35-39, certain rights, dues and taxes in favour of the god. The amount of taxes levied in each case is stated in *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* which were plainly the silver coins of the *Kalachuri* Emperor *Kṛishṇarāja*. The record next enjoins that five or ten merchants (who were evidently elected as representatives of the town) should celebrate according to the prevailing custom, the annual *yātrā* festival of the god for a fortnight in the month of *Mārgaśīrsha*. The temple was entrusted to

¹ The dynastic name occurs as *Chalukya* here as in Nos. 29, 30, above, and 32, below.

² In some later inscriptions, the number of villages in *North Kōṅkaṇ* are stated to be fourteen hundred only, see, e.g., *chaturdaśa-grāma-śat-śpalakshita-Kōṅkaṇa* in line 36 of the *Bhādāna* grant of *Aparājita*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274, and *Purī-pramukha-chaturdaśa-grāma-śat(śa)-sa-mamvīṭhā sama-śta-Kōṅkaṇa-bhūvaṇ samamvīṭhā* in ll. 64-65 of the *Khāṛpāṇ* plates of *Anantadēva*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 55.

(the representatives of) the town of merchants and they were enjoined to look after the service and property of the god. The merchants were in return exempted from the payment of octroi duties and the obligation to provide for the boarding (of royal officers). The charter was written by *Bharatasvāmīn* who was a resident of *Kallivana*.

The inscription is dated in the year 461, expressed both in words and numerical symbols in 1.54. No era is specified, but the mention of the Early Chālukya king *Vikramāditya* (I) as the suzerain of *Bhōgaśakti*'s grand-father plainly indicates that it must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 709-10 A.C. if the year 461 was current, and to 710-11 A.C. if it was expired. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

The original royal order seems to have ended with 1.55, at the lower end of the inner side of the third plate. There is, however, a postscript added on the outer side of the same plate, which registers certain endowments of *Tējavarmanarāja*. He was presumably a royal officer in charge of the country round *Jayapura*¹. He donated a pasture-land in the village *Pālittapāṭaka* which was situated to the south of *Jayapura*. It was marked in four directions by boundary slabs with the figures of *Durgādēvi* and cows sculptured on them². He also deposited a hundred *rūpakas* with the guild of merchants in the town of *Jayapura*, the interest of which was to be spent in providing *guggula* (bdellium) for (the worship of) the god *Bhōgēśvara* every year.

The mention of *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* or the silver coins of *Kṛishṇarāja* in the present record is interesting; for it shows that these coins of the Kalachuri king remained in circulation for more than a hundred and fifty years after *Kṛishṇarāja* who probably flourished from *circa* 550 to 575 A.C.

There are several geographical names occurring in the present grant, but few of them can now be definitely identified. *Purī* which in the present record is coupled with *Kōṅkaṇ*, probably to distinguish the latter from the Southern *Kōṅkaṇ*, has not yet been satisfactorily located. Some identify it with *Ghārāpurī*, but the identification is opposed on the ground that the island is too small for a capital. Besides, it shows no traces of fortifications. *Purī* seems to have been situated not far from *Sthānaka* or *Ṭhāṇā*, as the *Silāhāra* king *Aparājita* retired to it when pressed by the enemy³. It may have been identical with *Rājpurī* in the former *Janjira* State, which is situated at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast.⁴ *Gōparāshṭra* is mentioned in the *Nirpaṇ* plates of *Nāgavardhana*⁵ and probably comprised the country round modern *Igatpurī*, as the village *Balēgrāma* situated in it has been shown to be identical with *Belgaon Tarhālā*, about 12 m. north-east of *Igatpurī*⁶. The genuineness of the *Nirpaṇ* plates has rightly been questioned⁷, but that need not make the proposed identification doubtful. In fact the mention of *Gōparāshṭra* as a territorial division, on which a tax was levied for the maintenance of

¹ He figures in the other *Anjanēri* plates (No. 32, below) of this very king as the executor of the charter.

² It may be noted that a pillar found at *Sitābaldi* near *Nagpur* (now deposited in the Central Museum, *Nagpur*) which contains an inscription recording the gift of a pasture-land for the grazing of cows (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 304 ff.), has also the figures of some cows and calves in addition to those of the gods *Brahmā* and *Vishṇu* sculptured on it. The pillars mentioned in the present inscription were probably of a similar type with the figure of *Durgādēvi* sculptured on them.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 41.

⁴ *P. I. H. C.*, (Fourth session), pp. 86 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 f.

⁶ *E. H. D.*, p. 73.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 358, n. 1

a temple near Nasik shows that the identification is most probable. The identification of Trikūṭa the home-province of the Traikūṭakas has, for a long time, been a matter of controversy. That it was in Aparānta or North Kōṅkaṇ was of course known from the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa¹, but its exact location was uncertain. The mention of the Eastern Trikūṭa district in connection with and for the same purpose as Gōparāshṭra makes it plain that it comprised the western portion of the Nasik District. Trikūṭa was, therefore, probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west. The districts of Āmrārājī, Mairikā the Eastern and Western Mahāgiriḥāras, and Pallusūdhāmbaka cannot be definitely identified. Mahāgiriḥāra may be identical with Māhīriḥāra mentioned in lines 56-57 of the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita.² It must, in that case, have comprised the country round Bhādāna (near Bhiwāṇḍī in the Thāṇā District). Jayapura, where the temple of Bhōgēśvara was situated, is probably represented by Jarvar Budrukh, 9 m. south by west of Anjaneri. Of the villages granted by the present charter, Jayagrāma may be Jaikhērā in the Dindōri *tāluka*. Some of the other villages can be located in the vicinity of Jaikhērā. Thus Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa may be Ambēgaon, about 3 m. west by south, Kokilākshaka, Kokar, about 3 m. to the north-east, and Kalahaka, Kalasgaon, 2 m. east of Jaikhērā. Mudgāhitaka is likely to be Magaspārā, 5 m. north-west of Jaikhērā. Kāhēmagiraka, Ānagrāma and Pālittapāpaka cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. Kallivana, which was the place of residence of the scribe Bharatasvāmin, is undoubtedly Kalvan³ in the Nasik District.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्ध्वराहं क्षोभितार्णवं(वम्) [1*] वक्षिणोत्तरदंष्ट्राग्र-
विश्रान्तमुवनं वपुः⁶ [11१॥*]
- 2 श्रीमतां सकलमुवनसंस्तुयमानमानव्यसमोत्पाणां सप्तलोकसातुभिः सप्तमातृ-
- 3 मिरमिवद्वितानां ।⁷ कात्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवत्पारायण-
- 4 प्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभूतां हारीतीपुत्राणां च-
- 5 लुब्धानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीविष्णुमादि-
- 6 त्यवल्लभस्तत्प्रादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्विघ्नो हृदिचन्द्रवक्त्रास्यालंकारमूतः दशरथ⁸-
- 7 दुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलचन्द्रसा इव प्रजानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येने-
- 8 दं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्रसंख्यं⁹ सकलमपि पुरीकोकूणं मुक्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च राज्ञः[1*] श्रीस्वा-
- 9 मिचन्द्रस्य पुत्रो महाबलपराक्रमः श्रीसिद्धहर्षम्¹⁰राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिद्धहर्षम्¹⁰राजस्य पुत्रः
- 10 चतुर्दशविजलतरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव विख्याततेजाः पृथिवीचन्द्रापरना-
- 11 मधेवो राजा श्रीभोगसन्निध्योसौ बाल एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो

¹ Canto IV, vv. 58-9.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274.

³ It is mentioned in No. 12, l. 21, above.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

⁸ Read हृदिचन्द्रवक्त्रास्यालंकारमूतः.

⁹ It would be better to read चतुर्दशग्रामसंख्यं.

¹⁰ Read श्रीसिद्धहर्षम्.

- 12 भगवतो वासुदेवस्यार्चनविधिं प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च ।¹ युधिष्ठिर इ-
 13 व नयबिनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतः सत्यवादी च ।¹
 14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपरावक्रमावक्रान्ताशेषस्वराज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाब[ल]श्च

Second Plate : First Side

- 15 अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशानुवर्त्ती समरविधिविशारदश्च
 16 बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः
 17 क्षणं विवक्रांतश्च ।¹ प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं अपुर्दारयन्मपि² पर-
 18 कलत्रनिस्पृहः वनवा³रणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्राङ्कितकरः पद्मो-
 19 त्पलकुमुदषण्डमण्डितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृष्णाविरुद्धेदकारी
 20 उदितदिवसकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियां निवासभवनं ।¹
 21 जलधिरिव रक्षितस्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपरः[.] परमगम्भीरो महासत्त्वश्च⁴ ॥¹
 22 सततमेव देवकुलतटाकसत्त्वप्रपाधर्मक्रियानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानु-
 23 स्मरणतत्परश्च ।¹ कौस्तुभमणिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोङ्कणविषयस्यालंकारभूतः⁵ भारत-
 24 पुराणरामायणराजशास्त्रार्थतत्त्व⁶निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रति-
 25 हृत⁷बलपरावक्रमोत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवनारुक्षो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्वा-
 26 नेवात्मीयपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादीं(दीन्) स्वभुजबलपरावक्रमाधिष्ठितां(तान्) गोपराष्ट्रपूर्व-
 27 त्रिकूटाम्भराजीमैरिकामहागिरिहारद्वयपल्लसूडा[म्ब]कविषयां(यान्) प्रेतह्लादा⁸-
 28 मर्यादां(दान्) सर्वां(ज्वान्) समाज्ञापयति [।*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा सृष्टिस्थितिसंहार⁹-
 कारणं

Second Plate : Second Side

- 29 देवातिदेवं सुरासुरगुरुं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुक्त्वा नान्या विशिष्टदेवतास्ती-
 30 ति मत्वा जयपुरे भोगेश्वरप्रतिष्ठिताय¹⁰ पुराणपुरुषाय परमात्मने भगव-
 31 ते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपसन्मार्ज्जनो¹¹पलेपक्रियार्थं ।¹² नृत्तगीतवाद्यो-
 32 पेतसंगीतकार्थं ।¹² सत्त्वार्थं खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारार्थं च ।¹² मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-
 33 वृद्धये अष्टौ ग्रामा आदानानि च प्रतिपादितानि । तेषामात्मानि जयग्रामः¹³ अम्बे-
 34 अवज्जणं ।¹² पालितपाटकः कोकिलाक्षकं¹⁴ कलहकः मुद्गाहितकः क्षेम-
 35 गिरकः आन्नग्रामश्च । आदानानि आपणेषु आवाराः करणे कोवेरं ।¹² सार्थवहित्त्रेषु
 36 प्रवेशे निर्गमे च प्रत्येकं रूपकः देवस्य यात्रोत्सवे दातव्यं¹⁵ गोपराष्ट्राम्भराजीमै-

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

² Read -दरियमपि.

³ वा, which was at first omitted, was incised in a smaller size later on.

⁴ Read महासत्त्व-.

⁵ Read -भूतो.

⁶ Read तत्त्व-.

⁷ Read मेधाव्यप्रतिहृत-.

⁸ Perhaps प्रेतह्लादमर्यादान् is meant.

⁹ Read -संहार-.

¹⁰ Probably प्रतिष्ठितभोगेश्वराय is intended.

¹¹ Read -सम्मार्ज्जनो-.

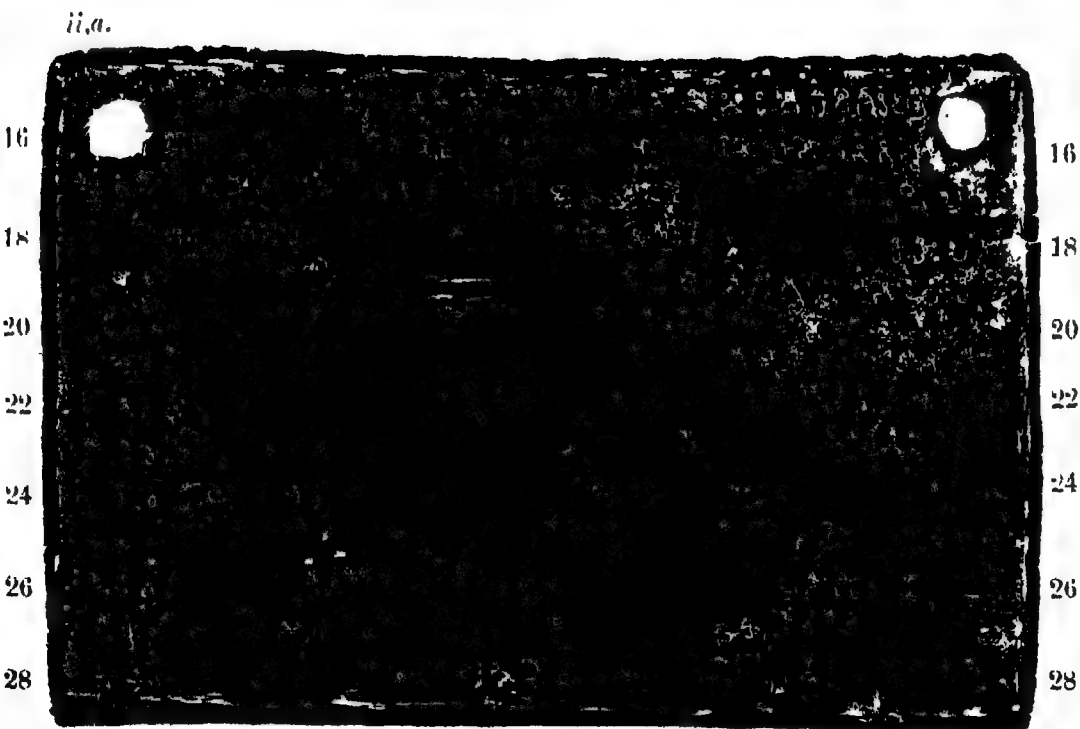
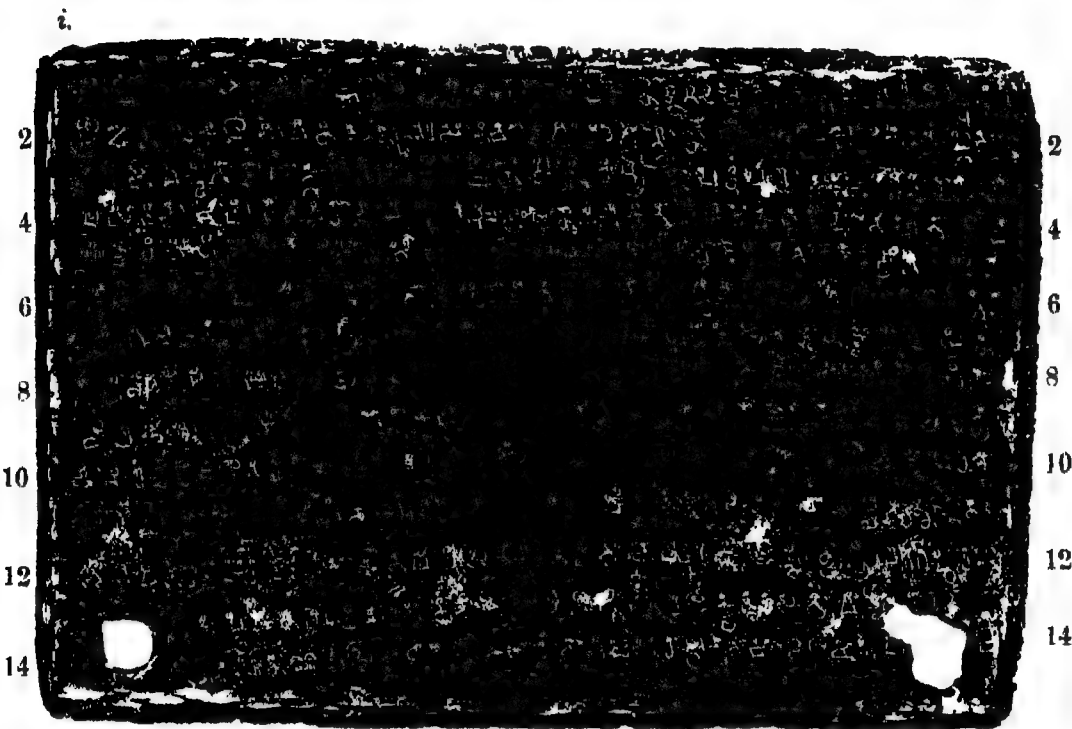
¹² This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹³ Here and in some places below, the rules of sandhi have not been observed.

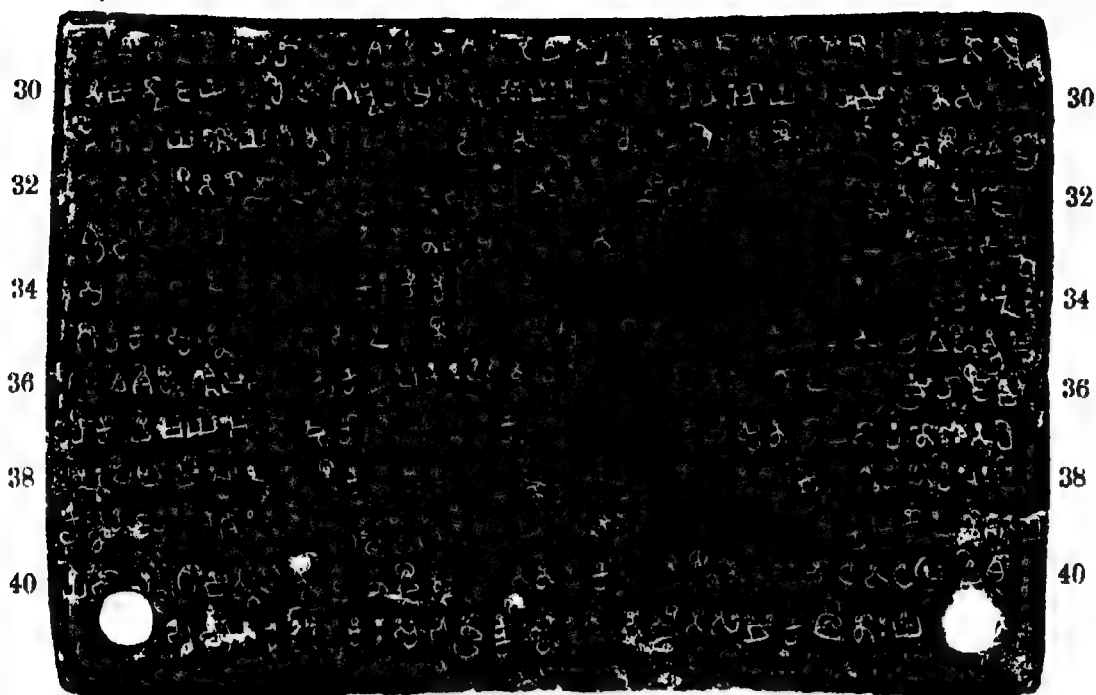
¹⁴ After this word there is a figure of a boar running to the right.

¹⁵ Read दातव्यः so as to agree with रूपकः or दातव्यानि corresponding to आदानानि.

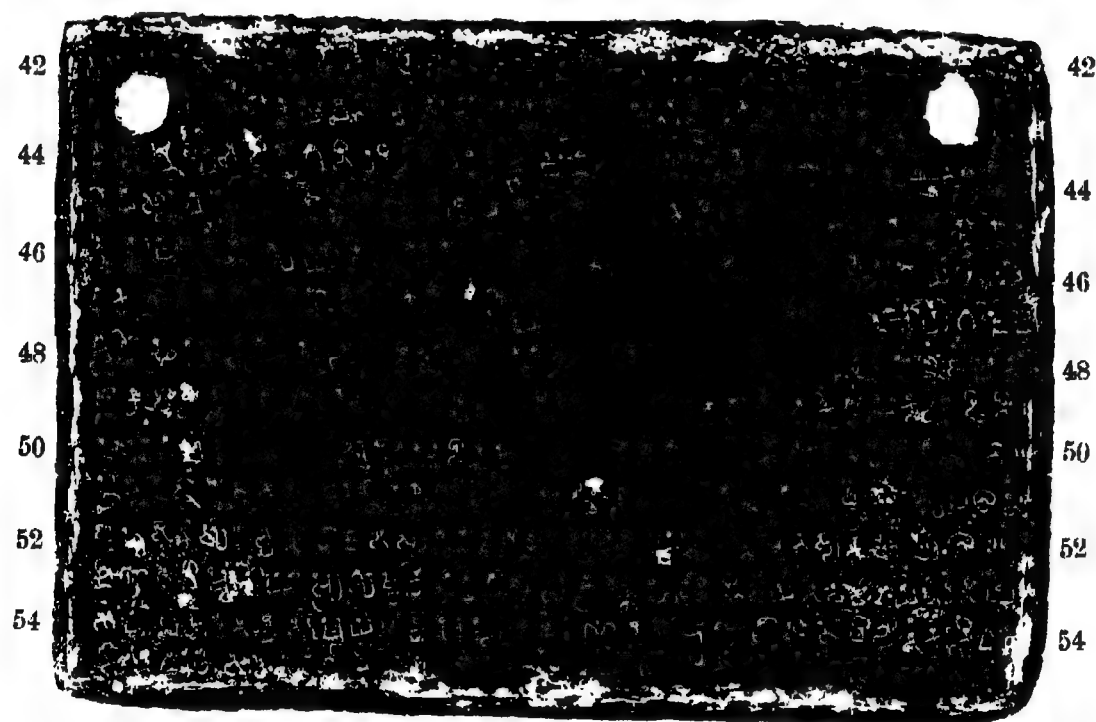
ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 461



ii, b.



iii, a.



Seal



(From Photographs).

- 37 रिक्ताविषयेषु ज्येष्ठिकाग्राने मूढकः भूतसातिका च अनेनावतारेण इतरे—
 38 ध्वपि ग्रामेषु । पूर्वोत्तिकूटविषये कुण्णराजकूपकवतं १०० ।^१ महाभिरिहारे अपरे
 39 कुण्णराजकूपकवतद्वयं २०० पूर्वोत्तिकूट १०० पल्लवम्^२ विषये [१*] कुण्णराजकूपकाः पञ्चाशत् ५० [१*]
 40 ये चाष्टौ ग्रामास्ते सर्वविद्वानविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणाः अष्टादशप्रवेश्याः
 41 अम्यंतरसिद्धिकाः आचन्द्रावर्काण्यं वसितस्थितिसमकालीनाः य—

Third Plate : First Side

- 42 तस्तस्मादस्मद्वयः प्रबलपवन[प्रे]रितोद[वि]जलत[रं]ग[चं]चलं
 43 जीवलोकमवलोक्य अयमस्मदायोनुमंतव्यः पालयितव्यश्च
 44 वणिग्भिर्भण्डमिहैशमिरपि नगरवर्म्ममवलंब्य मार्गशीर्षमासस्य पक्षमात्नं
 45 देवस्य विष्णोर्ध्यात्त्रोत्सवस्सारयितव्यः [१*] यो बाह्मनतिसिरावृतमतिराच्छिन्नावा—
 46 च्छिन्नमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महोपातकैस्संयुक्तः [१*] स्यात् [१*] यदेतदे—
 47 वकुलं तद्वणिजनगराय निरूपितं (तम्) (१*) तैश्च सर्वैर्धर्मगवतो देवस्य शुश्रूषा योगक्षेम—
 48 श्च बोद्धव्यः [१*] नगरस्य च स्थितिल्लिख्यते । ये स्थानवासिनो बाणिजकास्तेषां शुल्कं जेमको
 49 वा कदाचिदपि नास्ति । य एतां स्थितिं भिनत्ति स पञ्चभिर्महोपातकैः [१*] संयुक्तः [१*] स्या—
 दिति ।
 50 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता वानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥^३
 [२॥*]
 51 पूर्ववत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाग्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर^४ । महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ वानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) ॥ [१३॥*]
 52 बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं—
 (लम्) ॥ [४॥*]
 53 विष्ण्वाटवीज्यतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [१*] कुण्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदामं हरन्ति ये^५ ॥ [५॥*]
 54 संवत्सरघातचतुष्टये एकवष्टयधिके ४०० ६० १ शासनं लिखितं कल्लिवन—
 55 वास्तव्येन भरतस्वामिना ॥

Third Plate : Second Side^६

Inscription of Tejavarman

- 56 सिद्धम्^७ [१*] स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीतेजवर्म्मराज्ञा^८ जयपुरस्य दक्षिणायां^९
 57 पालितपाटको^{१०} गोप्रचारो मुक्तः [१*] तस्य च प्र—
 58 माणं चतुर्दिक्षु दुर्गादेभिः (वी)सहिताः [१*] शैलिमा^{११} नावो(वः) स्वापिताः [१*] सीम—
 59 स्य (न्) : तदेव प्रमाणं^{१२} तस्य गोप्रचारस्यात्वं [१*] श्रीगेश्वरदेवस्य भूमिनि—

^१ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

^२ This name occurs as पल्लवम् in l. 27 above.

^३ The *am*, curves and *am* over the letters in square brackets in this line have been damaged by verdigris.

^४ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushtubh*.

^५ वि, which was at first omitted, was incised later on in a smaller size.

^६ What looks like a curved stroke to the right on the top of y is accidental.

^७ The lines are written on this side of the plate turned upside down.

^८ Expressed by a symbol.

^९ Read -राजेन.

^{१०} Read दक्षिणस्यां.

^{११} Read पालितपाटके

^{१२} शैलिमा is an incorrect form for शैलः. For the use of शैलीप्रतिमा in an inscriptional record, see line 4 of the Deopāri Vishnu Image inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 330.

^{१३} वा which was first omitted is incised below.

- 60 वक्रयार्थं जयपुरवणिज्जनगरस्य रूपकमतं² दत्तं (तम् ।*) तस्य च रूपक-
 61 शतस्य वृद्धिः गुग्गुलुमूल्यं ओगेश्वरदेवस्य वर्षप्रतिवर्षं
 62 नगरेण यावदान्त्राकर्कतारकं³ दातव्यं (व्यम् ।) यो वास्या-
 63 न्यथा कर्ष्यति⁴ स पञ्चभिर्महोपातकैस्संयुक्तो भ⁵-
 64 विष्यति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar-form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the *Mānavya gōtra* which is being praised by the whole world ; who are the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hārīti, who were brought up⁶ by the Seven Mothers⁷ who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—(there was) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vikramāditya-vallabha*, the sole fore-head mark of the whole earth. Dependent on the favour of his feet and (*treated by him*) in no way different from his (*own*) son, (*there was*) a king named the illustrious *Svāmichandra*, an ornament of the family of *Harischandra*, who caused delight to the people like the moon whose orb has become clear on the advent of autumn, (*and*) by whom this entire *Kōṅkaṇa* (*country*) with *Purī* (*as the chief city*), the villages in which number fourteen thousand, was governed. A son of that king, the illustrious *Svāmichandra*, (*was*) the illustrious king *Simhavarman* of great strength and prowess.

(L. 9) Again, a son of that illustrious king *Simhavarman*, (*viz.*) the king, the illustrious *Bhōgaśakti*,—who, having, like the moon, well-known splendour on the earth embraced by the waves of the water of the four oceans, had the second name of *Pṛthivīchandra* (the Moon on the Earth); who, even as a boy, had knowledge spontaneously produced through the discipline of (*his*) previous life; who is always engaged in the worship of the divine (god) *Vāsudēva*, and is devoted to sacred knowledge ; who, like *Yudhishṭhira*, is adorned by excellences such as political wisdom, humility, compassion, charity and courteousness, and (*always*) speaks the truth ; who, like *Bhīmasēna*, has brought under his rule the whole territory of his dominions by (*his*) displayed valour, and is possessed of great strength ; who, like *Arjuna*, acts in accordance with the knowledge and teaching (*imparted*) by *Janārdana*,⁸ and is skilled in fighting ; who like *Balarāma*, is eagerly engaged in the enjoyment of the pleasures of dancing, singing, laughing, dallying, and sporting, and is (*also*) valiant in a moment ; who, though, like *Pradyumna*, is possessed of a charming form attractive to the minds of all young women, has no desire (*for the enjoyment of*) another's wife ; who, like the leader of a herd of wild elephants (*which has his trunk always moistened with the continuously flowing rut*⁹), has his hand always wet through making

¹ The engraver at first wrongly incised the superscript letter as *h*, and later on altered it to *ś*.

² त्, which was omitted at first is written below the line.

³ Read either यावदान्त्राकर्कतारकं or यावदान्त्राकर्कतारकं.

⁴ Read करिष्यति.

⁵ There is the figure of a large inverted conch in the middle of lines 60-63.

⁶ *I.e.*, made prosperous.

⁷ See above p. 126, n. 8.

⁸ The reference here is to the teaching of the well-known work *Bhagavadgītā*, in which *Kṛishṇa*, (an incarnation of *Janārdana*), expounded his philosophy of selfless action.

⁹ The adjectival expressions in ll. 18-21 admit of a double interpretation owing to the use of *ślibha*.

INSCRIPTION OF TEJAVARMAN



gifts continuously ; who, like a reservoir of sweet water beautified with clusters of day-lotuses, blue-lotuses and night-lotuses, (*which quenches the thirst of animals*), destroys the greed of living beings ; who, like a large assemblage of lotuses, made to bloom by the rays of the rising sun (*which becomes an abode of beauty*), is the place of resort for Fortune ; who, like the ocean (*that always keeps itself within bounds, is engaged in giving protection to several mountains, is very deep, and contains large aquatic animals*), has maintained established customs, is intent on giving protection to many princes, and is possessed of great serenity and courage ; who is always occupied with the construction of religious works, (*such as*) temples, tanks, charitable feeding houses and water-sheds, and is intent on meditating on Nārāyaṇa ; who is an ornament of Kōṅkapa with Puri (*as the capital*), even as the Kaustubha jewel is of Viṣṇu ; who is proficient in (*understanding*) the import and principles of the Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and (*the works on*) the science of politics ; (*who is*) wise, clever, learned (*and*) intelligent ; whose strength, prowess and powers derived from personal energy, counsel and royal position, are unimpeded ; (*and who is*) the goad (*i.e., the controller*) of the three worlds—addresses the (*following*) command to all his sons, sons' sons and sons' sons' sons and so forth, (*as well as*) (*all people living in*) the *viśhayas* of Gōparāśhṭra, Eastern Trikuṭa, Āmrarājī, Mairikā, both the Mahāgiriḥāras¹ (*and*), Palluṣṭhāmbaka,² extending as far as Prētaḥrada, which have been acquired by the might of his arms and valour:—

(L. 28) "Be it known to you that realizing that there is no pre-eminent god except the divine Vāsudēva, the lord of (*both*) gods and demons, the supreme god of gods, the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction (*of the world*), (*I have*) donated for the increase of the religious merit of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, the (*following*) eight villages and rights to the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa, the primeval Being and Supreme Spirit (*called*) Bhōgēśvara installed³ in Jayapura, for providing perfume, flowers, incense, light, bathing and anointing (*of the god*), for symphonic entertainment combined with dancing, singing and music, for (*maintaining*) a charitable feeding-house, and for repairing (*what may be*) damaged or broken. The names of them (*i.e., the villages*) are (*as follows*):—Jaya-grāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mudgāhitaka, Kahē-magiraka (*and*) Ānnagrāma. And the rights are (*as stated below*):— stalls in market places ; *kōvēra*⁴ in a written document ; a *rūpaka* to be paid for each cart⁵ of the caravan on ingress and egress (*at Jayapura*) at the time of the *yātrā* festival of the god ; a basket⁶ (*of corn?*) and an offering of ghee in the principal villages⁷ in the *viśhayas* of Gōparāśhṭra, Āmrarājī (*and*) Mairikā ; in the same manner in other villages (*of the aforementioned districts*) ; in the *viśhaya* of Eastern Trikuṭa, a hundred *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 100 ; in the Western Mahāgiriḥāra, two hundred *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 200 ; in the Eastern (Mahāgiriḥāra), one hundred (*rūpakas*), (*in figures*) 100 ; in the *viśhaya* of Palluṣṭhāmba, fifty *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 50. As for the eight villages,

¹ These were the Eastern and Western Mahāgiriḥāras as appears from ll. 38-39.

² This is to be taken as one name in view of Palluṣṭhāmba, mentioned in L. 39 below, with which it is plainly identical.

³ See above, p. 150, n. 10.

⁴ The meaning of this is not clear to me.

⁵ *Vahitru*, *lit.* an instrument of conveying, is clearly used here in the sense of a cart or some similar vehicle.

⁶ M. Williams on the authority of the *Kāraṇavyākhyā* gives *maṭa* or *mūṭa* in the sense of a basket. The Arthūṇā inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 302) mentions the tax of a *mānaka* on each *mūṭaka* of salt. Cf. *maṭa* in Marathi and *maṭa* in Kannada.

⁷ The reference to 'other villages' in the sequel shows that *Jyēṣṭhikā-grāma* is used here in the sense of the headquarters of a *viśhaya* etc.

they are all to be exempt from all dues, forced labour and special rights; (*they are*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, are to be self-contained,¹ (*and*) are to continue (*as donated villages*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure.

(L. 41) Wherefore, our descendants, seeing that the living world is fickle like the waves of the ocean-water agitated by strong wind, should consent to and preserve this Our gift. (*And*) the merchants (*of the town Jayapura*), five or even ten (*in number*), should celebrate the *yātrā* festival of the god Vishṇu for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. But he, who, with his mind shrouded in the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, would incur the five great sins. As for this temple, it is entrusted to the town of merchants.² They should all perform the service and take care of the property,³ of the god. The (*following*) regulation is laid down for the town:—The merchants residing at (*this*) place will never have to pay the octroi duty, or to provide for the boarding⁴ (*of royal officers*). He, who will violate this regulation, shall incur the five great sins.”

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 54) In the year four hundred increased by sixty-one, (*this*) charter was written by Bharatasvāmin a resident of Kallivana.

Inscription of Tējavarman

(L. 56) Success! Hail! The illustrious Tējavarmanrāja has relinquished a pasture-land in Pālittapāṭaka to the south of Jayapura. And in evidence of it, stone sculptures of cows, together with (*the image of*) the goddess Durgā, have been put up in (*all*) the four directions (*to mark*) its boundary. That is the defining limit of the pasture-land. For purchasing land (*in honour*) of the god Bhōgēśvara, a hundred *rūpakas* have been deposited with the merchant town of Jayapura. The interest on the hundred rupees should be paid by (*the guild of merchants in*) the town as the price of bdellium (*for the worship*) of the god Bhōgēśvara, year after year, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars will endure. He, who will do otherwise, shall incur the five great sins.

No. 32; PLATE XXVI

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

THIS is a set of two copper-plates discovered together with two others⁵ in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri near Trimbak in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. The inscription was brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

¹ The expression *abhyantara-siddhi* occurs in several grants, sometimes with a prefix like *tri-bhūga* or *sarva*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 271. It is generally used in the instrumental case denoting the manner in which the grant is made. *Abhyantara-siddhyā* has been variously translated:—(1) by Dr. Fleet as ‘with (full) rights of enjoyment (*loc. cit.*); (2) by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar as ‘with heart-felt devotion’ (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 40), and (3) again by the same scholar as ‘for the purpose of internal adjudication’ (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257). The context shows that the expression is used here in the sense of ‘self-contained’, *i.e.*, the donated villages will not be dependent on others for the decision of law-suits *etc.*, but they will have full powers of adjudication. The same idea is expressed by *sa-danḍa-das-āparādhab* which sometimes takes its place. The Hānsōṭ plates of Bhartṛivādha have *sab-abhyantara-siddhi*; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 203.

² *Vij.*, the town of Jayapura.

³ *Yōga* means acquisition of new property and *kṣatma*, preservation of what is acquired.

⁴ See p. 156, n. 2, below.

⁵ Nos. 22 and 31, above.

They are two copper-plates, the first of which measures 11.9" broad and 7.8" high, while the second, though of the same breadth, is slightly less in height. They are held together by two rings, 6" in diameter, passing through two holes at the top of each plate. The ends of the right-hand ring are not joined, but those of the left-hand one are secured into the socket of a seal having the shape of an inverted cone, 3" in length, on the round surface of which, about 1.7" in diameter, appears in high relief the figure of a lion in the midst of a circle of knobs. The lion closely resembles that on the seal of the cognate Anjanēri plates of K. 461. The weight of the plates, the rings and the seal is 178 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both the sides. Their rims are slightly thickened with a corresponding depression running all round for the protection of the writing. The plates have suffered considerable damage by corrosion. There are a few holes in the third line on the first plate and near the lower edge of the second. Nearly twenty *aksharas* in l. 27 and about a dozen in l. 28 have been either partially or wholly damaged by the corrosion of the surface. Some of them, especially those in l. 27 can, however, be supplied from the other Anjanēri plates of the same king. Further, lower down on the same side, several *aksharas*, especially in the middle of ll. 34-38, have been almost obliterated by wear and tear, but they can be read with patience and perseverance from their faint traces on the original plate. There are thirty-eight lines of writing in all, of which twelve appear on each inscribed side, except the first side of the second plate which has fourteen lines.

The characters closely resemble those in the cognate Anjanēri plates, except that the circles appear here only at the top of letters. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory *maṅgala śloka* in praise of the boar incarnation, which is borrowed from the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas, the record is in prose throughout. Down to l. 27 it is identical with the corresponding portion of the other Anjanēri plates, and shows the same palaeographical peculiarities. As shown below, the object of the present inscription was not to record any religious gift but to register certain rights and privileges granted to merchants, and to lay down punishment for offences committed in certain towns and villages which were resettled by the king. The usual imprecatory and benedictive verses do not naturally find a place in this record.¹ Their absence does not, therefore indicate that the charter is incomplete. In fact the mention of the executive officer and the use of *iti* at the end of the last line shows that it was duly completed.

The inscription begins with a verse in praise of the boar incarnation. It then gives the usual description of the Chālukya² family and mentions the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vikramādityavallabha. It proceeds to state that the illustrious Svāmichandra, an ornament of the family of Hariśchandra, who was treated like his own son by Vikramāditya, ruled over the whole Purī-Kōṅkaṇa, consisting of fourteen thousand villages. His son was the illustrious Sīrṇharāja, and the latter's son, the illustrious Bhōgaśakti who had the other name Pṛthivīchandra. The description of these kings is given exactly as in the other Anjanēri plates. Bhōgaśakti was always devoted to the worship of the god Vāsudēva, and was an ornament of the province Purī-Kōṅkaṇa.

From ll. 29-31 of the present grant we learn that the king Bhōgaśakti resettled the town Samagiripattana together with (its suburb) Chandrapurī as well as the villages—Ambayapallikā, Savāṇṇēyapallikā, Maurēyapallikā and Kamaśripallikā, which had previously been devastated. The name of the enemy, who had laid them waste, is not men-

¹ That it was customary to omit such verses in charters which registered only exemptions from toll *etc.*, is shown by the Khārēpāṇ plates of the Śilāhān king, Anantadēva (Śaka 1016), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33. ff. See also, *loc. cit.*, p. 38, n. 31.

² See above, p. 147, n. 1.

tioned. The object of the present charter, which was made over to *Ēla frēshṭhin*, *Karapuṭa frēshṭhin*, and others of the afore-mentioned town, was to record the rights, privileges and exemptions granted to the merchants and other residents of the resettled town Samagiri, as well as to lay down fines in the case of certain offences committed by the residents and young merchants evidently of the same town. The merchants were, for instance, exempted from octroi duty in the whole kingdom; the property of those who died sonless was not to escheat to the crown;¹ the residents were not required to provide lodging and boarding for royal officers.² As for fines imposed for offences, we are told in ll. 34-38 that a violent offence against unmarried girls³ would be punished with a fine of 108 *rūpakas*, and that of adultery with 32 *rūpakas*. For an assault consisting of the boxing of the ears, a fine of sixteen *rūpakas*, and for that which resulted in an injury to the head, one of four *rūpakas* was laid down. If a young merchant had illicit intercourse with a labour woman, he was fined 108 *rūpakas* or whatever was fixed by eight or sixteen Mahallakas (respectable men) of the town. The charter was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

The inscription is not dated, but the mention of Tējavarmarāja, who is clearly identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the other Anjanēri inscription, shows that it must have been incised within a few years on either side of the Kalachuri year 461 (710-11 A. C.).

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, Samagripaṭṭana cannot be traced, but it was probably situated near Chandrapurī, with which it is coupled in the present grant and which is probably represented by Chandrāchī Mēt, 12 m. south-west of Anjanēri. Savāṇēyapallikā may be Sāmuṇḍi and Kamsāripallikā Karholi, five and six miles respectively, north by east of Chandrāchī Mēt. Maurēyapallikā may be Mōrwāḍī, 3 m. south-west of Nasik, but it is somewhat distant from Chandrāchī Mēt if the latter correctly represents Chandrapurī.

¹ The royal claim to the property of a person who dies sonless is mentioned in some charters as transferred to the grantee together with the donated village. See, e.g., the expression *kumārī-sābas-āputrādi dbana samamvitāḥ* qualifying the name of the donated village in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita-dēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274. The *aputrikā-dbana* mentioned in line 12 of the Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 266) is obviously a mistake for *aputra-dbana*. Readers of Sanskrit literature will recall a passage in Kālidāsa's *Sākmatala*, Act VI, where Dushyanta is informed by his minister that the property of a merchant, who died sonless, is to escheat to the crown.

² In ancient times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to provide for the boarding and lodging of touring royal officers and a small tax called *vasati-daṇḍa*, sometimes collected in kind, was levied for the purpose. In some charters the grantee is specifically exempted from it. Compare *a-kara-yōllaka-vinēsi-kebaṭṭā-vāsani a-dādha-dadhi-gabaṇṇi a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gabaṇṇi* in the Pallava grants (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6; Vol. VI, p. 87); *a-kebaṭṭā-vās-andamani* in a Kadamba grant (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 14) and *a-chār-āsana-charma-āṅgārāḥ* in Vākāṭaka grants (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 173). The Paṭṭana and Purushōttampurī plates of Rāmachandra mention the *vasati-daṇḍa*, (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 318; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 218.)

³ The fine levied for *kumārī-sābasa* is sometimes mentioned as transferred to the donee; see the expression in the Bhādāna grant cited above in note 1. The fines for the various offences are laid down here specifically to prevent the village authorities from extorting money from the offenders. For similar fines which village officers were empowered to impose, see Kōṭavumachgi inscription of Vikramāditya V, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 66 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] जगत्त्रयविष्णुं विष्णोर्विराहं श्रीमितामृतं (वन्) [1*] इक्षिणोऽक्ष[द]प्रा-
 2 विधान्तमुवनं वपुः³ [11-11*] श्रीवतां सकलमुवनसंस्तुयमानमान⁴भाम-
 3 व्यसनीभाषां सप्तलोकमावृमिस्तस्यसप्तमवृमिरमिषद्वि[1]नां कासिके-
 4 वपरिरक्षमाप्तकल्याणपरंपरायां नमवभारावचप्रसादस-
 5 मासावितवराहलोचनेक्षणक्षयवकीकृताद्येवमहीभृतां हारीतीपुत्रमा-
 6 नां बलुक्ष्यानामभ्यने सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपर-
 7 मेस्वरधीविष्णुमावित्यबलमस्तस्यावप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिष्पिसेवो
 8 हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्मालंकारभूतः शरदु[व]⁵भमप्रसन्नमण्डलवन्त्रमा इव त्र-
 9 जामाभानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा देवेवं चतुर्दशमानसहस्र-
 10 संस्यं⁶ सकलमु(म)पि पुरीकोकणं नुस्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च राज्ञः श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रस्य
 11 पुत्रो महाबलपराक्रमः⁷ श्रीसिद्धहृवर्म्म⁸राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिद्धहृवर्म्म⁹रा[ज]¹⁰स्य
 12 पुत्रमवचतुरुदधिजलतरंगालिगितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव

Second Plate: First Side

- 13 निर्याततेजाः¹¹ पृथिवीचन्द्रापरनामचेयो राजा श्रीभोगसक्तिः [1*] योसी बाल
 14 एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नमानो भगवतो वासुदेवस्या[चर्च]¹²नवि-
 15 षि प्रप्ति सततममियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च मुषिष्ठिर इव नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
 16 ण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतस्तस्यवादी च श्रीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रममाकम्पताशेषस्वरा-
 17 ज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाबलश्च अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशवर्ती समरविधिधिसा-
 18 रदश्च बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः क्षयं वि-
 19 कर्तातश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्द्धारयन्नपि परकलत्रनि-
 20 स्पृहः वनवारणमूषाधिपतिरिव सततममिप्रवृत्तादानार्द्राङ्गितकरः पद्मोत्पल-
 21 कुं(कु)मुदपङ्कमंभितः स्वाद्भूदको जलाक्षय इव प्राणिनां तुष्णाधिष्ठेवकारी उदितदिव-
 22 सकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव धियो निवासमवनं बलवि(वि)रिव रक्षित-
 23 स्थितिरनेकभूमुत्पालनपरः परमगंभीरो महासत्त्व(स्व)श्च सततमिव देवकूलतटा-
 24 कसत्त्वप्रसादधर्म्मविक्रमानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानुस्मरणतत्परश्च कौस्तुभम-
 25 गिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोकणविषयस्मालंकारभूतः भारतपुराणरामायण-
 26 राजशास्त्रार्त्ततत्त्व(स्व)निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पंडितो [मे]वाकी अप्रतिहतबलपरा-

¹ From the original plates.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Metre: *Anuṣṭup*.⁴ The *aksharas* मन् are unnecessarily repeated.⁵ This *akshara* was at first closed at the top, but the mistake seems to have been corrected.⁶ Read चतुर्दशमानसंस्वयम्.⁷ Read श्रीसिद्धहृवर्म्म.⁸ This *akshara* is incised just above the ring-hole, and can be read clearly on the original plate.⁹ The *akshara* of this *akshara* is indistinct.

Second Plate : Second Side

- 27 [बक्रमो]¹त्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्ति[स्त्रिभु]वनाङ्कशो [राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सव्वानेवात्मी*—]
 28 [य*]पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादीं (दीन्) विषयपतिग्रामभोगिकम[हृत्तरान् समाज्ञापय*]²—
 29 [ति*] विदितमस्तु वो यथा पूर्वमुत्सादितं [स]मगिरिपट्टनं चन्द्रपुरीसहि[तं]
 30 ³म्बयपल्लिकासबाणेयपल्लिकामौरेयपल्लिकात्त्रयसहितं कंसा—
 31 [रि]पल्लिका च मया समावासितं (तम्) । एलश्रेष्ठिकरपुटश्रेष्ठिप्रमुख—
 32 समस्तनगरस्य दत्तं (तम्) [।*] समगिरिवास्तव्यानां वणिजां चन्द्रार्ककालिकं शुल्कमादी—⁴
 33 यं समस्तराज्ये नास्ति [।*] अपरं च अपुत्रधनं नास्ति⁵ उमुरभेदः राजपुरुष[।*]—
 34 णामावासको जेमकश्च एतन्नास्ति [।*] कुमारीसाहसे⁶ रूपकाणामष्टोत्तरं
 35 शतं (तम्) । संग्रहणे⁷ द्वात्रिंशतिरूपकाः [।*] कर्णत्रोडणिकीयां⁸ षोडश रूपकाः [।*] शिर—
 36 स्फोटने च [त्वा]रि रूपकाः [।*] भा[रि]कायां वणिक्पुत्रस्याष्टोत्तरं शतं रूपकाणां
 37 नङ्गेगृहीतस्य⁹ [।*] यच्चाष्टौ षोडश वा नगरमहल्लका वि[चा]र्य्यं वदते (ति) तदे—¹⁰
 38 तदेव प्रमाणं (णम्) । श्रीतेजवर्म्मराजेन एतदनुष्ठितमिति [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

[For a translation of ll. 1-28, see above, pp. 152-3.]

(Line 28) 'The illustrious *Bhōgaśakti*.....addresses (the following order to) all his sons, sons' sons, sons' sons' sons and so forth, (and to) the heads of *vishayas*, the *Bhōgikas* and *Mahattaras* of villages :—

(L. 29) "Be it known to you that I have settled (again) the *Samagiripattana*, which had been previously devastated, together with *Chandrapurī* (and) together with the three hamlets, (*viz.*) *Ambēyapallikā*, *Savāṇēyapallikā* (and) *Maurēyapallikā*, and also *Kamāripallikā*. (This charter is) made over to the whole town, of which *Ela śrēshṭhin* and *Karapuṭa śrēshṭhin* are the chief (representatives). The merchants residing in *Samagiri* are not to pay octroi duty in the whole kingdom as long as the moon and the sun will endure. Besides, there is not (to be escheat to the crown of) the property of a person who dies sonless. There is to be no distinction of wharfs.¹¹ There is (to be) no (tax for the) lodging and boarding of royal officers. For a violent offence against unmarried girls, (the offender will be fined) a hundred and eight *rūpakas*; for adultery, thirty-two *rūpakas*; for boxing of the ears, sixteen *rūpakas*; for injury to the head, four *rūpakas*. If (the offence is committed) against a labour-woman, a merchant's

¹ The *akṣaras* in the square brackets in this and the following two lines have been damaged by rust. The starred ones in this line are supplied from the corresponding portion of the other *Anjanēri* plates (No. 31) of the same king.

² These nine *akṣaras* and the first *akṣara* of the next line have been restored conjecturally.

³ One *akṣara* is damaged here. It may have been अ.

⁴ Read —मादेयं.

⁵ Read नास्ति.

⁶ Some letters in the middle of ll. 34-38 have become very shallow by wear and tear, but they can be read with perseverance on the original plate.

⁷ ह् which was at first omitted is written below the line.

⁸ Read —त्रोडणिकायां.

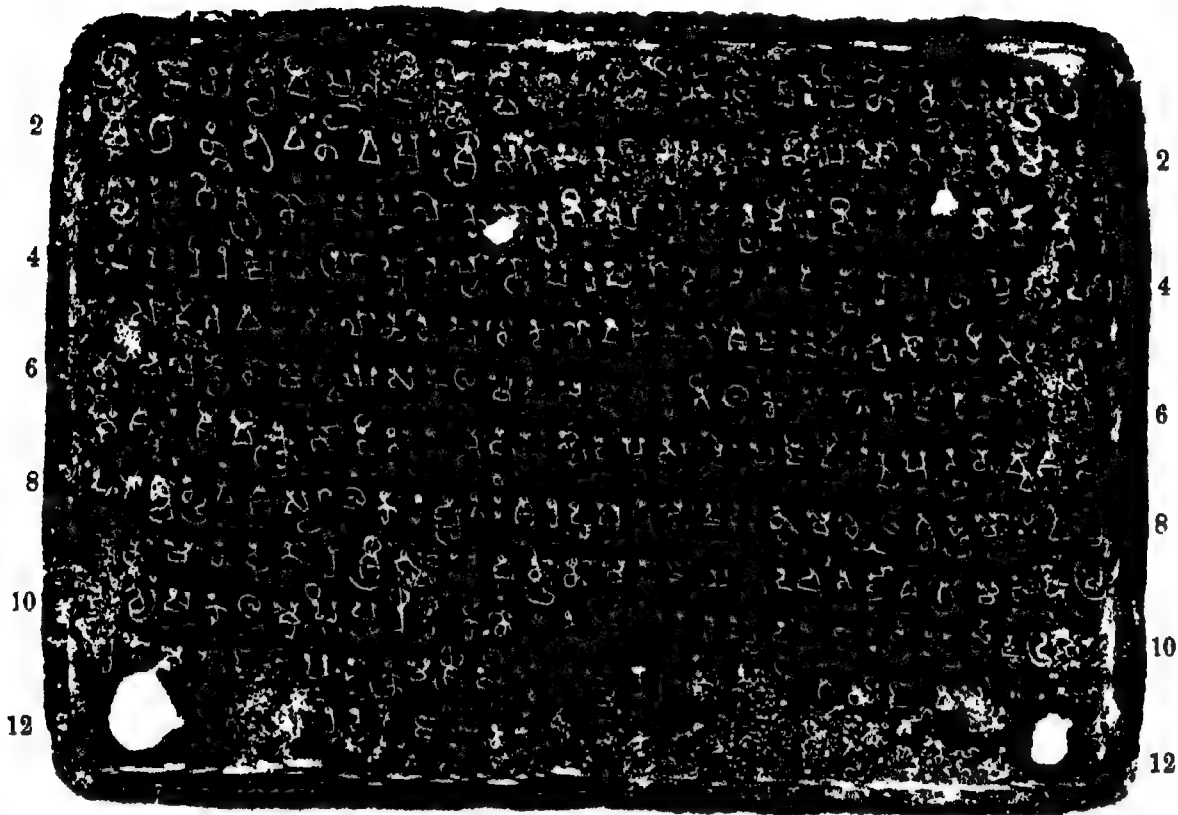
⁹ Perhaps नग्नगृहीतस्य is meant.

¹⁰ These two *akṣaras* are redundant.

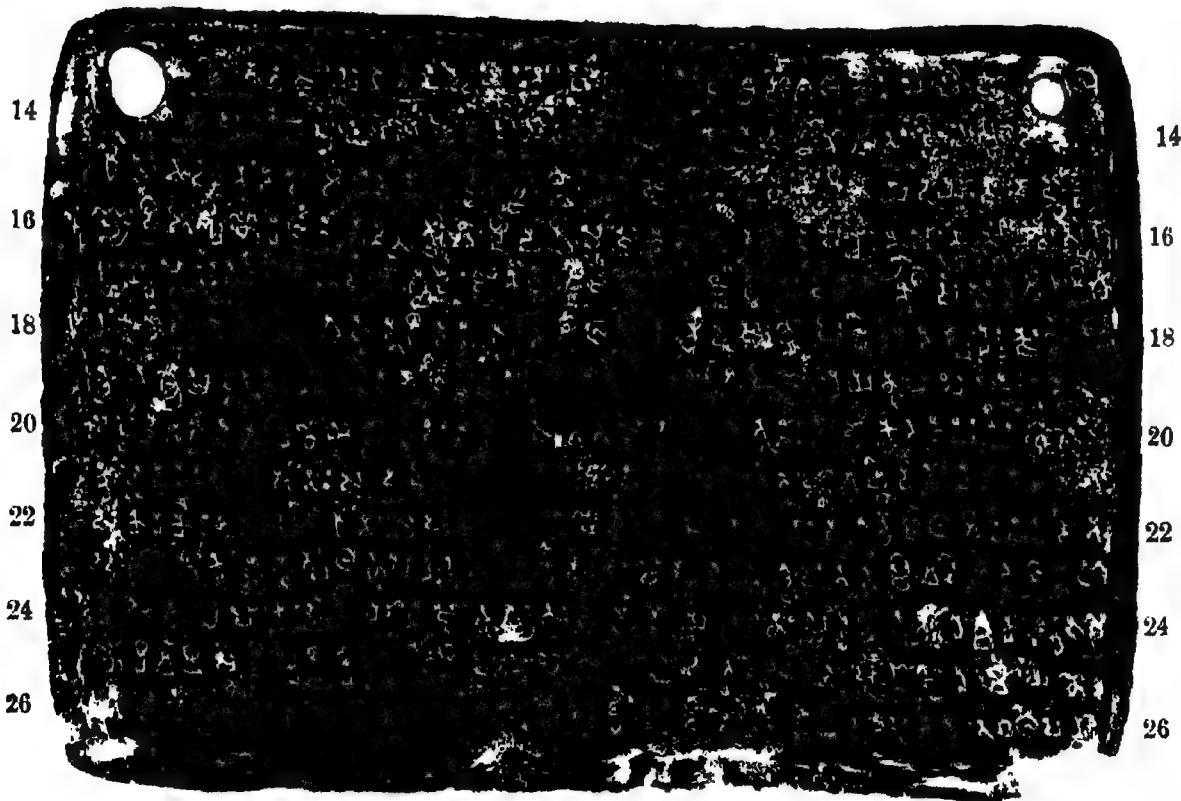
¹¹ The word used in the text is *umma* which is unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. *Uma* occurs in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a wharf' or 'a landing place'.

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

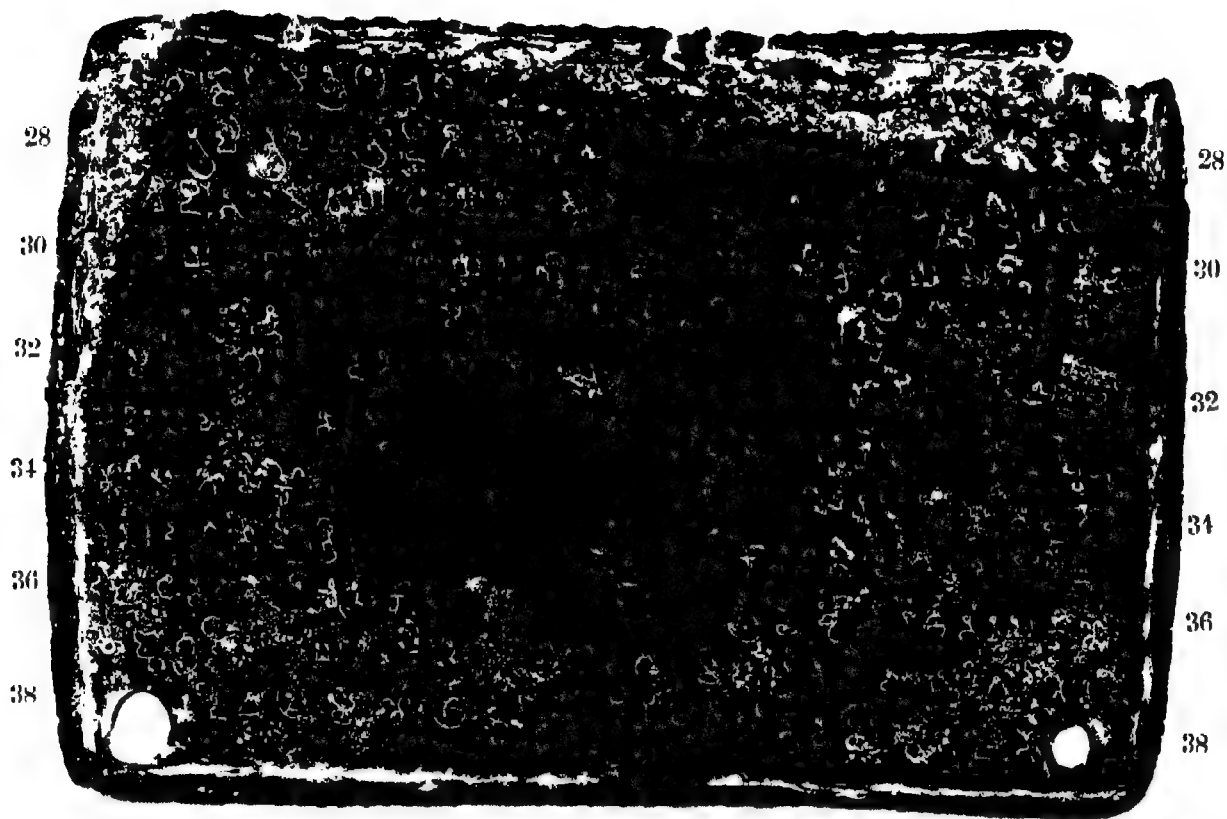
i.



ii.a.



ii.b.



Seal



(From Photographs).

son caught naked (?) will be fined one hundred and eight *rāpakas*. And whatever eight or sixteen Mahallakas (*respectable men*) of the town will declare after deliberation, will be the right standard (*of punishment*)."

This was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 33; PLATE XXVII

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN : (KALACHURI) YEAR 346

OF the two copper-plates which, as shown below, purport to record a grant of Taralasvāmin, one was discovered as far back as 1864 somewhere in the Saṅkhēḍā Tālukā in the Baroda District and has been edited with a lithograph, by Mr. H.H. Dhruva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 19 f. This plate contained only the concluding portion of the grant, including the benedictive and imprecatory verses, the name of the writer and the date. The other plate, which was recently found in the possession of Patel Mathurabhai of Māṅkaṇī, a village in the Saṅkhēḍā Tālukā has been edited with a facsimile by Mr. A.S. Gadre in the *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 4 f. This plate contains the earlier portion of the grant, viz., the genealogy of the donor, the name of the donee and the object granted. The text of the latter plate ends exactly where that of the former begins.¹ Their characters also completely agree. There is, therefore, no doubt that the two plates make one complete grant. The plate edited by Mr. Dhruva, the exact provenance of which has not been recorded, may therefore have come from Māṅkaṇī itself. That this grant is probably spurious was shown by me in an article published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. II, pp. 389 f. I edit the record here from excellent ink impressions of both the plates, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. A.S. Gadre.

The plates measure 8" in breadth and 3.4" in height. The first weighs 17½ and the second 16½ tolas. The writing on both is in a state of good preservation. The plates contain two holes, .2" in diameter, at the top, for the rings which must have originally held them together, but no ring or seal has been discovered. The record consists of twenty lines, of which ten are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of the letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the grants of the Gurjaras and Early Kalachuris. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the initial *i* consists of two curves, one below the other, in *iv=ōddhūta*-1.3, while it has its usual form in *iva*, 1.7; the length of medial *i* is indicated by a dot in a circle or by a double curve, see *vīchi*-, 1.3; the curve of the subscript *i* is added to the right of its vertical in *bhuktā*, 1.15; the subscript form of *th* shows a notch in *-sthiti*-, 1.11; *v* is almost rectangular in *-vaiśvadēva*-, 1.10 and the subscript *m* is cursive in *nirmālya*, ll.18-19. Punctuation is marked by a short horizontal stroke in 1.20 and by double vertical strokes in ll. 15-20.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *-kīrttiṣ*, 1.4, the substitution of the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* in *-vaṅsair*-, 1.13 and *-chatvāriṅ-ōttarakē*, 1.20, and the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *krishataṣ*, 1.12.

¹ The record on the first plate ends with *pañcā-mahā-yajña-kriy-ōtsarppaṣ-āritam*, while that on the second plate begins with *ā-chandr-ārka-ārṇava-kṣiti-sthiti-samakālinam*.

The plates purport to record the grant, by Taralasvāmin of the Kapachchuri (Early Kalachuri) family, of a rice-field situated on the northern boundary of the village Mañkapikā. Taralasvāmin is described as the son of Mahārāja Nanna and Dadā and the sister's husband of the illustrious Śūrya. The grant was made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Jyēṣṭhasēna, who belonged to the Jāṭhaka-gāva¹ and the Vajasaneya Jātaka. The record was written by the *Sādhivigrahika* Ādiṭya who was a *Bhṛṅga*. It is dated in the year 346, expressed both in words and in decimal figures. This is supposed to be the earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation.²

The palaeography of the grant makes it probable that it belongs to about the seventh century A.C. Its date has been referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 594-95 A.C. if the year 346 was current, and to 595-96 A.C. if it was expired. As no further details are given, the date does not admit of calculation.

Taralasvāmin, who made the present grant, bears no royal title, though his father Nanna is called *Mahārāja*. He may have owed allegiance to the Kalachuri king Saṅkaragaṇa whose Abhōṇa plates were issued just a year after the date of the present grant.³ That Gujarat was included in the dominion of Saṅkaragaṇa is clear from the Saṅkhēḍā plate of Sāntilla, which mentions him as the reigning king.⁴ Like Sāntilla, Taralasvāmin also seems to have been holding a subordinate position; for like the former, he addresses his order to a king's officers (*rāja-pādīyas*) as well as to his own. This king may have been Saṅkaragaṇa.

There are certain indications, however, which raise suspicion about the genuineness of this grant. Neither Taralasvāmin nor his father Nanna is known from any records of the Early Kalachuris. Even supposing that they were collaterals and need not, therefore, have been mentioned in those records, it looks strange that unlike Sāntilla, Taralasvāmin does not name his suzerain who, as we have seen, was Saṅkaragaṇa. He and his father Nanna are praised in extravagant terms which would have been more appropriate in the case of an independent king like Saṅkaragaṇa. Besides, we find that in this period Sāntilla also was holding this very part of Gujarat; for the village Tanḍulapadraka granted by him is identified with Tāndaljā, about 16 miles from Saṅkhēḍā. It is, of course, possible to reconcile the two grants by supposing that Taralasvāmin either preceded or followed Sāntilla in the governorship of Gujarat, but in any case Taralasvāmin's silence about his suzerain remains inexplicable.

The decimal notation also, used in recording the date, causes suspicion about the genuineness of the grant; for not only in the period to which the record refers itself, *viz.*, the end of the sixth century A.C., but for more than 150 years afterwards the prevailing custom in Gujarat as in other parts of India was to record dates in numerical symbols. The inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris, Gurjaras, Sēndrakas and Chālukyas,⁵ who held Gujarat from the sixth to the eighth century A.C., are invariably dated in this manner. Even

¹ The mention of this *gāva* is interesting, for it shows that the name *Jāṭhaka* of the mother of the famous Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti was derived from it. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 108.

² I. P., p. 83. See also Dr. Sukthankar's article 'Palaeographic Notes' in *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 319 f.

³ They are dated in K. 347.

⁴ In his grant Sāntilla not only describes his suzerain Saṅkaragaṇa, but also the latter's father Kṛishṇarāja.

⁵ See the dates of Nos. 12-30 above.

the Hānsōṭ plates¹ of Bhartṛivādḍha which were issued as late as V. 813 (756 A. C.) have their date expressed in numerical symbols. These plates were issued from Bharukachchhā. Similarly the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates² of the Rāshtrakūṭa Karka, who succeeded the Chālukyas in Southern Gujarat, use similar symbols to express their date S. 679 (757 A.C.). Except for the doubtful case of the present grant, the earliest record from North India which contains a date in decimal figures is the Shērgaḍh Buddhist inscription³ of the Sāmānta Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 or 791-92 A.C. It would seem, therefore, that the decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols in North India about the last quarter of the eighth century A. C.⁴ The present grant which purports to have been made as early as 595 A.C. and still has its date expressed in decimal figures, appears to be suspicious⁵.

There is another circumstance which strengthens the suspicion. The drafter of the present grant seems to have borrowed certain expressions from earlier Sēndraka grants. Compare, for instance, the expression *avanata-sāmānt-āmala-mukuta-maṇi-nighriṣṭa-charapa-yugal-āravindab* in l. 1 of the present grant with *pranat-āśeṣa-sāmānta-sirō-mukuta[ni*]-nighriṣṭa-pada-paṇkajab* in ll. 43 of the Bagumrā plates of Allasakti. Similarly, *Kalpataru-iv-ōpabhujja(jya)mān-ākshīṇa-vibhavaḥ* in ll. 5-6 of this grant bears unmistakable resemblance to *Kalpaumam-(druma)-iv-ābhivānichhit-āśeṣa-jan-ōpabhujyama(mā)na-vibhavaḥ* in lines 7-8 of the Sēndraka grant.⁶ As these expressions occur in more than one genuine Sēndraka record, we cannot doubt that they originally belonged to them. The Sēndrakas were ruling in Gujarat in the second quarter of the seventh century. The present grant, which seems to have borrowed these expressions from Sēndraka records, could not therefore have been made in 595 A.C.

The evidence detailed above seems to point to the conclusion that the present plates were forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A.C. when the decimal notation came into vogue. The palaeography of the grant as well as the shape of the numerical figures do not militate against this conclusion. These characters were probably current in Gujarat till the close of the eighth century A.C. The aforementioned Hānsōṭ plates of Bhartṛivādḍha dated V. 813 (756 A.C.) and the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates of Karka, dated S. 679 (757-58 A.C.) are incised in similar characters. As for numerical figures, there are only three used in the present grant, viz., 3, 4 and 6. Of these, the symbol for 3 occurs in this very form in the Gōṇḍal plates (Set A),

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pl. facing p. 203.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pl. facing p. 108.

³ See the plate of the date in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 351. The dates of some earlier inscriptions recorded in the Gupta era are supposed to be in decimal figures. (See, e.g., G. 347 of Bhandarkar's *I. N. I.* No. 1357, G. 365 of No. 1361 and G. 387 of 1368). But they cannot be verified for want of facsimiles. Besides, later dates from the same locality such as G. 386 of No. 1367, G. 403 of No. 1370, etc., are known to be in numerical symbols, which raises a strong presumption that the earlier dates also were in similar letter-numerals.

⁴ Dr. G. S. Gai has recently drawn attention to two earlier northern records, the dates of which are given in decimal figures, viz., the Sakrai stone inscription (V. 699) and the Dhiniki grant of Jāikadēva (V. 794), *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 306 f. The evidence of both these records is, however, doubtful. The date of the former has also been read as V. 879 and V. 749 (*I. N. I.*, No. 23 and *As. Rep. Rajputana Museum* for 1933-34, p. 2), while the latter is regarded as a forged document, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 198 and Vol. XIX, pp. 370-71.

⁵ Kaye also says that 'the ninth century A. C. is about the time when these symbols ceased to be fashionable for Indian inscriptions', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 44-45.

⁶ Some other ideas such as fame being white like the moon and crossing the ocean are also common, but they are quite conventional and therefore afford no conclusive evidence of borrowing.

dated G. 405 (724-25 A.C.), while that for 4 occurs in a similar shape in the Kāsārē plates of Allasakti (653 A.C.) and in a somewhat modified form in still later records such as the aforementioned Gōṇḍal plates. The symbol for 6 has a peculiar form rarely noticed elsewhere in early records as remarked by Mr. Kaye,¹ but a somewhat similar form of the numeral is seen in the Shēṛgadh inscription of Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 (790-91 A.C.) and the Ghumli plates of Jātka II, dated G. 396 (913 A.C.).² It seems therefore, that the Māṅkaṇi plates of Taralasvamin was forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A.C.³ It affords no sure proof that the decimal notation was in vogue for Indian inscriptions as early as the sixth century A.C.

There is only one place-name mentioned in the present plates, मङ्क., Māṅkaṇikā⁴ which Mr. Gadre has already shown to be identical with Māṅkaṇi, where one of the plates was found.

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [1*] स्वस्त्यवनतसामन्तामलमुकुटमणिनिष्पृष्टचरणयुगलारजोहः (विन्दः) वन-
तुहिनरवतक-
- 2 ह्यकुम्भकुमुवेन्दुकरनिकरप्रताना⁷ वदातवशोववलितदिगन्तरालः कटञ्चुरि[कुल]वेदमप्रदीपः
- 3 श्रीमहाराजण्ण⁸स्तस्य सुमुः प्रमञ्जन⁹ इवोद्भूतकीची[च]लित¹⁰ शब्दवस्तमीनकुलाकुल-
आस्ति-
- 4 प्रशोभित¹¹ सलिलविलम्बितोदधिकीर्तिः शिवचरणकमलारावनपरः श्रीसूर्य्यमायुकः
- 5 वदात्मजः शत्रुवनितावदनकमलसोभाम्भानिकरः कल्पतरुविबोपमुञ्ज (ज्य) मानाक्षीण[वि]म-
- 6 वः स्वच्छो गामीर्य्यवा¹² नकलितसारः स्वित्यतिक्रमभीरुवधिरिव विजितारातितमोजाल-
- 7 चन्द्रमा¹³ इव श्रीतरलस्वामी सञ्जनिव स्वा¹⁴ राजपादीयाश्च बोधयत्यस्तु¹⁵ वः संवि[दित] यथा
- 8 मया मङ्कणिकाग्रामे उत्तरकीर्म्णि चतुर्दिशाषाढं वृ[ह*]न्मानेन ब्रीहिपिडक[वा]पं क्षेत्रं ससि-
- 9 वरं सोप्रा(इ)ङ्गं नृत्वातप्रत्यापारहित¹⁶ जेष्ठसेन¹⁷ ब्राह्मणजातुकर्णसमोपवाजि (व) मने-

¹ See Table, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 52.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pl. facing p. 224. This date is expressed in decimal figures and not in numerical symbols.

³ Kaye also regards this inscription as doubtful, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 53-54, n. 2.

⁴ The *Mahābhārata*, (Śalyaparvan, *Adhyāya* 38, vv. 38 f.) gives the story of the sage Māṅkaṇaka. The Navsāri plates of Karka II also mention the Māṅkaṇikābhukti, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 f.

⁵ From an ink impression supplied by Mr. A. S. Gadre.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ प्रतान is out of place here. It should rather be connected with वदः. Cf. वदःप्रतान- in the Kaira plates of Dadda, No. 26, l. 26.

⁸ Read ण्णः । तस्य.

⁹ It would be better to read विजयितवन्मन्तोद्भूतकीचीवलितावदवस्तमीनकुलाकुलआस्तिप्रशोभितसलिलोदधि-कीर्तिः.

¹⁰ The first *akshara* of this word is indistinct. Mr. Gadre reads वसिष्ठ which does not suit the context.

¹¹ Read प्रशोभित. Compare वसोवीनो. . . . चतुर्दिशि कुलजेनितानावसानां in the *Madrāśākhya*, III, 24. The two dots which follow वसित are superfluous.

¹² Mr. Gadre reads गामीर्य्ये, but I do not see any clear trace of the subscript *r* in the second *akshara* of this word. Read गामीर्य्ये-

¹³ Read -चन्द्रमा इव.

¹⁴ Read स्वाम्.

¹⁵ Read बोधयति । तस्य.

¹⁶ Mr. Gadre reads नृत्वातप्रत्यापारहित, but the *r* stroke of *ya* in *pratyah* is quite clear. Besides, the expression, as read here, corresponds to नृत्वातप्रत्यापारहित which often occurs in land-grants, see l. 23 of No. 26, above.

¹⁷ Read जेष्ठसेन. In the records of this period the word ब्राह्मण generally precedes the personal name. Besides, ब्राह्मणजेष्ठसेन should follow, not precede जातुकर्णसमोपवाजिनेयसब्राह्मणारिणे.

- 10 यसन्नहचारिणे बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवनपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्वमात्स्वम्¹

Second Plate

- 11 आचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौमान्वयभोज्य²पुवकातिसर्गेष
12 प्रतिपादि[तं] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुष्पमण्डोभिषुद्धये [1*] अतोस्व ब्रह्मदेयस्मिन्मा क्वितः करि-
13 पापयतो³ वा न की(कै)श्चिद्वशावे(से)वे कर्तितव्यमाणाभिराजभिरस्मद्वक्षीर्षी⁴ सायाम्यं भूमि-
14 दानफलमवेत्तायमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं⁵ च भगवता व्या-
15 सेन ॥ बहुभिर्बसु[धा] मुक्ता राजभिः सा(स)गरादिभिः⁶ [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
16 तदा फलं(लम्)⁷ ॥ [१॥*] प्रष्टि⁸वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे भोदती⁹ भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेता
चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
17 व नरके वसे[त्*] ॥ [२॥*] विध्या(न्या)टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कुण्डसर्पा-
भिजायन्ते¹⁰
18 ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[ः] ॥ [३॥*] यानीह दत्ता[नि] पु[रा] नरेन्द्रैर्हानानि धर्म्मार्थ्ययज्ञस्कराणि [1*]
निर्म्मा-
19 त्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[ः] पुनराददीत¹¹ ॥ [४॥*] लिखितं चात्र सान्धिवि-
ग्रहिकेना-¹²
20 दित्यभोगिकेन । संवत्सरशतत्रयं¹³ षट्षत्वारिंशशो[र]के¹⁴ ॥ ३४६¹⁵

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! (*There was*) the *Mahārāja Nappa*, a light in the house of the *Kapach-churi* family, the lotus-like pair of whose feet was scratched by the jewels on the bright-diadems of feudatories who bowed (*before him*), (*and*) whose fame, white like thick snow, silver, a conch, a *kunda* flower, a *kumuda*¹⁶ (lotus) and a mass of the moon's rays, brightened the space between the quarters.

(Line 3) His son, the illustrious *Taralasvāmin*,—whose fame has crossed the ocean, the water of which is agitated by the confused darting of fishes terrified by the roar of surging waves produced by wind ; who is intent on adoring the lotus-like feet of Siva ; who is the sister's husband of the illustrious *Sūrya* and the son of *Dadā* ; who has caused the beauty of the lotus-like faces of (*his*) enemies' wives to fade ; who resembles the wish-

¹ Mr. Gadre reads *mā*, but the *ā* stroke is not distinct. Besides, the smaller form of the letter shows that it is a final consonant.

² Read भोज्य-.

³ Read कुषतः कर्षयतो.

⁴ Read -स्मद्वक्षीर्षी.

⁵ Read पालयितव्यश्चेति । उक्तं.

⁶ The dot in the circle denoting the medial *i* of *di* and *hi* seems to be due to a fault in the copper.

⁷ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushpubb*.

⁸ Read वष्टि.

⁹ Read भोदति.

¹⁰ Read कुण्डसर्पा हि जायन्ते.

¹¹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹² Read -विग्रहिकेनावित्य-.

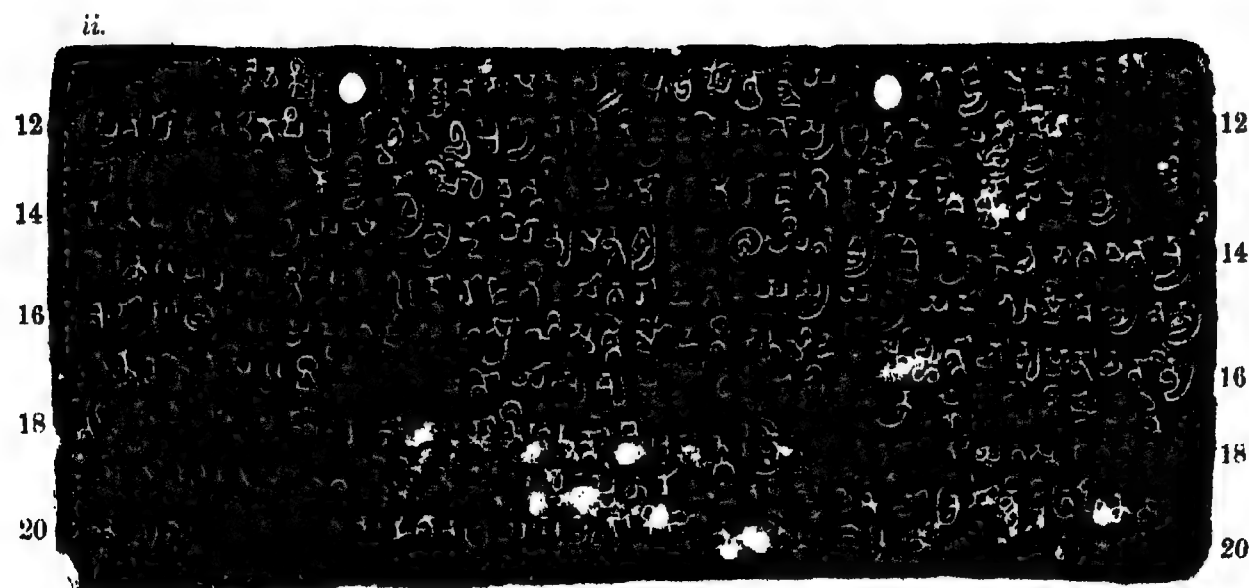
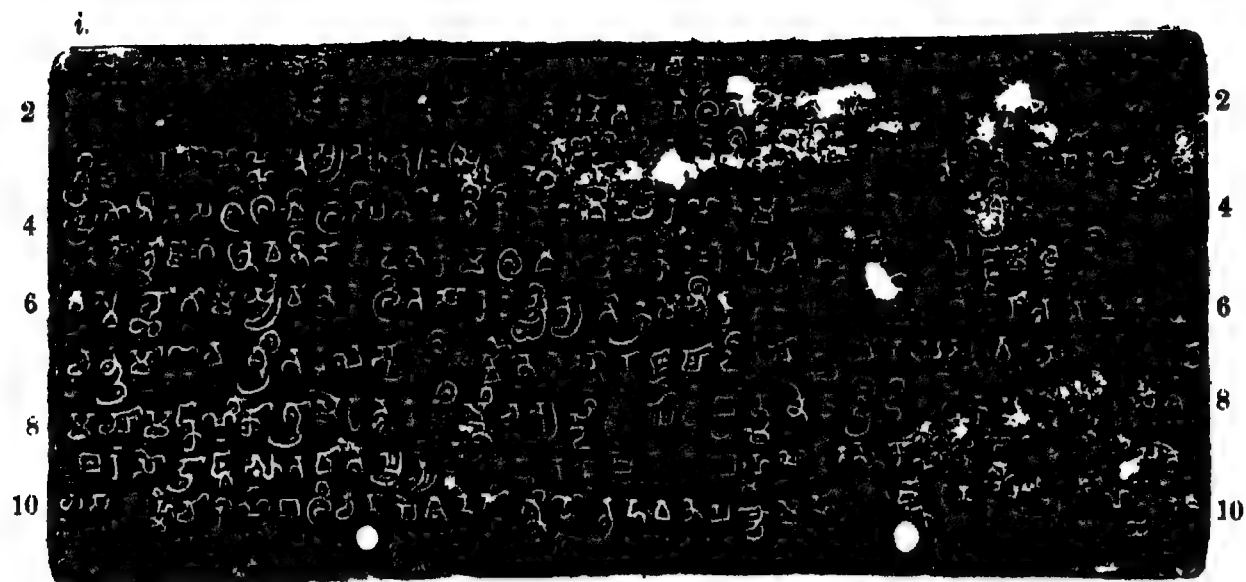
¹³ Read संवत्सरशतत्रये.

¹⁴ Read षट्षत्वारिंशद्वत्तरे.

¹⁵ For this date which is written in decimal figures, see above, p. 161.

¹⁶ *Kumuda* is a white lotus.

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 346



fulfilling tree as his undiminishing wealth is enjoyed (*by supplicants*); who resembles the ocean, being pure (*as the ocean is clear*), serene (*as the ocean is deep*), of ungauged strength (*as the ocean's wealth is unmeasured*), and afraid of transgressing the laws of moral conduct (*even as the ocean is afraid of overflowing the shore*); and who overcomes his foes even as the moon dispels a mass of darkness,—informs all his officers as well as those of the venerable King as follows:—

(L. 7) "Be it known to you that for the increase of religious merit and fame of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, a field requiring for its seed-grains a *piṣaka* of paddy by the large measure,—which is marked by boundaries in the four directions, (*and is situated*) on the northern boundary of the village Maṅkapikā, together with *śibara* (*farm-house*) (*and*) *śrāṅga*, octroi and excise duties, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa Jyēshthasēna of the Jātūkama *gāṇa*, (*who is*) a student of the Vājasanīya *śūkhā*, for the performance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* and *agnihōtra* offerings.

(L. 12) Wherefore, none should act in such a way as to obstruct him while he is cultivating it or causing it to be cultivated according to the manner of a gift made to a Brāhmaṇa. And future kings, whether born in Our family or others, considering that the reward of a gift of land is shared in (*by him who for the time being is the ruler of the land*), should consent and preserve this Our gift."

(L. 14) And the holy Vyāsa has said:—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(Line 19) This charter has been written by the *Sādhivigrahika*, the *Bhōgika* Āditya. In the year three hundred increased by forty-six, (*in figures*), 346.

No. 34; Plate XXVIII

SPURIOUS KAIRA PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA : (KALACHURI?) YEAR 394

THESE copper-plates were found together with three other sets¹ of plates about 1827 in the town Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Northern Gujarat, Bombay State. They were published, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof. J. Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series), Vol. I (1865), pp. 247 ff. They were subsequently edited with fresh lithographs and a translation by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 241 ff. The plates are now deposited in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. They are edited here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Society.

Dr. Fleet has thus described the copper-plates:—"The plates are two in number, about 13½" long by 8½" broad. Their edges are slightly raised, so as to form a rim to protect the writing. They are pierced with holes for two rings; but the rings are not now forthcoming, and I cannot trace any mention of them, or of the seal that must have been on one of them." The plates are in a state of good preservation. The record consists of thirty-four lines, of which twenty-one are inscribed on the first plate and the remaining thirteen on the second. The average size of the letters is .15".

The characters belong to what Dr. Bühler has called the archaic variety of the southern alphabet², which is found used in the charters of the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

¹ Two of these were Nos. 26 and 27 above. The third has not been traced.

² J. P., p. 65.

As regards individual letters, we may notice that the initial *n* which occurs in *uktam*, l. 28, is closely similar to *ṭ* as in *Vindhyāṭavi*, l. 29; the loop of the initial *ṭ* is closed on the left, see *ēsha*, l. 10; the length of medial *ṭ* is denoted either by a curve curling to the left as in *-pīḍitu*, l. 7, or by a double circle as in *Hārīti*, ll. 2-3; the curve of the medial *ṭi* is turned in some cases to the left, see, e.g., *-pitri*, l. 8, *-vridhaye*, l. 11, *-sadriś*, ll. 26-27, and in others to the right, see *-kripaṇa*, l. 8, *-paṭal-āṇṛita*, l. 27; the stroke for the medial *ṭ* encircles the letter on the left, see *-amvayō*, l. 3; similarly the left-hand *mātrā* for the medial *ō* and the lower of the two *mātrās* representing medial *ai* also encircle their respective letters, see *-dāyō*, l. 27 and *Vaiśākha*, l. 11; in *narāndraś*, l. 32, on the other hand, the two left-hand strokes of the medial *ai* are placed one beyond the other; the medial *ō* is, in some places, shown with a loop, see *sva-bāhu-balō*, l. 6, and consequently medial *au* is bipartite; *kh* appears without a loop except in the last two lines of the record; *ṭ* has a flat horizontal stroke at the top; neither *ṭ* nor *n* is looped, except in their subscript forms, see, e.g., *-prasanna*, l. 1, *-āgni*, l. 24, *-samīyukta*, l. 28 and *haranti*, l. 30; the subscript *th* is roundish in *sthity*, l. 2 and curled in *-udayasthō*, l. 4; the subscript *v* is distinguished from *y* only by its right arm not being raised to the top-line. In some cases *m* appears similar to *sh*, which has misled the engraver into incising *-nimāvi* for *-nishāvi* in l. 7. The final form of *n* occurs in l. 26, and that of *ṭ* in ll. 28 and 29. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* is seen in l. 32 and the numerical symbols for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 4 in l. 34.

The language is Sanskrit. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out,¹ the description of the donor's family in the first two lines of the present inscription is identical with that occurring in the beginning of the grants of the Early Kaṭachchuris.² Again, the description of Vijayarāja in ll. 5-8 almost literally agrees with that of Śaṅkaragaṇa in the Kaṭachchuri grants.³ In copying the latter, the draftsman of the present inscription seems to have inadvertently omitted the expression *bhāri-draviṇa-viśrāṇan-āvāpta-dharma-kriyāḥ* after *samyak-prajā-pālan-ādhiḡata* in l. 7. In its absence the latter expression cannot be satisfactorily interpreted. In the next two expressions *dīn-āndha-kripaṇa-bhē(śa)raṇ-āgata-vatsalaḥ* and *yath-ābhiḡashita-phala-pradō* he has, to some extent, altered the original adjectives. Besides, in the formal part of the grant he has drawn upon some inscription, like the Bagumrā plates, of the Sēndrakas, for the expressions in ll. 25-27 of the present record agree almost literally with those in ll. 27-29 of the Bagumrā plates.⁴ That the writer had a very imperfect knowledge of the Sanskrit language is shown by the expression *-kṣwalya-tara-yaśasaḥ*, in which, while comparing Jayasimha's fame with a blue lotus (!), he adds the comparative affix *tara* to a noun and uses the wrong grammatical form *-yaśasaḥ* for *-yaśāḥ*. As regards orthography, we find the consonant following *r* doubled in some cases, and *ṛi* used for the vowel *ṛi* in *prithivyām*, l. 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Vijayarāja, the son of Buddhavarman, who was himself the son of Jayasimha of the Chalukya dynasty. The plates purport to have been issued from the king's victorious camp at Vijayapura and to register the grant of the village Pariyaya which was situated to the east of Sandhiyara in the *vishaya* of Kāśākula. The land, or rather the revenue of the village, was divided into 55½ *pattikās*⁵ (shares) which were distributed among 63 Brāhmaṇas, each getting from one-half

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 296.

² Compare ll. 1-2 of the present inscription with ll. 1-3 of the Ābhōṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, above, No. 12.

³ Compare ll. 5-7 of the present record with ll. 10-13 of the Ābhōṇa plates, above, No. 12.

⁴ The draftsman has, to some extent, altered the original expressions and changed their order.

⁵ *Pati*, *pāti*, and *patti* occur in the Hirahadagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Bühler derived them from Sanskrit *prāpti* 'produce' or 'income', see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 8, n. 17.

to three *patihās*. The donors were all residents of Jambhāsara and students of the Kārva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā or White Yajurveda. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of *śālī*, *chara*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra* and other rites. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the year 394 of an unspecified era. Both the *tithi* and the year are expressed in words as well as numerical symbols. The *Dātaka* was the Vāsāpaka Nanna. The charter was written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādhiprīta* Khuddarvāmin and incised by the Kshatriya Māṇḍisaka.

Most of the places mentioned in the present grant were identified by Dr. Bühler.¹ Pariyaya, the granted village, is the modern Pariyā, seven miles east of Olpād, the headquarters of the Olpād *talukā* of the Surat District. Sandhiyasa, which lay to its west, is identical with Sandhiyar, two miles to the west of Pariyā. The *visaya* of Kāsākula, in which these places were situated, must have comprised the country on the northern bank of the Tāpti. The same *visaya* is mentioned in the Antrōli-Chhārōli plates, dated Saka 679, of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta prince Karkarāja.² I identify Kāsākula with the modern Kashchōl, 4 miles to the south-west of Olpād. All these places are situated to the south of the Kīm which formed the northern boundary of the Chālukyan dominion in South Gujarat. Jambhāsara still retains its ancient name unchanged, and lies about 30 m. to the north of Broach. Vijayapura, from which the plates purport to have been issued cannot be definitely identified. It may be either Vijāpur of the Panch Mahals, or the headquarters of the Vijāpur sub-division in the Baroda District.³ In either case it lies to the north of the Kīm and, therefore, outside the Chālukyan territory. We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Vijayarāja made the present grant in the course of a military campaign in the Gurjara kingdom.

The date of the present inscription does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details. The era to which it appertains has long been a matter of controversy. Fleet at first referred the date to the Saka era and took it as equivalent to 472-3 A. C.⁴ He was inclined to identify Jayasimha who heads the genealogical list in the present grant with Jayasimha I of the Early Chālukya Dynasty, and as the Chālukyas in some of their later records represent themselves as having originally come from the north, he came to the conclusion that Vijayarāja and his ancestors were ruling in Gujarat until their power was subverted and their family expelled by the Gurjara kings or by the kings of Valabhi. Later on, Fleet abandoned this theory and proposed to identify⁵ the grandfather of Vijayarāja with Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, who is represented in the Nirpan plates⁶ as a younger brother of Pulakeśin II, or with Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman who appears in the Navsāti⁷ and Balsār⁸ plates as a younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Consequently, he referred the date of the present grant to the Chēdi era and took it to correspond to 643 A. C. These identifications also are not free from difficulties. For, as regards the first, Fleet himself has doubted the genuineness of the Nirpan plates,⁹ from which alone we know of a brother of Pulakeśin II, named Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. As regards the second, Pandit Bhagvanlal

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 197.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 579, n. 3.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 242.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 292.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 125.

⁷ No. 27, above.

⁸ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 578.

pointed out¹ that if the date is taken to correspond to 642-3 A. C., Vijayarāja would be ruling about twenty-five years before his grand-uncle, Vikramāditya I, who flourished between 670 and 680 A. C.² The Pandit, therefore, proposed to refer the date to the Gupta era and take it as equivalent to 713 A. C. This presents no chronological difficulties. For, Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha, a younger brother of Vikramāditya I, was ruling at Navsāri in Southern Gujarat from 671 A. C. to 693 A. C.³ If Vijayarāja was his grand-son, it is not improbable that he should be ruling twenty-one years after Jayasinhha's latest known date.

But the grant is probably spurious. As pointed out by Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar,⁴ it is not in the regular Chālukyan style. There is no invocation of the boar-incarnation in the beginning, and none of the princes mentioned in it receive any titles and *birudas* as in other genuine Chālukyan grants. In no other record of the Early Chālukyas, again, do we find such a wholesale borrowing from Kaṭachchuri grants. This cannot be attributed to the Gujarat draftsman's ignorance of the forms of Chālukyan records; for the earlier grants of Sryāśraya-Silāditya, which were drafted in Gujarat, are in the approved Chālukyan style. Pandit Bhagvanlal supposed⁵ that Jayasinhha might have conquered part of North Gujarat and sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it; but, as shown above, the donated village was situated in the Surat District in South Gujarat. We have, therefore, to suppose that Vijayarāja was ruling over South Gujarat for some time between 693 A. C., the last known date of Sryāśraya-Silāditya, and 731 A. C., the date of his brother Maṅgalarasarāja. In that case this would be the only instance of the use of the Gupta era in South Gujarat; for, so far as our knowledge goes, the Kalachuri era was exclusively used in Gujarat down to the middle of the eight century A. C. It is again noteworthy that the present grant was found with two others of Dadda II at Kairā and that many of the donees mentioned in it figure also in the latter grants.⁶ It is therefore, not unlikely that it was forged in favour of the descendants of those Brāhmaṇas by someone who was ignorant of the form of Chālukyan records.⁷ Its date 394 was intended to refer to the same era as the genuine Gurjara grants of K. 380 and K. 385, and thus to correspond to 693 or 694 A. C., when the

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 110.

² Since then the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign has been fixed in 654-55 A. C., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102.

³ Above, Nos. 27 and 30.

⁴ *E. H. D.*, pp. 77 f.

⁵ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 110.

⁶ As many as twelve names are common to the three grants, viz., Ādityaravi, Indrāsūra and Śvara of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Āvuka of the Dhūmrīyaṇa *gōtra*, Bhaṭṭi and Drōṇa of the Daṇḍakiya *gōtra*, Viśākha, Dhara and Nandin of the Māthara *gōtra*, Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra* and Gōpāditya and Viśākha of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Again, the following persons mentioned in the Chālukya and Gurjara grants respectively are probably identical: Tāpīśūra and Tāviśūra of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Dāma and Dāmadhara of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Tāviśarman and Tāpīśarman of the Daṇḍakiya *gōtra*, Śāla and Śāila of the Kaṇḍīnya *gōtra*, Vatraśarman and Vāṭaśarman of the Kaṇḍīnya *gōtra*, Rāma and Rāmīla of the Māthara *gōtra*.

⁷ On the back of the plates there is a cancelled inscription, for which, see Dr. Fleet's account in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 251 ff. It contains the names of many donees figuring in the present record and has the same date as the latter, but its opening words indicate that it purported to be granted like the spurious plates of Dadda II from the Vijaya-vikshēpa (victorious capital?) Nāndīpuri. It may have been realized after it was incised that the Chālukyas could not have ruled from Nāndīpuri in K. 394 as the Gurjaras were in continuous occupation of the surrounding territory from at least K. 380 to K. 486. So the inscription was cancelled and another written on the back of the plates. The writers of the two inscriptions were different persons, for the characters in which they are incised differ in certain respects as shown by Dr. Fleet (*ibid.*, p. 251). For another reason conjectured by Dr. Fleet, see *loc. cit.*, p. 253.

Bellisima does not common to the three grants may have been living. That this date is impossible has been shown above. The borrowing of some expressions from the formal part of Sēndraka grants indicates that the present record must have been forged some time after the middle of the seventh century A. C.¹

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्¹ [1*] स्वस्ति[1*] विजयस्कन्धावा[रात्]² [वि]जयपु[र]वासकात्³ करदुषगम-
प्रसन्नयनतलविमलविपु[ले] विविचपु[र]पर[ल]गुण-
- 2 निकरावसासिते महत्सत्त्वा(त्वा)पात्रयदु[र्]म्मे शमीर्येवति स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदवाविब
[मान]म्यसयोवा[ना] हा-
- 3 रीतिपुत्राणां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां चक्रुःकामात्म[म्]ये व्यपगतसज्जलजलधरपटलगवण-
तलगतशिशिरकर-
- 4 किरणकुवलयतरयशसः⁴ श्रीजयसिंहराजः[1*] तस्य सुतः प्रबलरिपुतिमिरपटलवि[दु]रः सततमुद-
यस्थो नक्तन्दिब-
- 5 मय्यसङ्घितप्रतापो दी(दि)वाकर इव बल्लभरणविक्रान्तश्रीबुद्धवर्म्मराजः [1*] तस्य सूनुः
प्रियिष्मा⁵मप्रतिरमः चतुर्दशिस[लि]ला-
- 6 स्वादितययो⁶ वनदवर्णेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपासोजित[त]राजश्रीः⁷ प्रतापातिशयोपन-
तसमप्रसामन्तम-
- 7 षडलः परस्परपीडितवर्म्मा(र्म्मा)र्षकामनिमेवी⁸ व्रणतिमात्रकुपरितोषर्षमीरोन्नतहृदयः सम्यक्प्रजा-
पालनाविगतः⁹ दीना-
- 8 न्बहुपणमे(श)रणागतबल्लः यथाविलक्षितफलप्रदो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीविजयराजस्सधर्मा-
नेव विषयपतिराष्ट्र-
- 9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु¹⁰ बल्लसंविदितमस्मान्निर्गन्धा काशाकुलविषयान्तर्गत स-
न्विभरपूम्भिण¹¹ परिय-

¹ For another similar spurious grant purporting to have been made by the Chalukya prince Buddhavarase, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff. Like the present grant, it has borrowed some expressions from the earlier Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allafakti, in ll. 10-11, and seems to have been forged in the second half of the seventh century A. C., as shown by Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 146.

* From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.

⁴ The draftsman evidently had before him the expression व्यपगतसज्जलजलधरपटलगवणमयतरविन्दु-किरणवलयतरयशोविज्ञानसंवितामोहिः in some Sēndraka record like Bagumrā plates of Allafakti. He has blundered in substituting कुवलयतर for वलयतर. Read वलयतरयशा.

⁵ Read प्रियिष्मा-

⁶ Read -वशा.

⁷ Fleet's proposal to read राजश्रीः is unnecessary.

⁸ Read निमेवी. Fleet read निमो(र्षी)वी, but the correct reading was pointed out by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 196, n. 4.

⁹ The writer had before him the expression सज्जलजलधरपटलगवणमयतरविन्दु-किरणवलयतरयशोविज्ञानसंवितामोहिः in the Kapachchum grants, but he inadvertently omitted the latter part of it. As it stands, it would be better to read it as सज्जलजलधरपटलगवणमयतरविन्दु-किरणवलयतरयशोविज्ञानसंवितामोहिः.

¹⁰ Read सज्जलजलधरपटलगवणमयतरविन्दु-किरणवलयतरयशोविज्ञानसंवितामोहिः.

¹¹ Read -पूम्भिण.

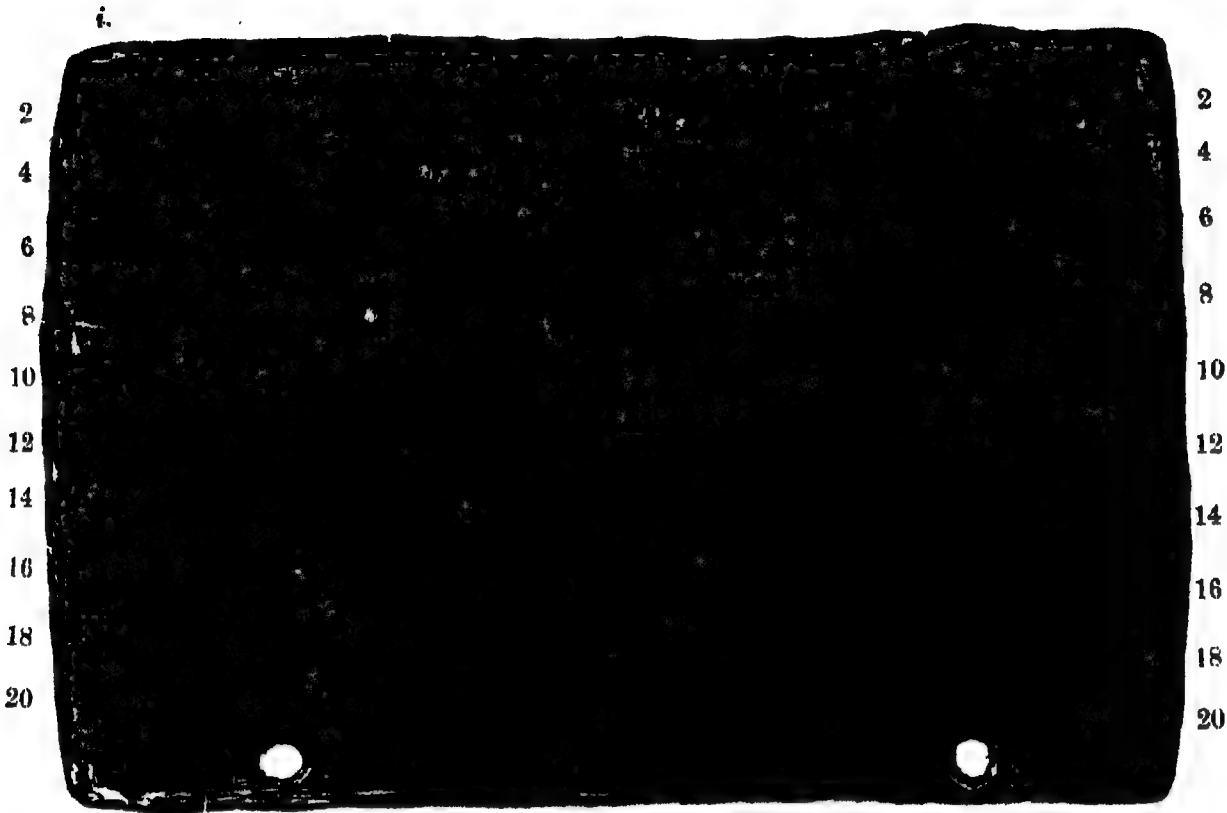
- 10 य एष ग्रामः सोद्वगः सोपरिकरः सर्व्व (र्व्व) दिव्यविष्टिप्रतिभेदिकापरिहीणः भूमिच्छिद्र¹ न्यायेन—
चाटभटप्रावेश्यः जंबूत—
- 11 रसामान्यमा (वा) जसनेयकाण्वाध्वर्य्य (र्व्व) सन्नद्धाचारीणा² मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि—
वृद्धये वैशाखपूर्णमास्यामुदकाति—
- 12 सर्गण प्रतिपादितः [1*] भरद्वाजसगोत्रादित्स्वरवेः³ पत्तिके द्वे इन्द्रशूराय पत्तिका ताविशूराय
द्वय[र्व]पत्तिका [ई]श्वरस्यार्द्धपत्तिका
- 13 दामाय पत्तिका द्रोणायार्धपत्तिका अत्तस्वामिने अर्धपत्तिका माइलायार्धपत्तिका षष्ठिदेवायार्ध—
पत्तिका सोमायार्धपत्तिका रामश—
- 14 र्म्मणेर्द्धपत्तिका भाम्यायार्धपत्तिका द्रोणधरायार्धपत्तिका [1*] धूम्रायणसगोत्रावुकाय दिवर्भ⁴—
पत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका ॥ दौण्डकीय—
- 15 सगोत्रभट्टेः पत्तिका समुद्राय दिवर्भ⁴पत्तिका द्रोणाय पट्टिका⁵त्रयं ताविश[र्म्म]णे पत्तिके द्वे
भट्टि[ने]र्द्धपत्तिका । वज्राय पत्तिका
- 16 द्रोणशर्म्मणेर्द्धपत्तिका द्वितीयद्रोणशर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका ॥ काश्यपसगोत्रवप्स्वामिने तिस्रः पट्टिका
दुर्गेशर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका दत्ताया—
- 17 यार्धपत्तिका ॥ कौण्डिन (न्य)सगोत्रवादाया⁶ दिवर्भ⁴पत्तिका सेलाय पत्तिका द्रोणाय पत्तिका
सोमायार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका
- 18 वज्रशर्म्म (र्म्म)णेर्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेर्धपत्तिका ॥ माठरसगो[त्र]विशाखाय पत्तिका धराय पत्ति—
का नन्दिने पत्तिका कुमाराय पत्तिका
- 19 रामाय पत्तिका बाश्रस्या (श्राया)र्धपत्तिका गणायार्धपत्तिका कोर्दुवायार्धपत्तिका भायि[भ]ट्टायार्ध—
पत्तिका नर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका रामशर्म्मणेर्ध—
- 20 पत्तिका ॥ हारितसगोत्रधर्म्मधराय दिवर्भ⁴पत्तिका ॥ वैष्णवसगोत्रभट्टिने पत्तिका ॥ गौतम—
सगोत्रधरायार्धपत्तिका अम्मधरा—
- 21 यार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका ॥ शाण्डिलसगोत्रदामायार्धपत्तिका लक्ष्मणसगोत्रकार्कस्य पत्तिका [1*]

Second Plate

- 22 वत्ससगोत्रगोपादित्याय पत्तिका विशाखायार्द्धपत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेर्धपत्तिका
यक्षशर्मा—⁸
- 23 र्धपत्तिका ताविशूराय पत्तिका ककु(कं)स्यार्धपत्तिका ताविशर्म्म (र्म्म)णेर्धपत्तिका शर्म्मणे⁹र्धपत्तिका
कुमारायार्धपत्तिका
- 24 मात्रीश्वरायार्धपत्तिका बाटलायार्धपत्तिका [11*] एतेभ्यः सर्व्वेभ्यः बलिचक्रवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादि—
क्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं आचन्द्रार्कणवक्षि—
- 25 तिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः [1*] यत¹⁰स्मद्वंश्यैर[न्यै]र्वर्गामिभोगपतिभि—
त्सामान्यं¹¹ भूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः नलवेणुकदलि—

¹ Read भूमिच्छिद्र—.² Read सन्नद्धाचारिभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो.³ The engraver first incised रविः and then thought of altering it to रवेः .⁴ Read द्वयर्भ—.⁵ Fleet read पत्तिका, but the second *akshara* is clearly *ff*.⁶ Read वादाय. The following *akshara* which Fleet thought quite unintelligible is clearly *di*. The mark above it is of the subscript *m* in *Drāpaśarmamāṣ* of the line above.⁷ Read द्वयर्भ—.⁸ Read यक्षशर्मेणे.⁹ The name of the Brāhmaṇa is inadvertently omitted here.¹⁰ Read यतोस्मद्वंश्यै—.¹¹ The *anuvāda* on न्य is clear. Read सामान्यभूप्रदान—.

SPURIOUS PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 394



- 26 स्तारं संसारमुदयिजलसीदीपकानाम् नोयाम् प्रसन्नपद्महृत्प्रसन्नपद्मचंचला च मियं कुसुमित-
शिरीषकुसुमितम्—
- 27 सापाय च दीपकमाकलय्य अममस्महायोनिसुमन्तः पारुषितव्यम् [1*] यो बाम्नातिमिरपटला-
वृत्तमतिरामिकं चादायि—
- 28 समानं वाकुलोदेत स पञ्चमिर्महापरात्तस्तंभुताः [1*] स्वात् [1*] जपतं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन । वष्टि कर्षसहस्राणि स्व—
- 29 [मै] वसति भूमिः [1*] वाञ्छेता व्या(वा)भुजस्ता च ताम्येव नरके वसेत् [11१॥*] विन्ध्या-
दवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1] कुम्भाह—
- 30 नो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये [12॥*] बहुमिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजमिस्वररादिभिः [1*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य
- 31 तस्य तदा फलं (फलम्) [13॥*] पूर्ववत्तां विजातिभ्यो वत्साराज युधिष्ठिर [1*] नही महिमतां
वेष्ट वामाञ्छेयोमुपालनं (यम्) [14॥*] बाजीह
- 32 वत्सानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः वामानि बम्भर्षियशस्कराणि [1*] निव्यन्तिमात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
साधुः पुनरावधीतः [15॥*] संवत्सर—
- 33 तत्रये चतुर्नवत्यधिके वैशाखवीर्जमास्यां नवमासापकभूतकं लिखितं महामन्त्रिकविग्रहाधिकृतेन सुह-
(हु?) स्वा—
- 34 मिता ॥ संवत्सर ॥ ३०० ९० ४ वैशाख शु १० ५॥ जनिममात्सिहेनोत्कीर्जनि [11*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Vijayapura—

In the family of the Chalukyas, the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hāriti, who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* and meditate on the feet of Svāmī Mahāsēna,—which (family),¹ like the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn; which is made resplendent by the multitude of manifold excellences of the men (*born in it*), as the ocean is by the multitude of the rays of its gems; which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals; which is endowed with serenity and is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct, as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds,—(*there was*) the illustrious Jayasīmaharāja whose fame was more (*splendid*) than a blue lotus² under the rays of the moon in the expanse of the sky from which multitudes of water-laden clouds have disappeared.

(Line 4) His son (*was*) the Vallabha, Kapavikrānta, the illustrious Buddhavar-marāja, who, like the sun, was ever-rising, had his brilliance undiminished both by night and by day, and destroyed his powerful foes, even as the sun dispels a mass of darkness.

(L. 5) His son, the illustrious Vijayarāja,—who has on the earth no adversary (*worthy of him*);³ whose fame has tasted the water of the four oceans; whose prowess equals

¹ Read —राक्षसा—.

² Metre of this and the following two verses: *Maandhrā*.

³ Metre: *Indrajāl*.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read —नोत्कीर्जम्.

⁶ The description of the royal family which follows is taken from the records of the Kāṣāchchuris, see above, p. 41.

⁷ The writer should have said 'whiter than the rays of the moon etc.'. Compare above, p. 119, ll. 10-11.

⁸ The description is copied from Kāṣāchchuri grants, see above, p. 41, ll. 10-11.

that of Dhanada (*i. e.*, Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*i. e.*, Yama); who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings; to whom the whole circle of neighbouring kings has submitted, (*being subdued*) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (*in his case*) never come into conflict with one another; whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission; who is engaged in properly protecting his subjects;¹ who is kind to distressed, blind (*and*) poor people and those who seek refuge with him; who grants rewards as desired (*by supplicants*), (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—addresses all the heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* and villages, officials and others (*as follows*):—

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, this village (*namely*) *Parīyaya*, (*lying*) to the east of *Sandhiyara*, (*and*) situated in the *vishaya* of *Kāśākula*,—together with *udrādga* and *uparikara*, exclusive of all gifts, forced labour and special rights, (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (*and*) the earth will endure—to all (*the following* *Brāhmaṇas*) who are students of the *Kāṇva* (*śākhā*) of the *Vājasaneyā* *Adhvaryu* (*Vēda*)² and belong to the community (*residing*) at *Jambūśara*, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other religious rites. (*Their shares are as follows*:—) To *Ādityaravi* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra* two *pattikās*;³ to *Indraśūra*, a *pattikā*; to *Tāvisūra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to *Isvara*, half a *pattikā*; to *Dāma*, a *pattikā*; to *Drōṇa*, half a *pattikā*; to *Attasvāmin*, half a *pattikā*; to *Māila*, half a *pattikā*; to *Shashthidēva*, half a *pattikā*; to *Sōma*, half a *pattikā*; to *Rāmaśarman*, half a *pattikā*; to *Bhāyya*, half a *pattikā*; to *Drōṇadhara*, half a *pattikā*;—to *Āvuka* of the *Dhūmrāyana gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to *Sūra*, half a *pattikā*;—to *Bhaṭṭi* of the *Daundakīya gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to *Samudra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to *Drōṇa*, three *pattikās*; to *Tāvisarman*, two *pattikās*; to *Bhaṭṭin*, half a *pattikā*; to *Vatra*, a *pattikā*; to *Drōṇaśarman*, half a *pattikā*; to the second *Drōṇaśarman*, half a *pattikā*;—to *Vappasvāmin* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, three *pattikās*; to *Durgasarman*, half a *pattikā*; to *Datta*, half a *pattikā*;—to *Vāda* of the *Kaundinya gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to *Sēla*, a *pattikā*; to *Drōṇa*, a *pattikā*; to *Sōma*, half a *pattikā*; to *Sēla*, half a *pattikā*; to *Vatraśarman*, half a *pattikā*; to *Bhāyisvāmin*, half a *pattikā*;—to *Viśākha* of the *Māthara gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to *Dhara*, a *pattikā*; to *Nandin*, a *pattikā*; to *Kumāra*, a *pattikā*; to *Rāma*, a *pattikā*; to *Bāśra*, half a *pattikā*; to *Gaṇa*, half a *pattikā*; to *Kōrdduva*, half a *pattikā*; to *Bhāyibhaṭṭa*, half a *pattikā*; to *Narman*, half a *pattikā*; to *Ramaśarman*, half a *pattikā*;—to *Dharmadhara* of the *Hārīta gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*;—to *Bhaṭṭin* of the *Vaishṇava gōtra*, a *pattikā*;—to *Dhara* of the *Gautama gōtra*, half a *pattikā*; to *Ammadhara*, half a *pattikā*; to *Sēla*, half a *pattikā*;—to *Dāma* of the *Sāṇḍila gōtra*, half a *pattikā*;—to *Kārka* of the *Lakshmaṇa gōtra*, a *pattikā*;—to *Gōpāditya* of the *Vatsa gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to *Viśākha*, half a *pattikā*; to *Sūra*, half a *pattikā*; to *Bhāyisvāmin*, half a *pattikā*; to *Yakshaśarman*, half a *pattikā*; to *Tāvisūra*, a *pattikā*; to *Karka*, half a *pattikā*; to *Tāvisarman*, half a *pattikā*; to *-sarman*,⁴ half a *pattikā*; to *Kumāra*, half a *pattikā*; to *Matriśvara*, half a *pattikā*; to *Bāṭala*, half a *pattikā*.

¹ See above, p. 169, n. 10.

² *I. e.*, the *Yajurveda*.

³ Both the forms *pattikā* and *paṭṭikā* occur in the text.

⁴ See above, p. 170 n. 9.

(L. 25) Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others,—who are desirous of acquiring the common reward of the gift of land, having realized that worldly existence possesses as *(little)* worth as reeds and bamboos *(pass away)*, that objects of enjoyment are as impermanent as the waves of the ocean-water, that fortune is as unsteady as the leaves of the *śvātthā* tree struck by a strong wind, *(and)* that youth is liable to fade like a flower of a blossoming *śrīśā* tree,—should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins.”

(L. 28) And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 32) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-four on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha *(this charter)*, of which the *Vāṭpaka*¹ Nanna is the *Dātaka*, has been written by the *Mahāśāhīnīgrahādhipate* Khaddasvāmin. The year 300 *(and)* 90 *(and)* 4 *(the month)* Vaiśākha, the bright *(fortnight)*, *(the lunar day)* 10 *(and)* 5. *(This charter has been)* incised by the Kshatriya *Mātipisāhī*.

¹ *Vāṭpaka* (or *Vāṭpaka*) was apparently an officer whose duty was to arrange for the residence of touring royal officers and strangers, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 202.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

No. 35; PLATE XXIX A

SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

THIS inscription, though listed in the first edition of R.B. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, published in 1916, was very briefly noticed only in the second edition of that work, published in 1931. It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which I examined *in situ* and from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.¹

At Saugor, the chief town of the Saugor District in the State of Madhya Pradesh, a number of sculptures were collected from the neighbouring places many years ago² and built up into small imitation kiosks in the four corners of the garden of a military mess-house. The inscription is incised on a slab of red sand-stone fixed on the top of a panel of the same kind of stone which is built into one of those kiosks. In the panel below, the principal figures are those of a man who has folded his hands in salutation and a woman, probably his wife, who has placed her right hand on the head of a small female figure, evidently their daughter, who also stands with folded hands. Behind the male figure appears a horse and behind the latter, another male figure, apparently a groom, holding the reins of the horse.³

The record has been very much worn away by exposure to weather. It consists of five lines, of which the last one commences in the centre. Several *aksharas* in the last three lines have become more or less indistinct. The average size of letters is 1". The characters are of the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the stone inscription at Chhōṭī Deorī.⁴ The form of the initial *i* is, however, different, since the curve below the two dots is here open at the top; *ṣ* has not yet developed a vertical at the top; in its subscript form, the letter is laid on its side, see *-bhaṭṭāraka-* in l. 2; *j* still retains its three horizontal bars, see *-Mahārājādhirāja*, l. 1; *p* is open at the top while *v*, which resembles its upper portion, is closed, see *-pravarāddhamāna-*, l. 2; the lower end of the wedge of *r* is in some cases very much elongated, see *-Paramīśvara-*, l. 3. These palaeographic peculiarities indicate that the record probably belongs to the middle of the eighth century A.C.⁵ The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Siva. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramīśvara* the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramīśvara*, the illustrious Vāmarājadēva.⁶ This is the oldest record in which the name of Vāmarājadēva is mentioned

¹ This inscription has since been edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 163 f.

² *Saugor District Gazetteer*, p. 257.

³ For a photograph of this panel, see the plate facing p. 154 in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*.

⁴ No. 36, below.

⁵ Hiralal also called this inscription the oldest Kalachuri record (in Madhya Pradesh), but he referred it to the fourth quarter of the ninth century A.C., as he thought that the king Śaṅkaragaṇa mentioned in it was identical with the homonymous prince who was the son of Kōkalladēva [1]. See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 49.

⁶ Hiralal doubtfully read this name as *Vaghorājadēva*, *ibid.*, p. 49. My personal examination of the record *in situ* has convinced me that the name is undoubtedly *Vāmarājadēva*.

with full Imperial titles.¹ The object of the inscription is to record some religious work done by a lady named Kṛishṇādēvi for the religious merit of her mother and father. This appears to have been a temple which, as the opening words show, was probably dedicated to Siva. If this conjecture is correct, the panel with the present inscription at the top may have been originally put up at it. The male and female figures in the panel are evidently intended to represent the father and the mother of the donor who is herself represented by a small female figure between them. She calls herself the wife of the illustrious Dēuka who was the son of a king, whose name I have doubtfully read as Rāvārya. He was born in the family of Kalitrēya and was the *Paramīvara* (Emperor) of Kaṭapura.²

The inscription is not dated, but as shown above, it may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century A.C.

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धिः⁴ [१*] ओं नमः शिवाय । [स्वस्ति] परमहृदयकमहाराजाधिरा[ज]पर[मे]श्वरश्री-
वा[म*]राजदेवपा[दानु]—
- 2 [स्वस्ति] १* परमहृदयकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्व]रश्रीशङ्कराणदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये क—
- 3 [ज]पुरपरमेश्वरकलाहरेयवर्धमानप्रवर्द्धमान[स्व]न्ततिरा[वा]मराजपुत्रश्रीदेवक[१*] । तस्ये(स्यै)—
व मा—
- 4 यं लोणियवर्धमान[सुत] राशी श्रीकृष्णादेवी या [वं]ती⁷ मातापितृपुण्ये⁸ कृतितले कीर्ति
प्रस्था—
- 5 भवतिः¹⁰ । ॥तवालो[का]मला इति॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Oh! Adoration to Siva! Hail! During the increasingly victorious reign of the *Paramahastāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramīvara*, the illustrious *Sankaraganādēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramahastāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramīvara*, the illustrious *Vāmarājadēva*—

(There is) the illustrious Dēuka the son of Rāvāryarāja, the mass of light sprung from the family of Kalitrēya, (who is) the *Paramīvara* (Emperor) of Kaṭapura. The wife of the same is the queen, the illustrious Kṛishṇādēvi, born in the family of

¹ In subsequent records the name almost invariably occurs as *Vamadeva*. See No. 42, l. 93; No. 50, l. 33 *etc.*

² *Kaṭapura* may be a mistake for *Kaṭipuri* (Benares).

³ From the original stone and inked stampages. I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for the readings of a few words in this transcript.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol. I take the symbol to denote *siddhi* as that is the auspicious word used in the beginning of later records. See, e.g. Nos. 54 and 106.

⁵ The loop on the left of this *akṣara* has now become somewhat indistinct, but it is there.

⁶ This *akṣara* is superfluous.

⁷ The context requires a reading like *śrīmatī*.

⁸ Read *puṇyānt*.

⁹ This line commences in the centre.

¹⁰ This *akṣara* is superfluous.

¹¹ I am not certain about the reading of these eight *akṣaras* at the end. Perhaps, the intended reading is *सर्व लोकान् जयति इति*.

Lōpiya, who announces this meritorious work (*karṇa*)¹ on the surface of the earth, for the religious merit of these, (*matṛ*) mother and father. May you attain the stainless worlds !

NO. 36 ; PLATE XXIX B

CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Report* for 1883-1884. He again referred to it in the next year's report and published a lithograph of it.² The inscription was subsequently noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1903-4, p. 54 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.³ Though noticed several times, the inscription has defied all attempts at interpretation ; for, Cunningham was told that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit. Dr. Bhandarkar also has remarked 'what the language of the inscription is cannot be made out.' The inscription is edited here from ink impressions supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.⁴

Chhōṭi Deori (Small Deori) is situated on the left bank of the Ken, about 16 miles to the west of Jōkāhi, in the Murwārā *taluk* of the Jabalpur District in the State of Madhya Pradesh. The village is so-called probably to distinguish it from the larger village named Deori which lies about five miles to the west. It is also called Maḍhā Deori on account of a number of small temples (*maṭhis*) from thirty to forty in number, which lie buried in dense jungle. According to Cunningham, all these were most probably Saiva shrines. The pillar on which the present inscription is incised must have also belonged to a Saiva temple as is indicated by its contents. 'The pillar is 7 feet 2 inches high and 1 foot square. The inscription of 11 lines is near the top ; in the middle there are two seated figures, male and female ;⁵ and below, there is a standing male figure'⁶.

As stated above, the inscription consists of eleven lines. It covers a space 1' ¼" broad by 1' 2" high. It is in a state of fair preservation. The characters belong to the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the Saugor stone inscription.⁷ They are very carelessly written. Several groups of *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated in ll. 4 and 5 as well as in ll. 10 and 11. The marks for medial vowels and *visarga* are omitted in many cases. The form of *kh* in *khaṇḍa*-, l. 1, *likhatam*, l. 9 and *likhitam*, l. 10, is peculiar. It resembles somewhat the conjunct *ksha*, with this difference that the lower curve is turned to the left instead of to the right. The form of *p* in *kapāli*-, l. 2 and *puna*, l. 9, which closely resembles that of *d* is also noteworthy. *L* has three different shapes in *likhatam*, l. 8, *likhatam*, l. 9 and *likhitam*, l. 10. The form of *ś*, the left limb of which has developed a curve and that of *k* which has a triangle on the left show that the inscription is not earlier than the seventh century A.C. On the other hand *j*, though slanting, has not yet turned its middle horizontal bar into a vertical ; *ṣ* has not developed a vertical at the top ; *d* and *r* show no tail, and the upper part of *p* is not closed. In these respects the characters

¹ This probably refers to the temple of Śiva where the inscribed panel was apparently put up.

² *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 100 and 159, Plate XXVIII.

³ Second edition, p. 38.

⁴ This inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 17 ff.

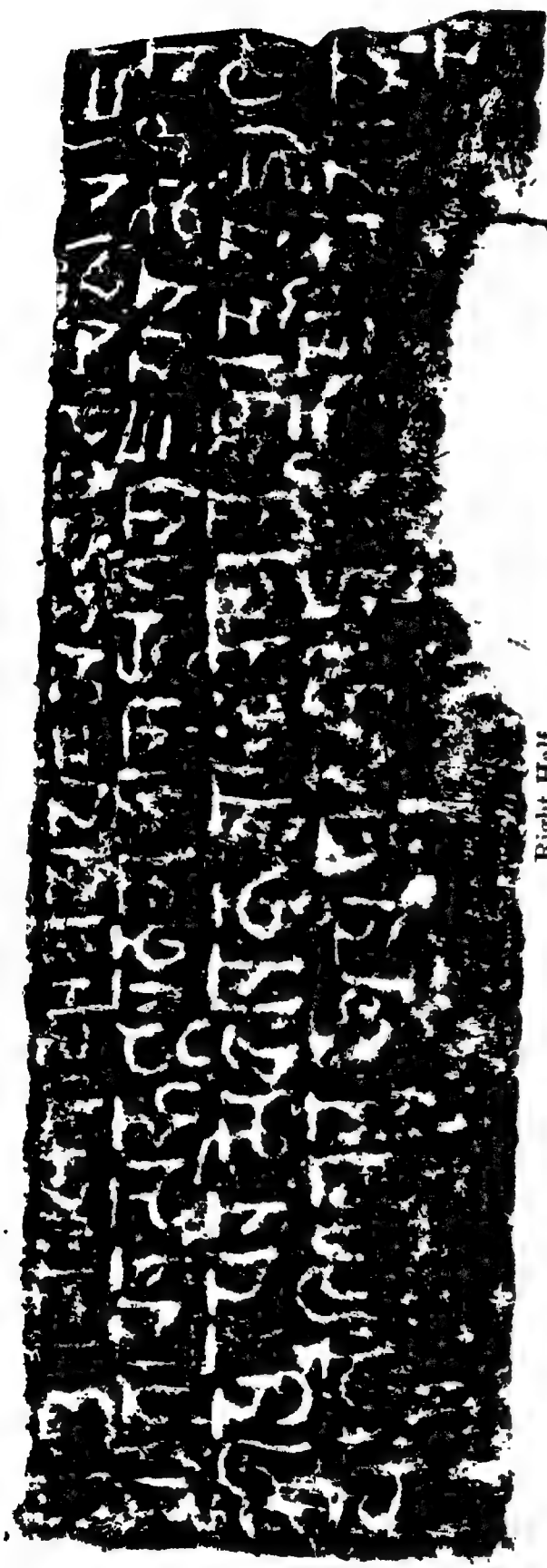
⁵ R. D. Banerji identified these with Śiva and Pārvatī. See *H. T. M.*, (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), p. 77.

⁶ *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 100. For a photograph of the pillar, see *H. T. M.*, (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), Plate XXVIII (a).

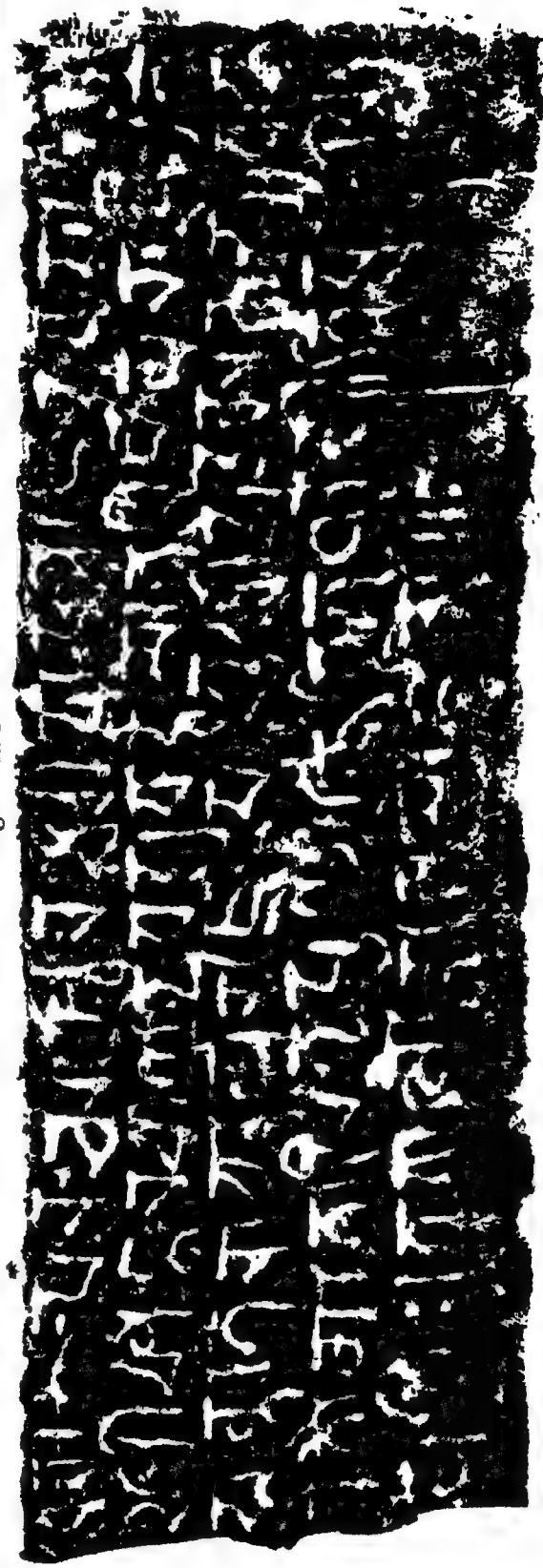
⁷ No. 35, above.

A.—SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

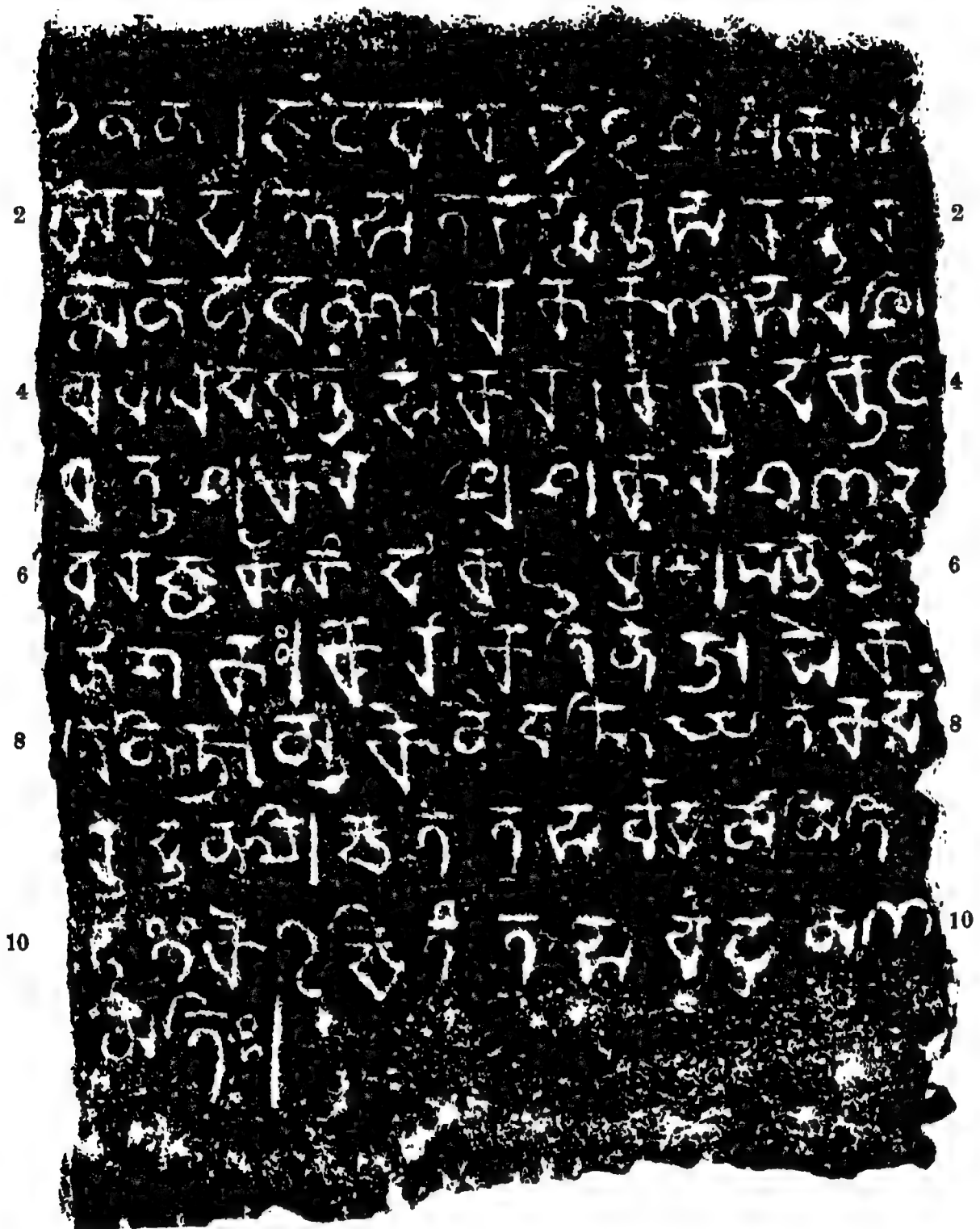
Left Half



Right Half



B.—CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I



of the present inscription show a much earlier stage than those of the Kāritalāi stone inscription¹ of Lakshmanapārijā I, dated K. 593 (841-2 A.C.). It does not, therefore, appear to be later than the middle of the eighth century A.C.²

The language is very incorrect Sanskrit, being probably influenced by the local dialect. *Viśaya*, for instance, is written as *viś*, l. 6, and *kaṭṭi* used in the sense of *iha*. Except for a verse in praise of Śiva, the whole record is in prose. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

After the opening *siddhiḥ namah*, the inscription has a verse in praise of Śiva, which indicates that the temple, to which the inscribed pillar belonged, must have been dedicated to the worship of Śiva. We are next told that during the reign of the illustrious Saṅkaragana there was the illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka in (charge of) the *viśaya* of Kakandakurū. The next two lines are somewhat obscure, but they seem to record his donation of a granary (*śākhara*, Sanskrit *śrīṭhara*) in Karīkatī and Aśṭakatī which appear to be the names of two villages in the neighbourhood.

There are three place-names mentioned in the present inscription, but none of them can be satisfactorily identified. Kakandakurū may be identical with Khatunda about 6 miles to the east of Deori, if we suppose that the original name has lost its initial part. Karīkatī, which in its initial portion resembles Kāritalāi (situated about 30 miles to the east), is perhaps represented by Khurai, 4 miles to the south of Deori Maḍhā. Aśṭakatī cannot be identified.

TEXT³

- 1 तिष्ठिः⁴ [1*] नमः । जटावरः⁵ सं[?]सं[?]का⁶ 1⁷ [वे]—
- 2 [का]रः⁸ कप[?]लि[?]मालः⁹ स[?]तमस्मद्[?]सरः¹⁰ [1*] दुरा—
- 3 म्मनहा¹¹ पद्मव[?]रककण¹² सव[?]ति—
- 4 वं व[?] विद्व[?]तु सं[?]करः¹³ 1¹⁰[11*] क¹¹कवकुटु—
- 5 म्मु सकर¹⁴ वि[?]वीसकरसवदे—
- 6 वरज्य[?]राज्ये) ककवकुटुमु¹⁵ सि[?]वी?)मु[?]—¹⁶

¹ No. 17, below.

² Cunningham thought that the characters of the inscription are 'perhaps as early as the 7th century.' (See his *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 159). R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, identified the king Saṅkaragana mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Lakshmanapārijā (II), whom he placed about the middle of the tenth century A.C. (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 15). But the characters of the inscription are too early for such a late date.

³ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The *amśāras* on ज and ण are very faint.

⁶ This *dupla* is superfluous. Read ककवकुटुमुसर.

⁷ What looks like an *amśāra* on व is due to a fault in the stone.

⁸ Read दुरास्महा.

⁹ Perhaps पद्मववारिककण is intended, but it does not give a good sense. Read पद्मववस्तककण.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vakṣastha*. Some of the epithets of Śiva in this stanza occur in the following verse in ll. 8 and 9 of the Raipur stone inscription of Brahmadēva (below, No. 107): —जटाव[?] सं[?]काक-
वेसरं वसन्तहापद्मववस्त(स्व)ककण(वस्)[1*]कपालमालासितव[?]मूक(व)वं न पुन्य(व्य)हि(ही)मा[?] प्रमसि संकरं
(रव) [11*].

¹¹ There is a curve on व here and also in l. 6 where the same name is repeated. This word is superfluous here.

¹² These five *śrīṭhara* are unnecessarily repeated from l. 4.

¹³ Read ककवकुटुमुसर. The name of the *śrīṭhara* is given as ककवकुटु in l. 4.

¹⁴ I am not certain about this *śrīṭhara*. It differs from / which occurs in ll. 4 and 6 in that it has a

- 7 नागकः । करीकतिनि असेक—
 8 तिनि अमुकेनैव¹ लिखितं² कद—
 9 इ³ पुन लि⁴ सतं त⁵ सर्वप्रवा⁶मिति [1*]
 10 हृदके⁷ लिखितं त⁸ सर्व प्रम(मा)ण—⁸
 11 मितिः⁹ ।

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration !

(Verse 1) May (*that*) Saṅkara,—who wears matted hair, who has the crescent moon on his head, who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroys the evil-minded, who has bracelets of serpents,—always cause your welfare !

(Line 4) During the reign of the illustrious Saṅkaragana (I), (*there is*) the illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka in (*charge of*) the *viśaya* of Kakandakūṭa.

(L. 7) He has himself recorded (*the gift of*) a granary in (*the villages of*) Karikatin and Aśkatin. Again, whatever is written here is authoritative. Whatever is written here is authoritative.

No. 37; PLATE XXX A

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I: (KALACHURI) YEAR 393

THIS inscription was discovered by R.B. Hiralal in 1928. A short notice of it appeared in the second edition of his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, published in 1931. The record was, for the first time, edited, with a lithograph, by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 235 f. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

Kāritalāi is now a small village, twenty-nine miles north by east from Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh.

• The place seems to be of great antiquity, for, an inscription in shell characters⁹ and another of the Gupta period¹⁰ have been discovered there. There are several old temples at Kāritalāi, from one of which, probably dedicated to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, another inscription¹¹ of the time of Lakṣmaṇarāja II, was brought over to Nagpur and is at present deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The present inscription is affixed to the temple of Dēvi Maḍhiā at Kāritalāi. It is fragmentary. Its preserved portion measures 10½" broad and 1' 10½" high. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *akṣaras*. The fourteenth line runs

horizontal stroke at the top and has not a perfectly round back. Nor is it exactly like *d*, see *durān-mana*—, l. 3.

¹ अमुकेनैव is used here in the unusual sense of 'by the same'.

² Read लिखितं.

³ The medial *s* of *rs* is faint. Read इदं.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read पुनलिखितं.

⁵ Read तत्.

⁶ Read सर्व प्रमाणमिति ।

⁷ This appears to be a Prakrit word meaning हृद.

⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Chhabra for the reading of this word.

⁹ *I. C. P. B.*, p. 45.

¹⁰ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.

¹¹ No. 42, below.

along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Śaivvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left-hand side; but on the right-hand side, sixty to seventy *aksharas* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space 4' 6" in breadth. Of this, only about a fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four-fifths broken away and lost. The average size of the letters is .8".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *p*, one in *-Lakshmanarāja-*, 1.14 and the other in *Druhiṇaḥ*, 1.2 *etc.* and to those of *gh* in *-Amoghavarsha-*, 1.12 and *Ghaṭ-ānaya-*, 1.14. The form of *g* is in many places closely similar to that of *rd*, compare *g* in *jagat* and *drāg-īva* both in 1.2, *Nāgabhaṭi* in 1.9 *etc.*; with *rā* in *yair-āsantati* in 1.6; *ṭh* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *parilūṭhaṇṭi*, 1.4. Similarly *ṭh* is still circular and not flattened on the right side, see, *prīṭhuni*, 1.4. The medial *ṣ* has been generally denoted by a serif, (see *pāyāsur-*, 1.3; *nag-ānukāri* 1.13 *etc.*), but in some cases, by a curve turned to the left as in *kṣhiṇōṭu*, 1.2. The *mātrās* for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *namō-* and *-śpēndra-* 1.1), but in two cases, viz., in *-Rudrībhyāḥ*, 1.1 and *tri-Lakshmana-rājadēvi*, 1.14, the medial *ī* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve; while in two others we see fully developed *prīṣṭha-mātrās* also, (see *-vādhō-*, 1.3 and *pāḍau* 1.12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A.C.¹

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory obeisance and the marginal line recording the date *etc.*, the record is metrically composed throughout. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant preceding and following *r* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chātvarāṇyāṇi*, 1.1, and *-mātrāṇi*, 1.2; *v* has been used for *b* in *vala-*, 1.7 and the guttural nasal for *anusvara* in *kṣhiṇ-āṅhasō*, 1.6.

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record, it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory obeisance to Druhiṇa (Brahmā), Upēndra (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva) come three verses, invoking the blessings of the three deities. Lines 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage, who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of Nāgabhaṭa, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down in the *Śruti* and the *Smṛiti*. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king Amoghavarsha bowed to the feet of someone who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. Finally, the marginal line states that the record was composed by Prasannāditya of the Ghaṭa family in the year 593 (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the king, the illustrious Lakshmanarājadēva.

The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first noticed the inscription, read the date as 693² and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri era, which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A.C. in Baghelkhand, he took it as equivalent to 941 A. C.,

¹ The form of *j*, *d*, *p*, *r* and *ṣ*, all of which show considerable development here, leave no doubt that the present record is much later than the preceding inscriptions (No. 35 and 36) of the reign of Śaṅkaragapa I.

² I. C. P. B., p. 45.

obviously identifying the Lakshmanarāja mentioned in it with the homonymous king who was the son of Yuvarājadēva I *alias* Kēyūravarsha. The mention of Amōghavarsha in l. 12 seems to have corroborated this view; because a king of that name, *viz.*, Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, the son-in-law of Yuvarājadēva-Kēyūravarsha, flourished in that period.¹ But R.B. Hirralal's reading of the date is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *tithi* in the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhasīva² and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn. Other instances in which the figure stands for five can also be cited.³ So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this, being referred to the Kalachuri era, corresponds to 841-2 A.C. The mention of Amōghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading; for this Amōghavarsha would be the first Rāshtrakūṭa king of that name who ruled from *circa* 814 to 880 A.C. We know that the royal families of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris were matrimonially connected in the ninth century also; for Amōghavarsha I's son Kṛishṇa II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter,⁴ though this marriage may not have taken place before 842 A.C.⁵ Besides, Amōghavarsha I was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahālakshmi to ward off a public calamity.⁶ It is not, therefore, unlikely that Amōghavarsha had gone to the Chēdi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhaṭa's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nāgabhaṭa is evidently Nāgabhaṭa II of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty who was completely routed by Amōghavarsha's father Gōvinda III.⁷ Nāgabhaṭa was not living in 841-2 A.C., the date of the present inscription; for, according to the Jain work *Prabhāvaka-charita*,⁸ he died in V. 890 (833-4 A.C.); nor is Amōghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grand-father. The defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before 800 A.C. The personage, who in the preceding line is described as the destroyer of great kings as a thunder-bolt is of high mountains, is probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*sanijahrē*) is lost at the end of the line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa is mentioned in l. 9; but as the name of Amōghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amōghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name; for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III. Lakshmanarāja, during whose reign the present inscription was put up, was, therefore, the predecessor-

¹ For Amōghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 A.C. (See *E. C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30).

² No. 44, below.

³ See, for instance, the figure of the year and the *tithi* of the Bālērā plates of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78; the figure of the year in the Khajurāhō inscription of Kōkalla, *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX, and that of the *tithi* in the Pālanpur plates of Bhīmadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, plate facing p. 172.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263 f.

⁵ As I have shown elsewhere (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 217), Amōghavarsha I was born about 799 A.C. He was, therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in 841-2 A.C. his son Kṛishṇa II was already married to Lakshmanarāja's grand-daughter, for he is known to have reigned till 914 A.C. Perhaps Amōghavarsha had gone to Tripuri to seek the Kalachuri king's help, when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

⁷ *Lac. etc.*, p. 247.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

sor and probably the father of Kōkalla I, who heads the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription¹ and the Banaras plates of Kama.² He may be called Lakshmanarāja I of the main Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri.

The date of the inscription is thus the year 593 of the Kalachuri era. It would correspond to 840-1 A.C. if the year was current, and to 841-2 A.C. if it was expired.³ It does not admit of verification.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धिः⁵ [1*] ओ नमोस्तु इन्द्रिणोपेन्द्रस्वः ॥ चतुर्वर्ण्यं [नि]⁶....
- 2 नमात्वं जगत् [1*] इत्येव इन्द्रिणः सिद्धोत्⁷....
- 3 हृदयेनोदसः (शः) । पायासुर्मासुसुवता[ज्य]⁸....
- 4 कपहृत्पुष्पि परिपुष्पन्ती यस्य मूर्ध[स्व]⁹....
- 5 नमः परमिति स्वापुर्मासुसुवता[ये]¹⁰....
- 6 क्षीणाहसो¹¹ जसिरे वीरासन्तति सन्तत-¹²....
- 7 वृत्तिः । व(व)लविमविलासत्वापदा¹³....
- 8 महाभूमिभृद्वज्रपाता(तः) संवहे ह्या[रि]¹⁴....
- 9 भूयसा चानेहसा ॥ भग्ने नागमटे¹⁵....
- 10 कषसावदलको वराहव्याहारः स्म¹⁶....
- 11 ¹⁴तिस्मृत्पाचारप्रवणविषयः पु[ण्य]¹⁷....
- 12 ¹⁶श्रीमदमोघवर्षनृपतिः पातो [न]¹⁸....
- 13 वापरः ॥ तेनाकारि नगानुकारि ग¹⁹....
- 14 सिद्धिः¹⁹ [1*] सम्बत्²⁰ ५९३ श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे राजति यदाम्बश्रीप्रसन्नादित्यस्य कृतिरि-
यम् [1*]²¹

¹ No. 45, below.

² No. 48, below.

³ In stating the Christian equivalents of this and other *later dates* of the Kalachuri era, I have adopted the epoch 247-248 A. C. finally determined by Kielhorn. See *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 f. Differing from him, I have, however, taken the Kalachuri year as commencing with the bright fortnight of the *pāṇimānta* Kārttika.

⁴ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: *Sālini*.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdhāvikrīḍita*.

⁸ Read मूर्धस्थले. Metre: *Mālini*.

⁹ Read पाठमेत्. Metre: *Sārdhāvikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Read क्षीणाहसो.

¹¹ Read वाजिप्य-. Metre: *Mālini*.

¹² Perhaps कृद्विनी was written here. Metre: *Sārdhāvikrīḍita*.

¹³ Metre: *Sikharīṇī*.

¹⁴ Read कृत्तिस्मृत्पाचार-.

¹⁵ Read पुण्यपरितः. Metre: *Sikharīṇī*.

¹⁶ Read यस्य before क्षीय-.

¹⁷ Read नमस्तययम्. Metre: *Sārdhāvikrīḍita*.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sārdhāvikrīḍita*.

¹⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

²⁰ Read संवत्.

²¹ This line is written along the margin. Another line below it, incised recently, reads श्रीस[न्व]त

TRANSLATION

- (Line 1) Success ! Om ! May there be adoration to Druhiṇa, Upēndra and Rudra !
 The four castes
 (L. 2) The world consisting only of May Druhiṇa quickly destroy !
 (L. 3) May (*they*) who obstructed the eyes of the creator . . . protect
 from Madhusūdana.
 (L. 4) On whose broad forehead, (*the Gaṅgā*) rolling down from the matted
 hair
 (L. 5) would teach (*his*) little sons, (*thinking*) that the course (*of teaching* ?)
 is the best
 (L. 6) (*They*), whose sins had diminished, were born; by whom always
 down to their descendants.
 (L. 7) The course of conduct (*consisting of* ?) strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality
 (*and*) courtesy
 (L. 8) (*He*)¹ who was a thunderbolt to the great mountains that were powerful
 kings, destroyed (*while*) (*was*) resounding
 (L. 9) after a long time. When Nāgabhaṭa (II) was routed.
 (L. 10) The roar of the Boar that rends rocks
 (L. 11-12) of holy deeds, whose mind was intent on (*observing the rules*
of) conduct laid down in the *Śrutis* (Vēdas) and *Smṛiti* (*and*) whose feet [*this*]
 illustrious Amōghavarsha² salutes.
 (L. 13) like a second By him (*has been*) constructed (*this*
temple) resembling a hill
 (L. 14) Success ! (*In*) the year 593, while the king, the illustrious Lakṣmaṇarāja-
 dēva (I) is reigning, this (*prastuti*) was composed by the illustrious Prasannāditya
 of the Ghaṭa family.

No. 38; PLATE XXX B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. 1) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

This inscription was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage kindly supplied by him.

The inscription is incised on the inside of the western wall of the Fish temple in the fort of Bāndhōgarh which lies about 6½ miles south by west of Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh. The record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of only two lines of bold and deeply incised letters. The first line is 4' 5" and the second 4' 9" long. The average size of the letters is 4.5".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the tenth century A.C. As regards individual letters we may note that the lingual *ḍ* is round-backed in *Gaud* -, 1.2; the right-hand up-stroke of the subscript *y* is not brought down, see *-āmātya* -, 1.1 and the left limb of the palatal *ś* is not separated from the right-hand vertical, see *śrī* -, in. 1.1. The language is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. It consists of only a single sentence. The orthography does not call for any remark except that the conjunct *trya* has been written as *chchhya* in *machchhya* -, 1.2.

¹ This was probably Gōvinda III of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, see above, p. 180.

² This seems to be Amōghavarsha I, the son and successor of Gōvinda III.

2

4

4

6

6

8

8

10

10

12

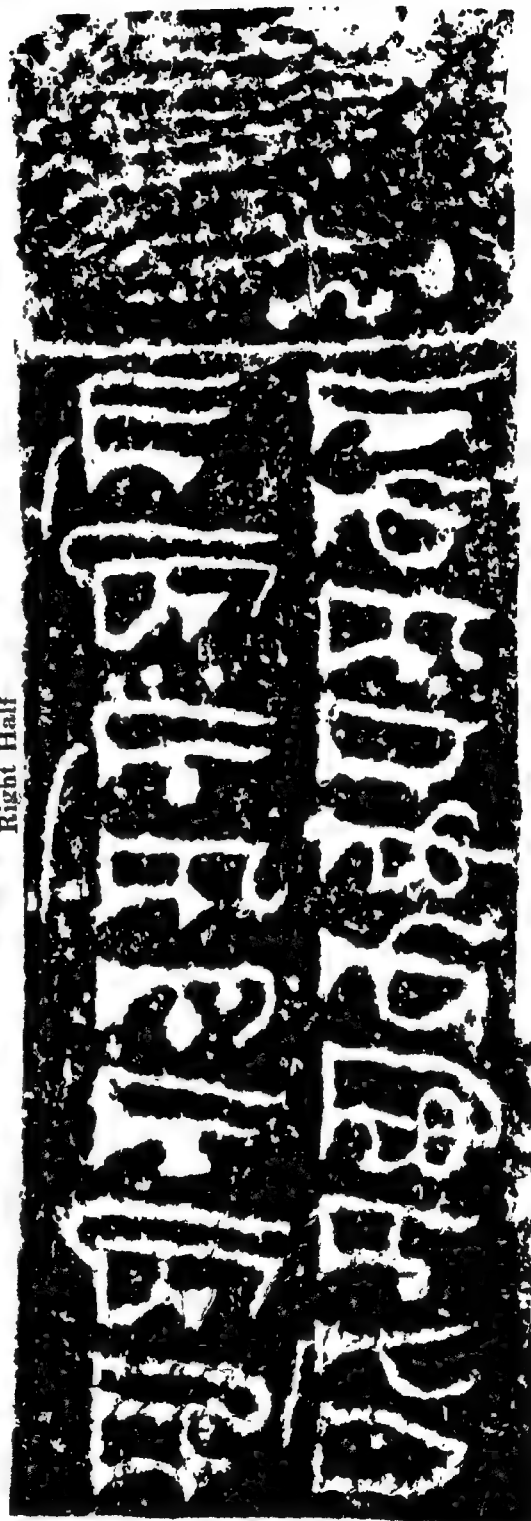
12

B.—BANDHUGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. I) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

Left Half



Right Half



SCALE: ONE-QUARTER.

The object of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the fish, the tortoise, the boar and others were of (*i.e.*, were caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva. The palaeography of the record indicates that this Yuvarājadēva is the first king of that name who flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.C. The figures referred to are evidently the rock-cut images of the fish, tortoise, boar and other incarnations of Viṣṇu, which Gōllāka had caused to be carved. Some of them can still be seen near the present inscription.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्रीयुवराजदेवामात्यस्य श्रीमानुसूनोः श्रीगो-
- 2 ल्लाकस्य गौडापरनाम्न एते गच्छन् (त्य) कच्छपसूकरा[य]ः [१*]

TRANSLATION

These (*figures of*) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar and others are of (*i.e.*, are caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, (*who is known*) by the other name of Gauḍa, the son of the illustrious Bhānu (*and*) a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

No. 39; PLATE XXXI A

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription, like the preceding one, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist.

The inscription is at Bāndhōgarh, about 6½ miles south by west of Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. It is incised on a pillar with a broken figure of Garuḍa to the west of a colossal rock-cut figure of Ādivarāha, placing the left foot on a Nāga figure. The record consists of only two lines, the first of which measures 11' 10" and the second 2' 11" long. Several *akṣaras* in the middle of the first line and a few in the second have now become illegible, but some of them can be restored with the help of the preceding epigraph. The average size of the letters is ¾".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. They closely resemble those of the preceding inscription. The language is Sanskrit and the record is wholly in prose. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The object of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Ādivarāha and Paraśurāma (?) were of (*i.e.*, were caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva. This Yuvarājadēva was evidently Yuvarājadēva I-Kēyūravarsha. The figure of Ādivarāha referred to here is plainly the colossal rock-cut image of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, near which the inscription is incised. Some of the other figures also can still be seen carved out of rocks in the same place.

¹ From an inked estampage.

² What appears like a broken curve over the ligature *gja* is probably due to a fault in the rock. Read -सूकराद्याः.

TEXT¹

- 1 ओं श्रीयुवरा[जदेवायात्यस्य].....²[श्रीमा]नुसूतोः श्रीगोलाकस्यैते मत्स्य-
कच्छ-
2 पादिवराहप[रशुरामाः³?] [1*]

TRANSLATION

Om! These (*figures of*) the Fish, the Tortoise, the primeval Boar (*and*) Paraśurāma (?) are of (*i.e.*, are caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, the son of the illustrious Bhānu who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious Yuvarājādēva (I).

No. 40; PLATE XXXI B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. III) OF YUVARAJADĒVA I

THIS inscription, like the preceding two records, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from a good estampage kindly sent by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock facing south-west near the rock-cut image of a Tortoise at Bāndhōgarh in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. The record consists of eight lines, of which the first seven were probably 2' 11" long while the last one measures only 9½". The epigraph has suffered very much by the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Nearly half the portion on the right-hand side of lines 3-7 has been completely lost. Besides, several *aksharas* here and there have become illegible. The average size of the letters is 2.3".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. The language is Sanskrit. The record is partly in verse and partly in prose. Attention may be drawn to the expression *sāhitya-vidyā-lala[nā-bhujāṅga]* which is adopted in some later records⁴ for the description of Yuvarājādēva II. In the last line *utkīritam* has been wrongly used for *utkīrṇam*. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The inscription is one of the illustrious Gōllāka, the son of Bhānu, who is known from other records to have been a minister of Yuvarājādēva I. The object of it was evidently to dedicate⁵ the image of the Tortoise near which it is incised, but the portion of the record where this was stated has now become illegible. In lines 4-6 the inscription seems to have contained the description of a battle, for the extant words in line 5 speak of a great river of which the waves were enemies.

The record was written by Guṇanivāsa, and incised by Bhāka.

¹ From an inked estampage.

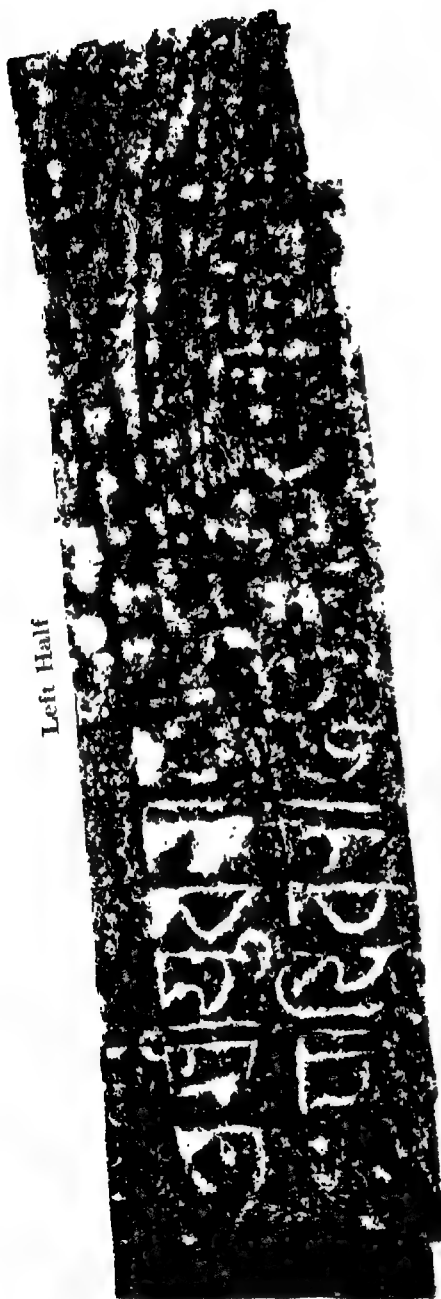
² About 11 *aksharas* are completely lost here. The last seven of them may have been श्रीगोलाकपरनाम्नः. See line 2 of the preceding inscription, page 183, above.

³ The reading of these *aksharas* is not quite certain.

⁴ Below, No. 50, l. 10 and No. 51, l. 7.

⁵ Line 4 contains the word *nivāditam* which means 'dedicated'.

A.—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I



Left Half

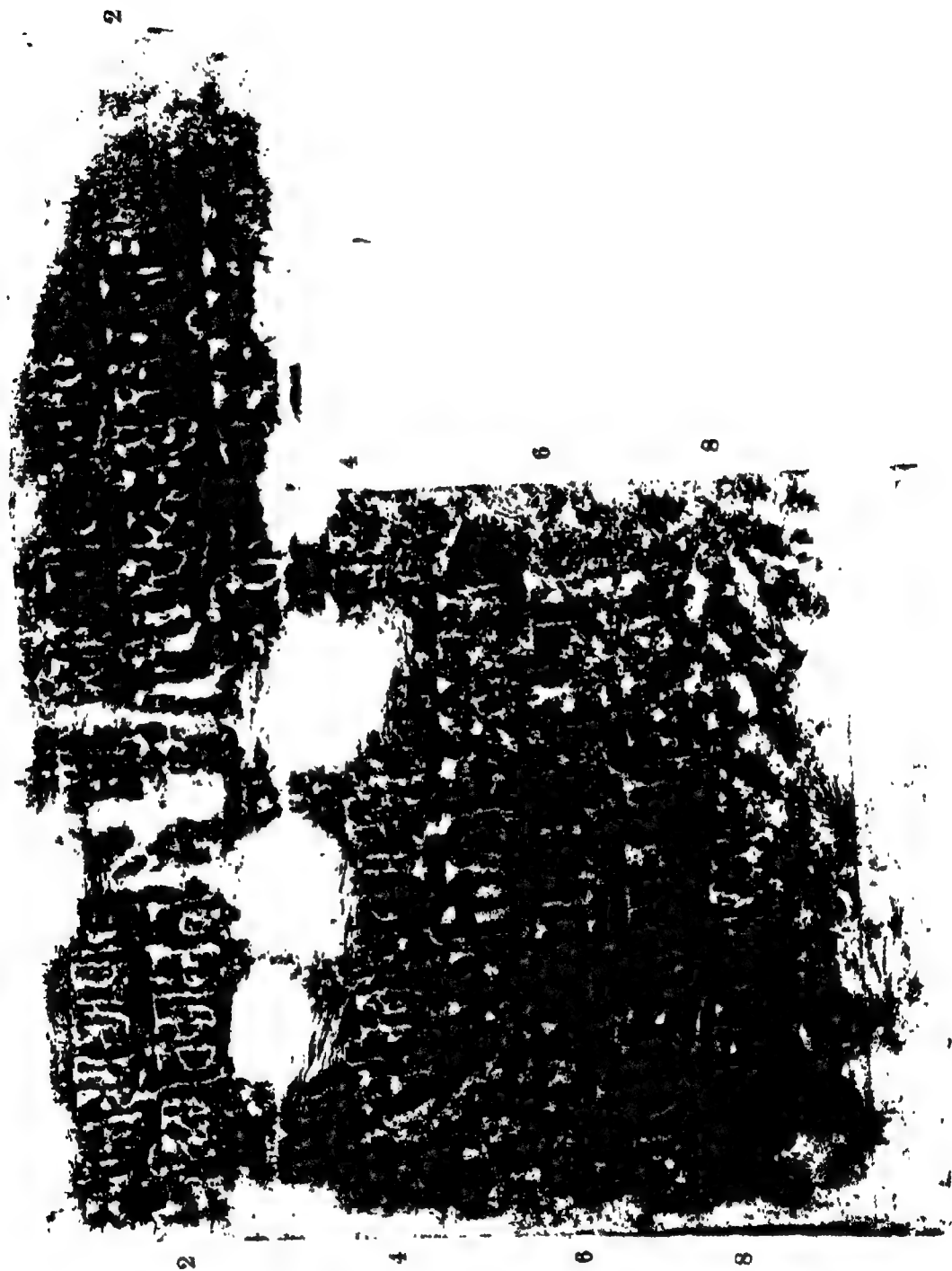


Right Half

SCALE: ONE-SEVENTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B.—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. III) OF YUVARAJADEVA I



SCALE - ONE-FIFTH

TEXT¹

- 1 [गो]। गणे]न्ययत्या परि- ० - मा² [म]हीमतो वी[ष्णु]नो[स्तु]केन [१³]
 2 [सा⁴]हित्यविद्यालक[मायुज]ज्ञा[१⁵]तीयवेहेन सुतेन गानोः⁶ ॥ [११⁷]
 3 [वि]ष्णोः ५५० - - ५, ५५५५ विष्णो ५५। ५५५५० - - ५,
 4 ५५५ न निवेदि[तं (तम्)]⁸ ॥ (२॥⁹) कते[स¹⁰] ५५० - ग्रद, ५५५५० -
 5 ५५। ५५ [ग्रस्त]मरिक्कलो[ल] नदं [सङ्के] ५ - ५५ ॥ [२॥¹¹].
 6 [लक्ष्मी] विष्णो[र]
 7 गुणनिवासेन लिखित[ं]
 8 आकेनोत्कीरित¹²।

TRANSLATION

Om!

(Verses 1-2) By Gōllāka, the son of Bhānu, (*who is*) a devotee of Vishṇu, (*and a minister*) of the king, (*who has delighted*) the earth by his gait (*resembling that*) of a lordly elephant, who has a matchless person and [who is the lover of] the lady, namely, literature, has been dedicated

(V. 3) I fancy that the great river, of which the waves are the enemies

(Lines 6-7) (*This record has been*) written by Guṇanivāsa (*and*) incised by Bhāka.

No. 41

GOPALPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA I

This inscription was, like the preceding three records, discovered in 1938 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an estampage kindly supplied by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock at the back of the Śeṣhaśāyl image to the south-west of Gopālpur, a village, one mile to the north of Bāndhōgarh in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It consists of three lines of bold and deeply incised letters, but owing to the constant trickling down of water on them, many *akṣaras* especially in lines 2 and 3 have now become illegible. The lines are 4' 8" long. The average size of the letters is 6".

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet closely, resembling those of the three preceding epigraphs. The language is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The object of the inscription was apparently similar to that of the last three epigraphs, *viz.*, to record that an image (of Haladhara?⁷) was caused to be carved by the illustrious Gōllāka, the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who was a minister of the illustrious Yuvarājādēva (I).

¹ From an inked estampage.

² Restore परितोषिषेमां.

³ The expression साहित्यविद्यालकनामुजङ्ग— occurs in connection with Yuvarājādēva II in verse 10 of the Goharwa plates (No. 50, below) and in verse 13 of the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below).

⁴ Metre: *Uṇjari*.

⁵ Metre of this and the next verse: *Amalabb*.

⁶ Read आकेनोत्कीरितम्.

⁷ Only the first two *akṣaras* of this name have left faint traces. I do not know if there is any rock-cut image of Haladhara or Balakṛama near by. It may be noted that in some panels of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Balakṛama takes the place of Kṛiṣṇa. E. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 103.

TEXT¹

- 1 [ओं श्री युव]राजदेवा[त्यस्य]श्रीभानु-
 2 [सूनोः*] श्रीगोल्ला[कस्य]. . . .²
 3 . . .³[नाम्नो] हल⁴. . . .

TRANSLATION

Om ! [This figure of Haladhara⁵(?) is] of (*i.e.*, is caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, [named], the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who is a minister of the illustrious Yuvarājādēva (I).

No. 42; PLATE XXXII

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II

THIS inscription is engraved on a rectangular sunken panel surrounded by a plain border of a large slab of sand-stone. It was discovered at Kāritalāi (lat. 24° 3' North, long. 80° 46' East), a village in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District in Madhya Pradesh. The stone, which was first removed to the Jabalpur Museum, is now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. General Cunningham first published a short account⁶ of the contents of the inscription in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 81. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The inscription is much mutilated. It has lost a considerable portion at the top. Again, a large piece, measuring 1' broad by 1' 8" high, has been broken off at the lower proper right corner, and a small one, 5" broad by 3" high, has been lost at the upper proper left corner. Besides, some letters have been lost in two cracks, of which the longer one cuts the inscription transversely. The cracks seem to have widened in the process of removing the heavy stone from Jabalpur to Nagpur and some letters, which were clear in the rubbing supplied to Dr. Kielhorn, have since disappeared.⁷ The preserved portion of the inscription covers a space 3' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high, and consists of thirty-four lines, of which the first thirty-one are inscribed on the sunken panel of the slab, and the last three on the stone border below. The average size of the letters is 1", except in l. 32, which is engraved on the inside edge of the border, and in which the letters are smaller, being only .6" in height.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. They are well-formed and deeply engraved. In some cases the *aksharas* which were inadvertently omitted at first, were incised subsequently below the line, see *ya* of *yad-antāhpurī*, l. 14 and *ka* of *-kalāsa-*, l. 20; while in others the wrong *aksharas* and strokes have been

¹ From an inked estampage.

² Three or four *aksharas* are gone here.

³ About three *aksharas* are illegible here. One would expect a word like श्रीगोदापर- at the end of the second and in the beginning of the third line, but the *akshara* preceding *na* in line 3 appears more like *ya* than *ra*. Perhaps श्रीगोद्वितीय- is meant.

⁴ Perhaps हलपर: was intended.

⁵ *Haladhara* 'the plough-holder' is a well-known name of Balarama.

⁶ As pointed out by Kielhorn, this account is very incorrect.

⁷ See, e.g., the *aksharas* -*tu=ity=ī*- in l. 13.

cancelled, either by inclining a vertical stroke at the top or by chiselling off the wrong portion; see *śālikarā* and *avyādhat*-, both in l. 3, =*adhabhrit-dhya*- in l. 18 etc. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare initial *ṛ* in *ṛijar*-, l. 18 and to *dh*, the upper part of the left limb of which, for the first time in the records edited here, appears well-developed, though it is not yet joined to the right-hand vertical see *dharma*-, l. 3. The letter *ś* appears in two slightly different forms, see, for instance, *katalō* and *hasty-asvō*-, both in l. 8; so also *ṣ* in *ṣṣṣ-śnatō* and *-pranamyah*-, both in l. 3; *r*, as the first member of a conjunct, generally appears as a *rīpha* above the line, but in *-śārur* = *yad* = l. 11, it is horizontal in form and prefixed to *ya* on the left below the line. The *prishṭha-mātrās* are fully developed, but in some cases, as for instance in *-mahā-pāṇīya*-, l. 2, *-jātavōdas*-, l. 4, *dhā*-, l. 8, the vertical stroke on the right, representing medial *ḍ*, is only half drawn. In a few cases, both the strokes of the medial *ḍ* appear horn-shaped above the line, see *prāp-śmatin*-, l. 6 and *yad-yāśhitāḥ*-, ll. 11-12. A final consonant is indicated by its short form as well as by the addition of a small curve below it, see, e.g., *kathamśhit*-, l. 3. The form of *dh*, which has a slightly developed vertical stroke on the right, shows that the present inscription is later than inscription No. 37, which comes from Kāritālāi itself.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written in the later *khāṇḍya* style, abounding in figures and hyperbolical descriptions. Except for the words *yaś=sha* in l. 3 and *keśi vahnā* in l. 16, the record is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled rightly in *=anabhyarthitō*-, l. 2 etc., but wrongly¹ in *sudarśanah*-, l. 11, and the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* throughout, see *vahutarāni*-, l. 2, *vōddhā*-, l. 7 and so forth. The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 9 and that of the *spadhmāniya* in l. 30.

The inscription mentions three Kalachuri princes, Yuvarājadēva, Lakshmanarāja and Śaṅka[ragara]. Their names occur only incidentally in the extant portion. The earlier portion which probably contained a glorification of the first two, has been lost. Of the forty-two verses which have either wholly or partially been preserved, the first describes the great liberality of some person whose name is lost, but who was probably Lakshmanarāja. The next five verses eulogize Bhākamīśra, the minister of Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently the first prince of that name in the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. Bhākamīśra was born in the family (*gōtra*) of the sage Bharadvāja, performed many sacrifices, erected temples and dug wells in numerous places. His son Somēśvara is eulogized in the next twelve verses. He was proficient in various arts, sciences and systems of philosophy and performed many sacrifices. Even the king Lakshmanarāja is said to have once shouldered his palanquin to prevent it from falling down. Then comes, in eleven verses, the description of a very high temple of Viṣṇu, erected by Sōmēśvara at Kāritālāi. The image installed therein was probably of the boar incarnation, which is referred to in vv. 27 and 35, and was called *Sōmarvāmin* after the founder of the temple. The next thirteen verses enumerate the various donations made to the deity. In the town (*pura*) near the temple, eight Brāhmanas were caused to settle. To them the king, evidently Lakshmanarāja (II), donated the village Dirghaśākhika (v. 30). He also gave another village, the name of which is lost, to the god on the occasion of a solar eclipse. His queen Rāhādā gave, with his consent, the village Chakrabaddi and the illustrious Śaṅka[ragara] who is probably identical with Lakshmanarāja's son and successor and who was then the crown-prince, gave the god another village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (v. 35).

¹ This is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

He is called *parama-vaishṇava*, a devoted worshipper of Viṣṇu. Two other villages, Chhallipāṭaka in the *āhāra* of Dhavala and Antarapāṭa, were donated to the god at a solar eclipse (v. 34). The next verse mentions donations of a small field and another yielding twelve *khaṇḍis* (of corn) to the Bear. A potentate who was named Vallē[śvara] gave the village Vapagartikā in the Mālā group of twelve in his own territory, while another, who had come to the place, donated a field requiring a *khārī* of seed-corn.¹ Besides these, several taxes and tolls are mentioned in the last five verses, the income from which was assigned to the deity.

The inscription is not dated, but it was probably put up towards the end of Lakshmaṇarāja's reign (circa 940-965 A.C.).

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription, Dr. Kielhorn suggested the identification of *Dīrghasākhika* with Dighī, about six miles south-east of Kāritalāi, and Rai Bahadur Hiralal that of *Chakrahraḍī* with Chakadahi, seven miles south of Kāritalāi. I could not, however, trace the latter village either in the list of villages in the Murwārā *tahsil* or on the Degree Map. I identify Dhavala, the headquarters of an *āhāra*, with Dhawala, 4 miles south of Dighī. The *pura*, where eight Brāhmaṇas were made to settle, is still known by the name Bamhōri (Brāhmaṇapuri) and lies about two miles east of Kāritalāi. Chhallipāṭaka is probably Chilhāri, about 11 miles east of Dhavala, in the adjoining territory of Vindhya Pradesh. Vapagartikā may be identical with the modern Barhaṭi, 10 m. west by south of Kāritalāi, and Antarapāṭa with Amaturrā, 7 miles east of Kāritalāi. The Mālā group of twelve cannot be located.

TEXT²

- 1 नितरान्दलेन ॥ ताम्रपण्णीतितप्राप्तै³.
॥ ००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०- , [मृ*]-
- 2 मेस्त्रीणि पदानि वामनमहापात्राय कृच्छ्राद्दो । प्रत्यक्षीकृतदान एव तु जनैः प्रादावनम्यत्स्थितो
ग्रामान्ना (न्ना) ह्यणजातये व (व) हुत[रा]स्तुष्टान्तरा[न्मा] ० -⁴ [॥१॥*]
- 3 वंशाद्भूतद्वयजमुनेरनूनाद्गुणानतो⁵ धर्म इवापरो[मृ]त् । श्रीमाकमिश्रः कितिपग्रम्यः शवदत्तु-
तात्कीकृतमागंणीषः⁶ [॥२॥*] कृष्टितचिषणो विष- - -⁷
- 4 सौम्यो बु(बु)षो न बु(बु)षः । जकविः कविरपि यस्मादतिप्रहोप्येवमग्रहद्विजं (ग्रम्)⁸ [॥३॥*]
यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्ततरक्षरतापोस्तगानी धरित्री । दिगिभभुज[म]-

¹ Kielhorn remarked:—"The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *khārīvāpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean a field sown with a *khārī* of corn, or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kāritalāi. The latter supposition is unlikely; for the verse clearly means that some person, whose name is lost, donated to the god a field in his own territory when he came *here (iba)*, i. e., to Kāritalāi. *Khārīvāpa*, therefore, cannot be identical with Kāritalāi.

² From the original stone and ink impressions.

³ Only the lower portions of nearly half the number of the *akṣaras* in this line are preserved. The reading of the fourteen *akṣaras* given above is almost certain.

⁴ The missing *akṣaras* were probably सदा. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ It would be better to read वंशे भरद्वाजमुनेरनूने गुणोन्नतो— as suggested by Kielhorn.

⁶ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁷ Read चिषणोऽसौम्यः.

⁸ Metre: *Udgīti*.

- 16 वतहस्तस्तस्य [श्री]महसोमेश्वरमुपवसने के वरं तुच्छवाचः¹ ॥१६॥* वातन्ममाधिरोहे²
अव्यति दोलामृति अमास्तिकिन्वत् । श्रीम[ल्ल]स्वमराज स्वन्ममदासस्व दोलतां(याम्)³ ॥
[१७॥*]
- 17 प्रासादोपमका[रि] तेन कृतिना देवस्य वैत्यद्भुतः श्रीमच्छेदिनरेन्द्रमञ्जितिकोनाञ्जलिताशामुलः ।
यस्योष्णः [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपटः त्रेह्नुन्मिमगामिना⁴ संज्ञा व्या-
घुटने करोत्यविरतं दद्याध्वनतेतिध्रुवं(वम्)⁵ ॥१८॥* अमुरति व(व)हिरन्तरावधानः कृटि-
लतरत्नमयःकृतान्यकीर्तिः । पि[धुन*] इव समुद्रतो विभाति प्रकटविलिङ्गितसर्वलोक एवः⁶
॥१९॥*
- 19 लक्ष्मीन्दधानोपि पु[रो] दधानो विमुक्तिमादशितविषवस्वः । [क]सामगाहिष्यत दानवा-
रेषोप्यया - ७ ७⁷[वा]मनत्वं(त्वम्)⁸ ॥२०॥* अलमसमुद्रवशप्रान्तसंसक्तशुक्लाशुक-
घटितश-
- 20 रीरेणोच्छ्रितेन ध्वजे[न*] । कनकक⁹लशरोभिर्दृष्टलज्जप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धरो केतुतामेव नित्यं-
(त्वम्)¹⁰ ॥२१॥* [उ]त्तानां परिष्वङ्गो गुणाय महते यतः । अपि पुर्द्वर्शनो भानुर्भवत्य-
त्र सुदर्शनः¹¹ ॥२२॥* ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पस्समीरे मिलमरसरिक्केवश्यमस्योत्तमा-
[ङ्गे] । तरणिरननुभूतं यामयुगमाभिगम्ये निजरत्नतुराणां वातपृष्ठन्द-¹²
- 22 [दा]ति¹³ ॥२३॥* अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त]माङ्गलभरतगमनोद्भृष्टिस्तीक्ष्णयाङ्गः प्रातः प्रातर्दिनेशो
व[ट]यति युगलं चक्रयोर्वीतिसंस्थं(स्वम्) । शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्यपुटनिपतनोत्था-
७ - - ७¹⁴ [द]ण्डः । सायं सायं जनानां¹⁵ कलयति नितरामसवर्गं समष्टं(धम्)¹⁶ ॥२४॥*
नय[ति] रथममुञ्चेदक्षिणेनोत्तरेण स्यु¹⁷रति हि दिवसानां कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि । त-
- 24 ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ - - [मे*]स्यातेप्यभिज्ञो ध्रुवमनमिविलम्बं प्राप्य सीदत्यम[न्दं](न्दम्)¹⁸ ॥२५॥*
अलङ्घ्यशिलरश्मेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिब । पातङ्गिरुचु(छिद्र)व्यापतिरसपात्रमम्-
७ ७¹⁹ ॥२६॥* - - - ७ ७ - बराहचरणसोदाबुद्धचक्रिणं पृष्ठं मे तव तत्क्षणो[द]तवि(वि)स-
प्राया शिरःसन्ततिः । मा गाङ्गुङ्गमितोपसर्पं निदधे तत्तावदेतत्तद्ध्रुवं कूर्मस्यापि व-
- 26 - ७ - ७ ७ ७ - - - ७ वाहे भवन्²⁰ ॥२७॥* किं व(व)हुना ॥ सर्वप्रासा[द]राजोयं नियतं
प्रतिभाति नः । यस्य केतुदण्डाग्रलग्नश्छत्रायते विष्णुः²¹ ॥२८॥* स्थेयावाकल्पमेतत्सु-

¹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

² Kielhorn read वात त्वमाधिरोहे, but he admitted, that he did not understand its exact meaning.

³ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁴ Kielhorn proposed to change this into विद्यद्गामिनः, but this is unnecessary.

⁵ Metre: *Sārdālavikriḍita*.

⁶ Metre: *Pushpīāgrā*.

⁷ Read -प्ययास्यणदि.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāñi*.

⁹ The क of कलश, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

¹⁰ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹¹ Read सुदर्शनः. Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Kielhorn's suggestions to read -रननुभूतां and वातवृष्टि are unnecessary. See the translation below.

¹³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁴ The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied as -पनेनात्र.

¹⁵ This has not been altered to जनानां as Kielhorn thought.

¹⁶ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁷ This *akṣara* is certainly not स्म. It resembles स्यु more than any other.

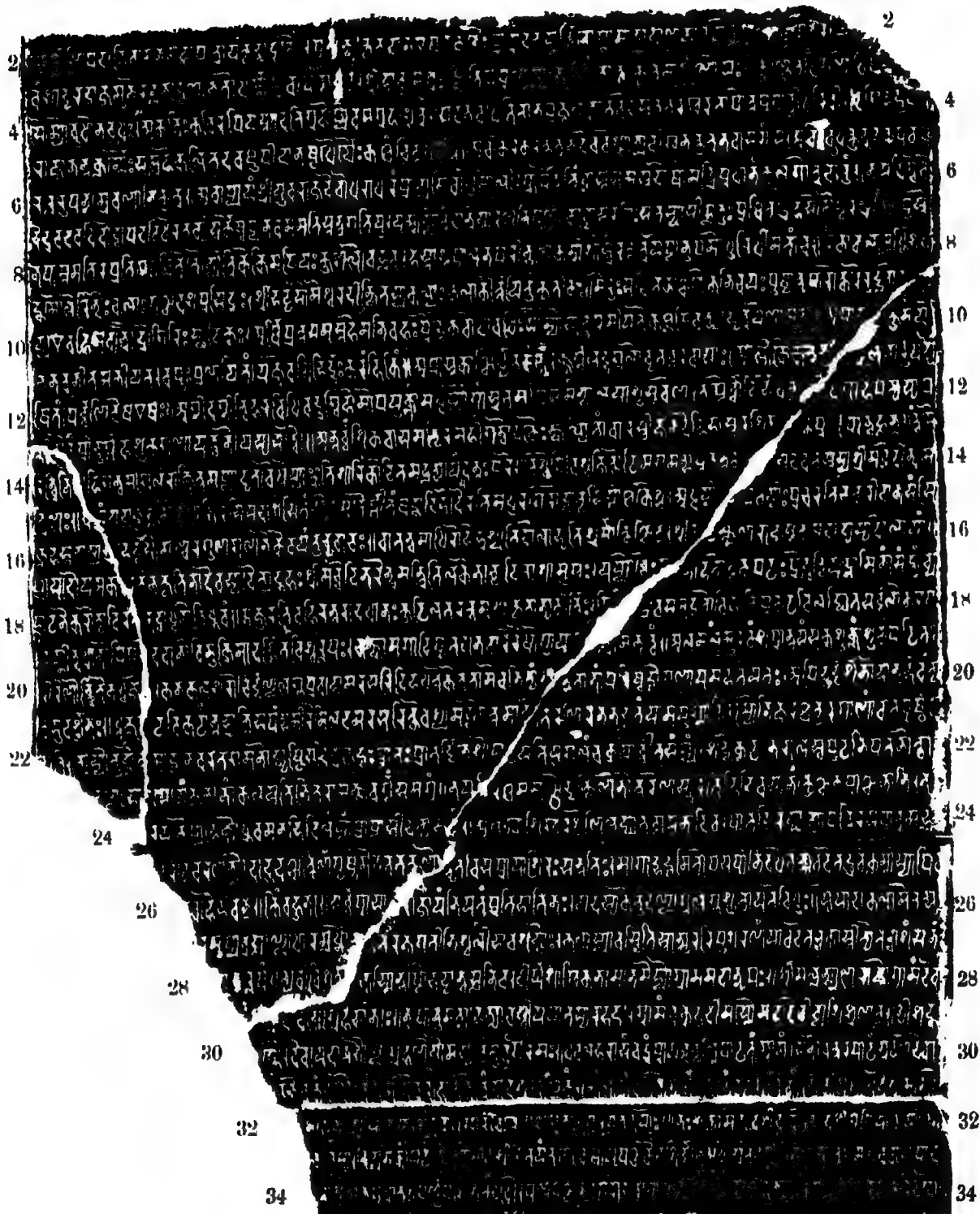
¹⁸ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁹ Read -दिह. Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

²⁰ Metre: *Sārdālavikriḍita*.

²¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II.



- 27 ०००००—०—[र]मुष्य^१ व(व)ह्माणाकारमुष्नी [वृ]तरवनीनिवन्कीभावसावकोः ।
कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्पुररिमुषर्यं यावदेतन्वकास्तीत्येतन्वावर्त्तनं
- 28 —००००००—०—[क]र्यं(यम्)^२॥[२९॥*] न्यवीविश[त्पुरे] वास्विष्णुष्टौ भट्टान्वसू-
निव । दीर्घताक्षिकवाभातनेन्यौ ग्राममसाधुः^३॥[३०॥*] श्रीमत्सम्पन्नराको ग्रामं देवा-
- 29[१].....[श]वावस्ते ग्रहे मानोः^४॥[३१॥*] नृपानुमत्या वक्त्या च स्वीयवा
सस्य राहज । ग्रामं वक्तृकीमस्ते महादेवी व्यशिमपत्^५॥[३२॥*] श्रीमत्क-
- 30स्ते । देवाय वानकीको ग्रहने सोमस्य वैष्णवः परमः^६॥[३३॥*]
भवलहरासव(व)ष्टं प्रावच्छन्कलिपाटकं ग्रामं(यम्) । मानोरन्तरपाटं ग्रहने देवा-
- 31^७॥[३४॥*]५५५५५—५,५५[ल]क्ष्मेकं ददौ । तत्समीपे वराहाम श्रौतं द्वादशशब्धि-
कं(कम्)^८॥[३५॥*] मालाद्वादशके ग्रामं शासनं वटनर्तिकां(काम्) । स्वकीय^९शासने श्री-
मान्वले-
- 32 ५५५—५५५॥[३६॥*] ५५५५५—५,५५५५५ शासने^{१०} । श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय सारीवाप-
निहागतः ॥[३७॥*] पुरपत्तनयोः स्वामः शुक्लामेकादशीं ददौ । द्वादशीमपि भाभायाः नो-
- 33 ५५५५—५५५॥[३८॥*] ५५५५५—५,५५५५५ का तथा । नित्यमेकां वटीं श्रीर्ष्या बोद्धशी-
द्वितयं तथा ॥[३९॥*] ककावपञ्चके देशिहनिमग्न्ये न्यवेदयत् । सार्द्धद्वविशमंश्च च ग्राह्यं पाद-
- 34 ५—५५५॥[४०॥*] ५५५५—५,५५५५५—५५ । [याम्]लिकप्रधानद्वय वर्णपञ्चाशतं
ददौ^{११}॥[४१॥*] वर्णपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा । सलमिस्त्रावतलश्च मण्डलं सकलं
ददौ ॥[४२॥*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) [Bali]¹² unwillingly gave land measuring three footsteps to Vāmana, the great recipient (*of the gift*); this (*Lakshmanarāja*) on the other hand, whose charity is witnessed by the people, has always (*and*) with gratification given numerous villages to (*members of*) the Brāhmaṇa caste, (*though*) not entreated (*by them*).

(V. 2) In the glorious lineage of the sage Bharadvāja was born, like a second Dharma, the illustrious Bhākamīra who, modest by his virtues, was venerable to kings, (*and*) always rendered multitudes of supplicants happy.

(V. 3) On account of him¹³, oh, what a wonder! Brihaspati became confounded, the moon ugly, Budha unwise, Uśanas ignorant, and the oppressive planet (Saturn?) incapable of overtaking (*the people*).

(V. 4) With its body oppressed by the very excessive and intense heat of the fires of his endless sacrifices, the earth was borne with great difficulty by the quarter-

¹ Kielhorn read [रमुष्य], but the reading given above is quite certain.

² Metre: *Śrughāṇā*.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre: *Aryā*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre: *Udgīṭi*.

⁷ Perhaps वनवाह्य is meant, but it would not suit the metre.

⁸ Metre: *Aryā*.

⁹ Metre of vv. 34-42: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁰ Kielhorn read स्वकीये, but there is no sign of any *śāntā* on व.

¹¹ This word is quite clear on the original stone. Kielhorn, however, read [यते].

¹² The few legible words in 1.1 do not admit of a coherent meaning. They seem to refer to Lakshmanarāja's army encamped on the bank of the Tāmaparal.

¹³ In the original, verses 3-6 contain relative clauses, having for their correlative श्री Bhākamīrah in verse 2.

elephants, Śeṣha, the lord of serpents and the Tortoise, who lost their patience on account of the pain they (*had to*) bear.

And he—

(V. 5) Where did he not cause temples to be constructed, tanks to be excavated, wells with steps and those without them to be dug, and gardens of mango trees to be planted?

(V. 6) Having obtained him, eminent by noble descent,¹ as his Prime Minister, the illustrious Yuvarājādēva (I) attained prosperity free from all deficiency, just as the sun being united with the eastern mountain—which, being a principal mountain, appears beautiful,—attains high altitude, completely dispelling the night.

(V. 7) His son was that Sōmēśvara, well-known here, who felt no doubt in (*interpreting*) the Vēdas; who was a complete master of grammar; who was (*an*) inconceivable (*adept*) even in logic; who had a superior intellect in the interpretation of Tantra (*works*); who was the foremost in Vēdānta, (*and*) clever in remembering poetic compositions.

(V. 8) His intellect did not discard painting;² he was incomparable in conduct and quite skilful in triple symphony; he was matchless in the sciences of the care and examination of elephants and horses and in (*the testing of*) the three (*kinds*) of jewels (*and*) was at the head of the intelligent.

(V. 9) There is only one *kalā* (*i.e.*, digit of the moon) on the head of Siva; the *kalās* of the moon are well-known to be fifteen (*in number*); (*but*) who is able to enumerate the pleasing *kalās* (*arts*) of the illustrious Bhaṭṭa, the *Dīkṣita* Sōmēśvara?

(V. 10) (*The mountain*) Mēru is one mass of hoarded gold; the Himālaya has become extremely frigid by its increasing heaps of snow; the mountain of crystal (*i.e.*, Kailāsa) appears dreadful.³ How can he (*i.e.*, Sōmēśvara) who has bestowed on supplicants his entire store of gold, who has reached the limit of highest knowledge (*and*) who is gentle (*by nature*), be compared to this triad of mountains?

(V. 11) In the sacrifice, he smeared his body with butter, discarding saffron;⁴ for, what is difficult to be accomplished by the self-controlled?

(V. 12) Of his wives this was the dress on (*the days of*) *Parvan*, specially charming, being uncommon,—in which the girdle was set aside (*and*) a rope of *mññja*⁵ was worn (*instead*), the silken garment dropped down (*from their bodies*), (*and*) the linen cloth was chosen (*in its place*)⁶.

(V. 13) The multitudes of the house-parrots of him, the sacrificer, said thus at (*each*) twilight:—‘O Agnidh⁷! kindle the fires according to prescribed rules. O Adhvaryu!

¹ There is a play on the words *unnati*, *dōṣa* (or *dōṣā*) and *kula-gōṣṭra*, in consequence of which the expressions in which they occur can be understood in connection with both Yuvarājādēva I and the sun.

² Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *pusta* in the sense of painting. It can also be taken in the sense of a book or a record. Compare *pustapāla* which occurs in several Gupta records in the sense of a record-keeper, see, *s.g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 81.

³ There are puns on the words *jāḍya* and *randra*, which besides the meanings given above convey those of ‘dullness’ and ‘belonging to Rudra’ respectively.

⁴ In the initiatory rite (*dīkṣaṇīy-īṣṭi*) of the Agnishtōma sacrifice, the sacrificer is required to anoint himself with butter. See *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (ed. by Caland), p. 157.

⁵ In an *īṣṭi*, the wife of the sacrificer ties round her waist a threefold girdle of *kuta*, called *yākeṭva*.

⁶ The meaning of *śūtra* is uncertain, but the context shows that some coarse garment (as contrasted with *dukūla*, a silken raiment) is meant. On the occasion of *agnyādāna*, the sacrificer and his wife are required to dress themselves in garments of linen (*kṣamma*) which may be meant here.

⁷ The priest who kindles fire in a sacrifice.

milk the cow (*which is*) useful for the sacrifice, and wash quickly the *sruch* together with the *srus*.¹ Let the wife (*of the sacrificer*) attend the Gārhapatya fire with hot water'.

(V. 14) In his harem, this was said by the *sārikā* (*every*) evening:—'O Superintendent of the harem! let the floor of the residential mansion be washed with scented water. Courtezans! give (*me*) numerous jewelled lights with bright flames. O maid-servant! keep ready all (*the*) scents. O Queen! You also mind (*your*) dress!'

(V. 15) All the sacrifices of the illustrious minister of the lord of Chēdi, who gave away (*in charity*) all his wealth, reached the standard of the *Vishajit* sacrifice.²

(V. 16) How insignificant are we of worthless speech in enumerating the merits of that illustrious Bhaṭṭa Sōmēśvara,—at the place of whose sacrifices and in the fore-front of whose battles, hymns and eulogies are recited by the Hōṭṭi priests and bards (*respectively*); (*sāmans and panegyrics*) are sung in *śadja* and other notes and in an extremely sweet voice by the Udgātṭi priests³ and musicians (*respectively*); (*and*) there moves about (*respectively*) the Adhvaryu priest, foremost in sacrificial work, whose hand is wet with (*the water poured in making*) gifts, and the elephant whose trunk is wet with rutting juice!

(V. 17) To his palanquin the illustrious Lakshmanaparāja (II) put his shoulder, when the bearer of it ascending to airy place⁴ was stumbling a little on account of the fatigue of carrying it.

(V. 18) This temple of the god (Vishṇu) the enemy of demons, which has covered the faces of (*all*) quarters, has been constructed by that virtuous and foremost minister of the illustrious lord of Chēdi,—(*the temple*) whose banner-cloth, which is incessantly fluttering, being struck by wind, is most assuredly making a sign to such as go through the sky to turn back (*from the temple*) which has blocked their path.

(V. 19) This high temple which appears very straight outside, but is very curved inside, which has surpassed (*in height*) the temples of others, (*and*) which has manifestly risen above the whole world, appears like an insolent calumniator who shows himself very straight-forward outwardly, (*but*) is crooked at heart, who has disparaged others' fame, and openly insulted all people.⁵

(V. 20) This temple also, which, though possessing splendour, confers liberation, showing all forms (*by its sculptures*) in front would have borne resemblance to (*Vishṇu*) the enemy of gods (*who, though he deprived Bali of his fortune, conferred liberation, showing him his all-embracing form*), if (*only, like the latter*), it had been small (*in size*).⁶

(V. 21) On account of the upraised flag (*of this temple*) made of a white (*piece of*) cloth attached to the (*upper*) end of an extremely high staff, the heavenly river, with its stream flowing along the staff which looks splendid with the golden jar (*on the spire of the temple*), appears always to assume the very form of a banner.

(V. 22) Association with the exalted leads to great excellence; for even the dazzling sun can be easily looked at from here.⁷

(V. 23) On the top of this temple which can be reached (*by the sun*) after a pair of watches (*i.e., six hours*), where there is a (*cool*) breeze produced by the flapping of the

¹ *Sruch* means a sacrificial ladle in general; while *srus* is a sacrificial ladle of *khadira* (*Acacia Catechu*), measuring a cubit (*orasi*) in length.

² Because he gave away all his wealth in each sacrifice.

³ The priests who sing the hymns of the *Sāmavāda*.

⁴ *Vāṇdhana*, an airy place, is mentioned in the *Kāṭhā* on Pāṇini, III, 2, 30.

⁵ There are puns on several words here, on account of which they can be construed with the temple and the calumniator.

⁶ Vishṇu was *adhinna* (dwarfish).

⁷ For it is connected with the *high* temple.

large hem of the banner-cloth (*and*) where the heavenly river meets, the sun invariably gives a currying to his horses (*such as they had*) not enjoyed before (*at that time of the day*).

(V. 24) Morning after morning the sun, the wheels of whose (*chariot*) break down, colliding against the high spire of this temple during his incessant roaming (*through the sky*), repairs both of them innumerable times. I fancy that every evening the banner-staff (*of this temple*) completely counts to the people all the axles¹ (*that had broken*) owing to (*the sun's chariot*) jolting in the cavity of the sky (*caused*) by the peak (*of this temple*).

(V. 25) If he (*i.e.*, the sun's charioteer) were to take the chariot by the south or the north of this (*temple*), there would be the (*untimely*) shortening and lengthening of the days;² (So) expert as he is in crossing even the Mēru mountain, he is not a little confounded when he reaches this (*temple*) which is firm (*and*) impossible to be crossed.

(V. 26) The son of the sun (*i.e.*, Saturn) suffered (*here*) the pain caused by the injury to his legs³ as if because of his inordinate fondness for crossing the impassable row of the spires (*of this temple*).

(V. 27) 'My⁴ back is becoming scarred, being trampled under the feet of the Boar! Let not the row of your hoods, which is (*soft*) almost like lotus-stalks just drawn (*out of water*), break (*under my weight*)! Turn aside. Let me place this (*my body*) on (*the back of*) the Tortoise!'

What is the use of saying more?

(V. 28) This certainly appears to us to be the best of all temples, since the moon (*when*) joined to the top of its flag staff, appears like an umbrella.

(V. 29) May this of this (*temple*), the top of which supports the egg of Brahman, and which is the peg that renders the earth immovable, last as long as the world! (*And*) may the world endure as long as this temple of (*Vishṇu*), the enemy of Mura, will shine Such is (*our*) wish!

(V. 30) The king made eight Brāhmaṇas, resembling (*as many*) Vasus, settle in this city (*and*) gave them a village named *Dīrghasākhika*.

(V. 31) The illustrious Lakshmanarāja (II) gave the village to this god on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun.

(V. 32) His great Queen Rāhaḍā, with her devotion and the king's consent, gave this (*god*) the village *Chakrahraḍī*.

(V. 33) The illustrious Śaṅka[raṇa] (III) the devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, skilled in charity, gave on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the moon.

(V. 34) (*He*) gave the village *Chhallipāṭaka*, which is situated in the *āhāra*⁵ of Dhavala and Antarapāṭa on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun.

(V. 35) (*He*) gave the (*divine*) Boar the field and also another yielding (*a crop of*) twelve *khaṇḍis*.

(V. 36) The illustrious Vallē[śvara] gave as a grant,⁶ the village *Vaṭagartikā* (*situated*) in the *Mālā* (*group*) of twelve (*villages*) in his own territory.

¹ The stars are probably intended to be referred to as 'axles'. The staff as it points to different stars during the night is said to count them to the people.

² For these are caused by the *dakṣiṇāyana* and the *uttarāyana* of the sun.

³ Hence he is called *Samaiśvara* (one who walks slowly).

⁴ This is evidently said by the Earth to the serpent Śeṣha. The temple was dedicated to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu. Hence the Earth says that her back bears the scars of the wounds caused by His hoofs.

⁵ See above, p. 191, n. 7.

⁶ *Sāsana* is used here in the sense of 'a village granted by a charter'. Compare *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

(V. 37) (H_o) who had come here, gave a field, sown with a *khārti*¹ of grain, in his own territory, to the god, the holy Sōmasvāmin.

(V. 38) The Superintendent² of the city and the town gave (to the god) (the income?) on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight and also on the twelfth day during the fair (of the god)

(V. 39) (H_o) always gave a jar (of *arvā*³) for every *gōṇī*⁴ and also a couple of *shōḍaśis*⁵ (i.e., *karsha*).

(V. 40) The Dēśi⁶ offered one and a half times the one-twentysecond portion of the five spirituous liquors and a quarter of the goods carried (into the town?) among (these) donations.

(V. 41) And the Chief of the Vāgūlikas⁷ gave (a bundle of) fifty leaves.⁸

(V. 42) The Pāyatis gave another (bundle of) fifty leaves. And the whole Maṇḍala gave the alms at four threshing floors.⁹

No. 43; PLATE XXXIII

BARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA

THIS inscription is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargaon, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, Part I, p. 101 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*¹⁰ and was edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 278 ff. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters has disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three *aksharas*. The average

¹ A *khārti* is a measure equal to sixteen *dr̥ṣas*.

² *Sihāna* seems to be used here in the sense of the *sthānā-adhikṛita* or *sthānā-pati*. Cf. No. 58, l. 15.

³ *Ghaṇī* as a measure is mentioned in the *śāstrīka* on Pāṇini, III. 2.30. If it is the same as *kumbha*, it would be equal to twenty *dr̥ṣas*.

⁴ A *gōṇī* is a measure equal to four *khārtis* (Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 537).

⁵ Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *shōḍaśikā*, meaning 'sixteen *māśas*', that is, equal to one *karsha*. Or, on the analogy of *śikṣāpāṭa* it may have been so called, because it was equivalent to one sixteenth of a *draṇṇa*.

⁶ *Dēśi*, which occurs as *Dēśi* in the Paldevā inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 187), means probably the foreman of a guild, or the guild itself. See the Harsha stone inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 124) and the Nāḍial stone inscription, (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 43).

⁷ The lexicons give *vāgūli* in the sense of a kind of plant, perhaps the betel-plant. *Vāgūlika* used here may in that case denote 'a seller of betel-leaves'.

⁸ The Rajor inscription of Mathadādēva also mentions the tax of fifty leaves on every *shōḍaśikā* (of leaves), brought from outside the town, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 267.

⁹ See below, p. 198, n. 1.

¹⁰ First edition, (1916), pp. 39-40; second edition (1931), p. 43.

size of the letters is 1.5." The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters, we may note that *kh* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top; *th* shows a vertical stroke on the right; *r* exhibits two forms,—one with a loop as in *krīdaranī*, l. 3 and the other without it in *-Savara-*, l. 1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A.C., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A.C.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of *sandhi* (as in *atō arthā* for *atō-rthā* in l. 4) and of gender (as in *śapath=īdam* for *śapathō=yam* in the same line.) The only orthographical peculiarity that calls for notice is that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *-Savara-* and *-Valādhikṛita*, both in l. 1, and *-vrahma-stamba-* in l. 2.

The record opens with *ōm namaḥ* and refers to a Commander of the army (*Balādhikṛita*) of *Śabara*. His name, which is partly mutilated, appears to be *Siva*. The object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of *Brāhmaṇas* for the benefit of (the god) *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa*, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a *Brāhmaṇa*.

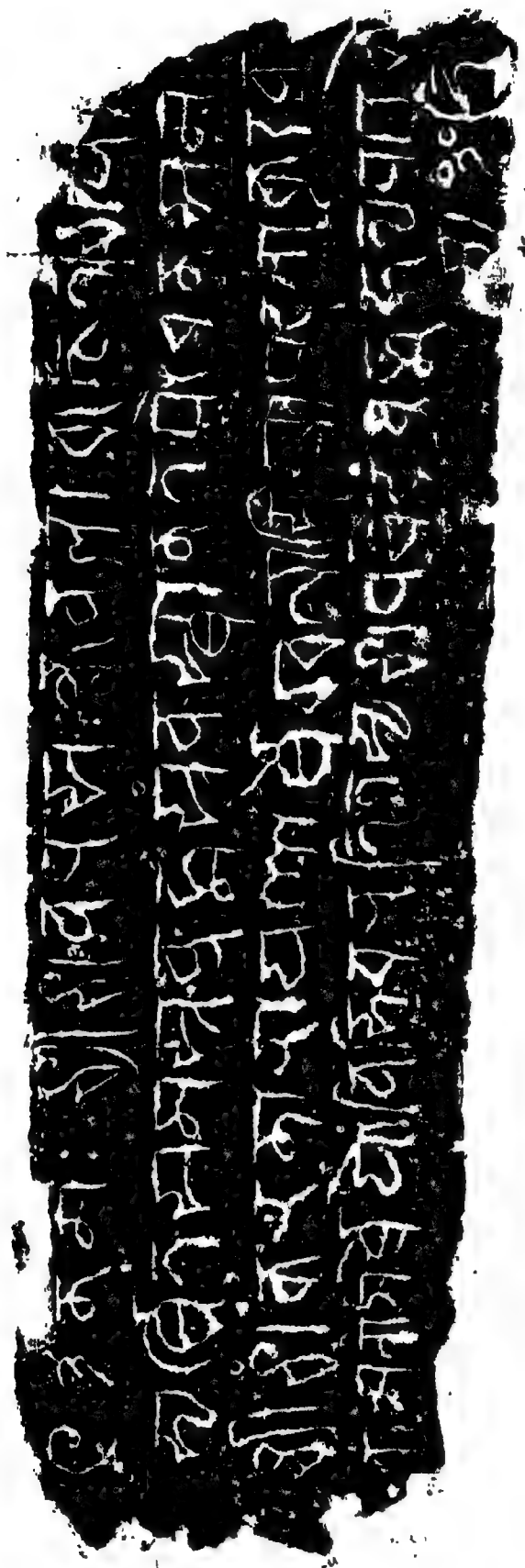
The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but as stated above, it can, on palaeographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.C. The illustrious *Śabara* mentioned here is perhaps identical with the *Śabara*, named *Simha*, mentioned in the fragmentary stone inscription found at *Bhilsā*, to which Dr. F.E. Hall has called attention in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that *Vāchaspati* of the *Kauṇḍinya gōtra*, who was a minister of the king *Kṛishṇa*, after defeating the lord of *Chēdi* and slaying a *Śabara* named *Simha*, placed the king of the *Rālā maṇḍala* and *Rōḍapādi* on the throne and repaired to the temple of *Bhāillas-vāmin* at *Vidiśā* near *Bhilsā*, where he composed a *stōtra* in praise of the god.¹ From the mention of the lord of *Chēdi* and the *Śabara* chief *Simha* together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the *Chēdian* generalissimo. The *Śabara* of the present inscription too was no doubt subject to the contemporary *Chēdi* or *Kalachuri* king; for a much defaced inscription at *Bargaon*, to which General Cunningham² has drawn attention, refers to a *Kalachuri* king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this *Śabara* himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the *Chēdi* king. This fragmentary inscription at *Bhilsā* is also undated, but the date of the king *Kṛishṇa*, whose minister was *Vāchaspati*, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At *Maser*, a village about twenty-five miles north of *Bhilsā*, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces. It mentions one *Narasimha* of the *Sulki* (or *Chālukya*) family, who at the command of *Kṛishṇarāja* initiated the wives of *Kalachuri* kings into widowhood.³ As *Kēsari*, the son of *Narasimha* was, according to the inscription, appointed *Tantrādhipa* (Minister of Home Affairs) by *Vākpati-Muñja* (circa 972-995 A.C.), *Kṛishṇarāja* can be placed about 950 A.C. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (982 A.C.) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde discovered on a pillar

¹ See 'Chīd-īlam samarē vijitya Śabarani sambritya śikhābhūṣyaṇā | Rālā-maṇḍala-Rōḍapādy-avanipāḥ (paṇi) bhāṇyān pratisphāpya cha || Dēvanī drashṭum =ih-āgatē rachitānub(n) stōtrān pavitrān parān | Śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-nṛp-aike-mantri-pada-bhāḥ-Kauṇḍinya-Vāchaspatiḥ || cited by F. E. Hall in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

² *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 101 and 165.

³ *A. R. A. D. G. S.*, (1930-31), p. 10.

BARGAON TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA



of a dilapidated medieval temple at Gyāraspur.¹ This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as *Kṛishṇīśvara*. The god was evidently so named after a king named Kṛishṇa who consequently must have flourished before 982 A.C. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the aforementioned date for Kṛishṇa. This Kṛishṇa is probably identical with Kṛishṇapa of the Chandēlla family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions² at Dudahi, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielhorn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga, for whom we have dates ranging from 954 A.C. to 1002 A.C. Kṛishṇapa may, therefore, be referred to the period 960-85 A.C. From the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga dated V. 1011 we learn that the Chandēlla kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south.³ It seems, therefore, that Dhaṅga placed his brother Kṛishṇapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending at least from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Sabara of the present inscription with the Sabara chief slain by Kṛishṇarāja's minister is accepted, the Sabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A.C. The Kalachuri suzerain, to whom he owed allegiance, was probably Saṅkaraṅga. The name of the god Saṅkaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious. It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Saṅkara,⁴ who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kāritālāi stone inscription⁵ of Lakshmanarāja II. It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishṇava* or a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in that record.

TEXT*

- 1 तिदिः⁷ [1*] ओं नमः श्रीशङ्क(ङ)रसत्कङ्क(ङ)लावीकृत⁸[शिवा]...
- 2 श्यधित⁹समस्तङ्क(ङ)हृस्तङ्क(ङ)स्थानतपोधनसम
- 3 श्रीशङ्करनारायणार्थे शला(ल)मिवा(ला) प्रवृत्ता कुदर¹⁰...
- 4 कं अतो अर्थे¹¹ यो वि(व्य)मिचरति तस्य शपथे¹² ङ(ङ)हृह-
त्य(स्या)पातके¹³
- 5 स्य इति¹⁴ [11*]

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde.

² These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham see his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. X, pp. 94 and 95, plate XXXII. They were edited by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 1, p. 129.

⁴ For an analogous case, see the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the image in the temple erected by the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Indra III at Bodana in the Hyderabad State, *H. A. S.*, No. I, p. 2.

⁵ Above, No 42, line 29.

⁶ From ink impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read —विहृत—.

⁹ Read अभ्यधित—.

¹⁰ Perhaps some word like *śā* is lost after कुदर.

¹¹ Read अतोर्थे, used in the sense of अतिशयोक्ति.

¹² Read शपथोर्थे.

¹³ Read —पातकेन संयुक्तो मविध्यति ।

¹⁴ Read —इति.

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Adoration! [Siva], the *Balādhikṛita* of the illustrious Śabara has given the cess at the threshing floor¹ and a granary for the holy Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa to the ascetic residing in the temple (*which is the only one*) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇas² venerated by

(Line 4) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (*ow*) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa

No. 44; PLATE XXXIV

CHANDREHE STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 724

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr. Beglar³, one of the Assistants of Sir A. Cunningham at Chandrēhi or Chandrēh⁴ (long. 81° 32' E. and lat. 24° 18' N.), a small village about a mile from the right bank of the Sōṇa close to its confluence with the Banās, in the District of Rewa, in Vindhya Pradesh. The record was first noticed by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 85, and again in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 354, n. 1. A transcript of its text, together with a translation, was given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 23), pp. 110 ff. The same scholar subsequently edited it, with a lithograph and a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 148 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on two slabs of stone 'which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is, on the whole, in a very good state of preservation.'⁵ The record consists of twenty-seven lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first stone (marked A, below) and thirteen on the second (marked B). The average size of the letters is 1". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet and show some development over those of the Kāṛitalāi inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II.⁶ *Kh* and *g*, for instance, show an acute-angled triangle in their left limb; *dh*, on the other hand, shows no development in its left limb, but closely resembles *ν*, except that it has no line at the top; two forms of *k* are used, one generally in ligatures, see *-kvaṇaḍ-*, l. 5, *kshaṇam*, l. 13, and the other elsewhere; *th* has a vertical on the right; *ph* exhibits two forms; for the first, which is developed from the old type, see *phaṇi-*, l. 1, *-phaṇ-iśvara-*, l. 4 and *-dvirēpha-*, l. 20, and for the second, which survives in the later Nāgarī, see *sphāri-*,

¹ *Khala-bhikṣā*, lit. 'alms at a threshing floor', was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee, the record does not make clear. The Kāṛitalāi stone inscription (above, No. 42) refers in line 34 to the donation of four *khalabbikṣās*.

² *Brahma-stambha* occurs in verse 14 of the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarna, Nos. 56 and 57 below, but there too the correct expression evidently is *brahma-stambha* meaning 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas'.

³ C. A. S. I. R., Vols. XIII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 ff.

⁴ The place is called Chandrē in the Degree Map No. 63 H.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 148.

⁶ No. 42, above.

1.2 and *-phanam*, 1.4; the left limb of *ś* is joined to the vertical on the right, see *Sināya* 1.1; the right-hand stroke for the medial *ā* and *ō* occasionally appears crescent-shaped, see *vidyuch-chhankām*, 1.20; the medial *ā* and one of the components of *ai*, *ō* and *au* are in some cases formed by lengthening the top stroke to the left to end in a small curve, while in others they are shown by a fully developed *prishṭha-mātrā*, see, e.g., *-bhāvē*, 1.16, and *vairam*, 1.21.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the customary obeisance to Siva in the beginning and certain names and the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are twenty verses in all. The record is, on the whole, carefully composed and incised, such mistakes as *dadam* for *dadad*, 1.13, and *charanā*=*jagati* in 1.16 being rare. As regards orthography, we note that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* throughout, see, e.g., *-vrahmāṇḍa*, 1.4; *n* is used for *anuvāsa* in *hansa*, 1.2, and *-dhvansa*, 1.18, and the dental *ś* for the palatal *ś* in *sāvad*, 1.12.

After the introductory *ōm namaḥ Sināya*, the record has three verses which describe Siva and his *tāṇḍava* dance and invoke his blessings. Then comes the spiritual genealogy of the Saiva ascetic Prabodhasiva who put up the record. In the spiritual succession of the Mattamayūra (clan) there was Purandara, the preceptor of kings. His disciple was Śikhāśiva, who is later on referred to as the lord of Madhumatī. His disciple was Prabhāvasiva, who was invited to accept some land by Yuvarājadēva. He was followed by Prasāntasiva, who built a hermitage at the foot of the Bhramara hill at the confluence of the Śōṇa. His disciple was Prabodhasiva who is said to have practised penance even in his boyhood and constructed roads through mountains and across rivers and streams. He constructed the monastery, where the inscription was put up, close by the temple erected by his preceptor Prasāntasiva, excavated a tank by the side of the hill and dug a well near the monastery. He also repaired and further excavated the well, dug by his preceptor, which had become dilapidated and full of wood in course of time. The *prasasti* was composed by the poet Dhāmsaṭa, the son of Jēika and Amarikā and grandson of the *Dīkṣita* Mēhuka. It was written by Dāmōdara, the son of Lakshmidhara and younger brother of Vāsudēva, and incised by Nīlakaṇṭha by the command of the *Sātradhāra* Śūrīka.

The date of the inscription¹ is given in the last line as Samvat 724, Phālguna śudī 5. Both the year and the *śukli* are expressed in numerical figures only. The palaeography of the inscription clearly indicates that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 724, to Monday, the 10th February, 973 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription refers to a temple built by Prasāntasiva which was close to the monastery erected by Prabodhasiva. The former is, therefore, as Mr. R.D. Banerji has shown,² the temple of Siva, which is still standing within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery at Chandrēhē. The *āśrama* at the foot of the Bhramara hill, which is now in ruins is still called Bhramarsēn.

¹ The date was first read by Beglar as Samvat 324, Phālguna-śudī 6. He, however, changed the year to Samvat 1324, see C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 8. Kielhorn gave the correct reading of the date for the first time and referred it to the Kalachuri era in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 8; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 354. Banerji, however, gave the *śukli* as 6 in his transcript of the text published in the *Haribhaya of Tripurīśvara*, Appendix C, p. 179, but it appears as 5 in his article on the inscription published posthumously in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 149. For a similar figure denoting 5, see above, p. 181.

² P. R. A. S., W. C., (1911), p. 13; H. T. M., pp. 31 & 32.

TEXT¹

A

- 1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ फणिश्वासयामे स्वनदमरनद्यम्भसि च यज्जटाजूटाम्भोदे नयनशिलिबिधु-
द्विलसति । तथा चूडाचन्द्रद्युति-
- 2 निकरधारेव ककुभं कपालानां माला तुलयति स शर्वो विजयते² ॥ [१॥*] हृन्स³श्वेनी हसित-
महसां संहतिश्शङ्करस्य स्फारीभूता वदनमभितो
- 3 नाग[च]म्भिवृतस्य । कि[ञ्च]त्कण्टच्छविकलुषिता मेघनिर्यन्मृगा[चू]च्छा[मां] स्वच्छा सपदि
दधती सम्पदं वो ददातु⁴ ॥ [२॥*] चारीसंचरणप्रवीणचरणव्या-
- 4 पारणाघूर्णितक्षोणीकुण्डनमत्फणीश्वरफणं विद्राणदिग्दारणं(णम्) । दोहृण्डभ्रमणादकाण्डचलित-
व(व)ह्माण्डखण्डं मुदे भूयादो निवि(वि)ड-
- 5 क्वण्डडमरुकं चण्डीपतेस्ताण्डवम्⁵ ॥ [३॥*] श्रीमन्मतमयूरसन्ततिरियं मंगेव लोकत्रयं पूया-
[य]त्र पुरन्दरः कृततपा जज्ञे गुरुभूभुजाम् । शिष्यस्त-
- 6 स्य शिलाशिवः शिलिसमो वि(वि)भ्रतपस्तेजसा दीपत्वं विनिपाति[ता]न्वतमसो निर्वर्णमार्गं
[स्थि]तः ॥ [४॥*] ततो मधुमतीपतेः कृतमहातप-
- 7 स्सञ्चयः प्रभावशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशैवचूडामणिः । अनेकनूपवन्दि[त]ः स युवराजदेवेन [य]स्त-
पोषनपतिः कृतश्चरणपूतगोलगिनकः⁶ ॥ [५॥*]
- 8 प्रशान्तशिवचन्द्रमास्तदनु तस्य शिष्योभवत्तमः प्रमथनोद्यमप्रकटितस्वरूपः क्षुचिः । व(व)भार गु-
णिवु श्रियं कुमुदकल्पशैवेषु यः समुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ल-
- 9 यशःप्रभाववलिताखिलाशामुखः ॥ [६॥*] स शोणनदसङ्गमे भ्रमरशैलमूलेतुलं प्रियालवनसंकुले
फलमृणालकन्दाशिनः । चका-
- 10 र विदितं जनैर्मृनिसखः प्रशान्ताश्रमं स्वपादपदपंक्तिभिः पवितभूतलो यः कृती ॥ [७॥*] देवो-
द्यानगतन्द्रसंसदि मुदा गन्धर्वविद्याधरै-
- 11 रानन्दाय च धूर्जटेः इत्ययता वाद्यादरं नन्दिना । लीलालोलितमौलिना करगलद्वत्गेन
यस्योच्चकैर्भास्वत्सारथिना तथा
- 12 प्रतिपः स(श)श्वशो गीयते⁷ ॥ [८॥*] प्रवो(वो)धशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशिष्यवर्गाग्रणीः स
तस्य मदनद्विषः परशुरामनामा यथा । यशःखचित-
- 13 दिङ्मुखो गुणिजनाय वित्तं दद[नृ]⁸णीकृतवसुन्धरो विजितशत्रुवर्गश्च यः⁹ ॥ [९॥*] उद-
ग्रशिलितर्पणप्रगुणितैकपाणिः क्षणं कुमार
- 14 इव सर्वदा परिहृताङ्ग[ना]संगमः । समुन्नतमहीभृति प्रकटि[ता]त्मशक्तिः[भो] मनोभव-
रिपुप्रियो विहितदेवकार्यश्च यः ॥ [१०॥*]

B

- 15 विचार्य निखिलागमान्विधिसमाधिवु(वु)द्देश्वरः प्रियालफलमूलकामलकशाकशालूकभुक् ।
नदोक्षितधरातले गुरुजनानु-

¹ From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

² Metre: *Sikharipi*.

³ Read हृन्स-

⁴ Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Prithvi*.

⁷ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Read दददु -.

⁹ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Prithvi*.

CHANDREHE STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 724



[illegible]

- ३६ कारी तपस्वरञ्जयति^१ विस्मयं व्यधित वा(वा)लनायेपि वः ॥[११॥*] महीमुग्धप्रिप्रगु-
गतदवादः सन्वयी वधमिस्त्रयं वस्तिमिरमिनु-
- ३७ रं कार्यमकरोत् । तथा सन्धारम्ये निक्षिप्यनवन्धः किमपरं प्रतापेन व्याप्नोतिभुवनमपि प्राप्त-
महिमा^२ ॥ [१२॥*] गुरुवावधामोक्तत-
- ३८ नवधमम्यन्धविजिता महीधोषान्न यो व्यधित जलधौ राघव इव । सरित्स्रोतःस्वेवं विपिनगह-
नेष्वङ्गुलकरं जगत्पादवर्धं हि प्रभव-
- ३९ ति महत्कर्म महताम् ॥[१३॥*] जडतरमरुच्छेगस्याम्नःकजैरयमाधमो भुगपतिमहाध्वानै
रात्नौ प्रतिध्वनिताम्ब(म्ब)रः । शिखरिशिख-
- ४० त्प्रान्तप्रेक्ष्यद्विरेफपयोधरो जयति जने विपुच्छङ्कां महीवधिरोचिषा^३ ॥ [१४॥*] [पु]म्य(म्ब)न्ति
वानरगणा भुगशत्रुपौताम्निह्रीस्तनं पिब(व)ति वा-
- ४१ रः शिशुमृगस्य । वरं निजं परिहरन्ति विरोचिनोन्धे सर्वस्य शाम्यति मनो हि तपोमनेषु ^४ ॥
[१५॥*] गुरुकृतसुरमाराधारावधुं म-
- ४२ ठमुत्तं स्वकमिव यशः शुभाश्रमं विशालमपीकरत् । अनुगिरमधो सिन्धुप्रस्थं तडागमपीक्ष्ण-
- ४३ त्रप्रचुरसलिलं कूपं चात्न
- ४४ प्रबो(बो)धशिवः शमी^५ ॥[१६॥*] श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवकारितमत्न कूपं कालेन क्षीणं पतितालि-
लदाक्षुरम् । मक्त्या गुरोर्गुहशिलारचना-
- ४५ विचित्तं सोधीकरसावनु दूरमपीक्ष्णम्^६ ॥[१७॥*] व(व)भूव भुवि दीक्षितो विहितकीर्तनो
मेहुकः स सज्जनगणप्रणीरजनयत्सुतं
- ४६ जेदकं(कम्) । ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे समनवत्कविर्द्विंसटः प्रशस्तिमकरोदसी विकटवर्णव(व)न्धा-
मिमाम्^७ ॥ [१८॥*] पशुपतिजटाजूटभ्रान्ता हिमा-
- ४७ द्विशिलतलस्वलितसलिला चञ्चद्भीषिः पवित्रितभुतला । व्रजति सरितां नाथं यावद्मगीरध-
वर्त्मना सुरसरिद्विषं तावत्कीर्तिः स्थिरास्तु भुवि स्थिता^८ ॥ [१९॥*] क-
- ४८ स्मीधरसुतः प्यातो वासुदेवानुजः सुधीः । इमां वामोदरोलेखीत्प्रशस्तिं प्रवराक्षरां(राम्)^९ ॥
[२०॥*] सूत्रधारसूराकाशयोस्कीर्णा नीलकण्ठेन ॥ सम्पत्^{१०} ७२४ फाल्गुन शु दि ५ [१*]

TRANSLATION

Om ! Adoration to Siva !

(Verse 1) Glorious is that Sarva (Siva), —in whose coiled matted hair, which is like a cloud, being dark with the hissing of serpents (*on his body*), and which resounds with the water of the heavenly river (Gangā) (*as a cloud resounds with thunder*), there flashes the fire of (*his third*) eye like lightning (*flashing in a cloud*); and whose wreath of human skulls resembles a garland of *champak* flowers,¹² even as the shower of the accumulated lustre of the moon on his head !

¹ Read —स्वरञ्जयति.

² Metre of this and the following verse: *Sikharigā*.

³ Read —सन्व-

⁴ Metre: *Harigā*.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

⁶ Metre: *Harigā*.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

⁸ Metre: *Prithvī*.

⁹ Metre: *Harigā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

¹¹ Read सन्वत्.

¹² Banerji first translated *Antabandha tejayati* by 'brightens the different quarters' and afterwards

(V. 2) May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Saṅkara clad in an elephant-skin,—which, white like the goose, is spread round his face and which, being slightly darkened by the effulgence of his (*blue*) neck, at once assumes the clear splendour of the moon emerging from a cloud,—grant you prosperity!

(V. 3) May the Tāṇḍava dance of (Śiva), the husband of Chāṇḍī, give you delight! (*the dance*) which makes the hoods of the lord of serpents bend under (*the weight of*) the bowl-like earth which revolves on account of the movements of his feet, skilled in the *chārī* step; which puts to flight the elephants of the quarters; which causes a sudden movement of a part of the universe by the revolutions of his staff-like arms¹ and which is accompanied by the deep sound of the *damaru*!

(V. 4) May this continuous succession of (*the Saiva ascetics of*) the Mattamayūra (*clan*) purify the three worlds, like the Gaṅgā!—in which was born Purandara, who performed austerities, and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (*was*) Śikhāśiva, (*who was*) like fire and who, (*resplendent*) with the lustre of his austerities, stood like a lamp on the path of final beatitude, having dispelled the pitchy darkness (*of ignorance*).

(V. 5) From him (*i.e.*, Śikhāśiva), who was the lord of Madhumatī, was (*spiritually*) descended Prabhāvaśiva, who accumulated great austerities, was the crest-jewel of all Saivas, and was revered by many kings. He, who was the foremost among ascetics, was made by Yuvarājadēva (I) to sanctify, by his feet, the wanton woman that was the earth.²

(V. 6) After him there was his disciple, the moon-like Praśāntaśiva, who was pure³ (*even as the moon is bright*); whose real nature was manifested in his attempt to destroy ignorance (*as the moon's form is seen dispelling darkness*); who brightened the faces of all quarters by his bright fame (*as the moon does with her lustre*) and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Saivas (*as the moon bestows splendour on the fibrous night-lotuses*).

(V. 7) He, the virtuous one, the companion of sages, who lived on fruits, lotus-stalks and roots, (*and*) who sanctified the surface of the earth by the rows of his foot-prints, built an incomparable and quiet hermitage, well-known to the people, at the foot of the Bhramara hill covered with the forest of *priyāla*⁴ (*trees*) (*and situated*) at the confluence of the river Śōṇa.

(V. 8) His⁵ fame is continuously sung with delight and in a high tone in every (*month of*) Māgha⁶ by the Gandharvas and Vidyādhara, in the assembly of Indra held in the celestial garden,—by Nandin who, to please Śiva, pays less attention to instrumental

by 'elevates the quarters.' But both these renderings are unsatisfactory; for the verb *talayati* never conveys the sense of 'brightening' and the garland of skulls can scarcely be described as 'elevating the quarters'! For our rendering of *kakubb* by 'a garland of champaka flowers' see *Kakub strījām pravṛṇī-dikā-bhāṣa* *champakā-sraji* cited in Mahēśvara's com. on *Amarakōṣa*, II, 45.

¹ For the idea compare the *Mahimnāḥ stōtra*, v. 16.

² Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *lagnikā* (which is a wrong form of *nagnikā*) in the sense of 'a wanton woman'. The poet has here evidently the story of Ahalyā in mind. As Rāma purified Ahalyā by the dust of his feet, so did Prabhāvaśiva sanctify the land that was presented to him by Yuvarājadēva (I).

³ There is a play on several words here, in consequence of which they can be construed with both the sage and the moon.

⁴ *Buchanania Latifolia*.

⁵ In the original this is a relative clause having for its correlative *sah* in v. 7.

⁶ The month of Māgha, in which the Śivarātri occurs, is held sacred by the Saivas.

music',—(and) by the charioteer of the sun, who gracefully waving his head from side to side in joy, allows the reins (*of his horses*) to slip from his hands.

(V. 9) There was the foremost of his disciples named Prabōdhasiva, as Parasurama was of (Śiva) the enemy of Madana, —who, conquering all his enemies, adorned the faces of the quarters with his fame, and bestowing wealth on the meritorious, placed the earth under obligation.

(V. 10) He² was like Kumāra (*i.e.*, Kārttikēya), whose one hand was skilled in making offerings at the proper time to the high flames of fire (*as Kumāra's hand is in feeding his mighty peacock*); who (*like Kumāra*) always avoided the company of women; who showed the effect of his power on mighty kings (*as Kumāra exhibited that of his dart on the Krauñcha mountain*), who was devoted to (Śiva) the enemy of the mind-born (*as Kumāra also was dear to him*); and who performed (*all*) his duties towards the gods (*as Kumāra accomplished the work of the gods, viz., the destruction of the demon Tāraka*).³

(V. 11) He, having thought over all the scriptures, realized God by the performance of religious austerities and meditation, and living on the fruits of *priyāla*, *āmalaka*,⁴ greens and *lālāka*,⁵ caused the wonder of the world by practising austerities even in his boyhood on the bank (*lit.*, the surface of the land) washed by the river (Śōṇa), imitating his spiritual preceptor.

(V. 12) He, having attained power, has acted like the rising sun,—whose feet are rendered more resplendent by the (*jewelled*) crests of kings (*who bowed to him, even as the sun's rays are when they fall on the peaks of mountains*); who has done the work of destroying ignorance (*as the sun dispels darkness*); who is revered by all people at the time of making peace (*as the sun is at the beginning of twilights*); (and)—what more (*need be said?*)—who, having attained greatness has pervaded the three worlds by his power (*as the sun does by its heat*).

(V. 13) He, by the process of excavating, breaking and ramming⁶ heaps of large stones, has constructed a wonderful way through mountains (*and*) across rivers and streams, and also through forests and thickets, as Rāghava (*dīd*) across the ocean. A great deed of the mighty proclaims wonder in the world!

(V. 14) At night this hermitage,—(*which is wafted*) with breezes, extremely cool with the sprays of the water of the Śōṇa, which makes the sky reverberate with loud roars of lions, and which has bee-like clouds hovering round mountain peaks,—causes people to suspect lightning on account of the phosphorescence of great medicinal plants (*growing near it*).

(V. 15) In this place herds of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions, (*and*) the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness. Other hostile animals forget their (*natural*) antipathy (*to one another*); for the minds of all become tranquil in penance-groves.

(V. 16) Near the temple built by his preceptor, the tranquil Prabōdhasiva caused to be erected this lofty and spacious monastery, which is, as it were, his own fame resembling white clouds. Thereafter he caused to be excavated a sea-like lake,⁷ by the side

² *I. e.*, in order to enable Śiva to hear his devotee's fame sung in heaven.

³ In the original vv. 10-13 are relative clauses, having for their correlative *Prabōdhasiva* in v. 9.

⁴ There is a play on several words in this verse, owing to which the adjectival expressions yield two meanings, one connected with the sage and the other with Kārttikēya.

⁵ *Emblic Myrobalan*.

⁶ *Sāṅkha* is 'the esculent root of different kinds of lotus'. (M. W.)

⁷ The process of making roads described here shows that macadamizing was well known in those days, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 132, n. 1.

⁸ *Prakhyā* at the end of a compound means 'resembling.' Banerji, however, takes *śindhu* to be the name of the lake.

of the mountain, and (*also*) a well having copious water.

(V. 17) On account of devotion to his preceptor he caused to be rebuilt with a wonderful masonry of large stones and then re-excavated (*very*) deep the well, which had been dug by the illustrious Praśāntasīva at this place, (*but*) which had become dilapidated and full of wood fallen into it, in course of time.

(V. 18) There was a *Dīkshita* named Mēhuka, whose fame was known on the earth. He, who was foremost among good men, begot a son named Jēika. To him was born, from the womb of Amarikā¹, the poet Dhāmsaṭa. He composed this *praśasti* couched in beautiful arrangement of letters.

(V. 19) May this eulogy endure unchanged on this earth as long as the divine river (*Gaṅgā*), meandering through the coiled matted hair of Paśupati (*i.e.*, Śiva), with its waters shattering on the surface of the rocks on the Himālayas, flows to (the sea), the lord of rivers, along the path (*shown*) by Bhagīratha, sanctifying the earth with its bounding waves.

(V. 19) The wise and renowned Dāmōdara, the son of Lakshmīdhara and the younger brother of Vāsudēva, wrote this *praśasti* in excellent letters!

(*This praśasti*) has been inscribed by Nīlakaṇṭha by the order of the *Sātradhāra* Sūrāka. The year 724, (*the month*) Phālguna, the bright (*fortnight*), the (*lunar*) day 5.

No. 45; PLATE XXXV

BILHARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA II

THE stone, which bears this inscription, is said to have been found at Bilhāri (lat. 23° 48' North, long. 80° 19' East), 9 miles west by south of Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone which was at first removed to Jabalpur² has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. It seems to have broken in transit, as it shows now a large crack which cuts it vertically right across. Fortunately, it has not resulted in the loss of more than one or two letters.

The inscription was first published with an abstract of its contents by Dr. F.E. Hall in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXX, pp. 317-334. Its contents were next discussed by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 80 and 102-5. It was subsequently edited, with an excellent translation and a lithograph, by Prof. F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 251-270. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The record, which consists of thirty-three lines, is inscribed on the counter-sunk surface of a large panel of grey sandstone. The inscribed space measures 6' 3" broad by 3' high and is surrounded by a plain border 3.5" broad. The first thirty lines of the inscription are very well preserved, except for a few letters at the end of each line; the latter can, however, be read without much difficulty from the traces left on the stone. On the other hand several letters at the end of the last three lines have been almost completely effaced by the wearing away of the inscribed surface. The average size of the letters is .5" in the first three lines and .75" in the rest.

The characters, which are beautifully written and deeply engraved, belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Chandrēhē inscription.³ The

¹ The position of *Amarikā-śdarī* after *śatāḥ* in the second half of the verse clearly shows that Amarikā was the mother of Dhāmsaṭa and not of Jēika as Banerji has taken.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXX, p. 322.

³ Above, No. 44.

only points that call for notice here are that the left limb of *lā* is drawn below the apex of its triangle in some cases, see, e.g., *sukha-nīlāśā*, l. 30; *pha* of *mapha* has ornamental additions below the circle in ll. 22 and 32; the loop of *n* is open at the top, see *atalina*, l. 4; and *ph* has everywhere the later form, see *phapa-phalaka*, l. 7.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary *śaī namaḥ Śivāya* in the beginning, *api cha* and *hi cha* in ll. 1 and 19 respectively, and some short sentences in ll. 32 and 33, the record is in verse throughout. It falls into three parts.¹ Verses 1-43 were composed by Śrinivāsa, the son of Śchirānanda, verses 46-78 by Sajjana, the son of Thira and the rest by the Kāyastha Śiruka. The record, especially the portion composed by Śrinivāsa, is written in an artistic *śāyā* style. The composition of Sajjana is inferior; it does not contain any flights of imagination and suffers also from the use of wrong forms like *akṛita* for *akāri* in verse 54 and ambiguous compounds like *ahita-janita-bhūti* in verse 59. As regards orthography, we may note that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* almost throughout, and the dental for the palatal sibilant in *-savya*, l. 14 and *-Sav-dgama*, l. 20; the consonant following or preceding *r* has been doubled in many cases, see e.g., *-Sarva-parvata*, l. 5, *tri-bhuvana*, l. 6 etc.; the *visarga* before *s* is generally changed to the sibilant and in one case dropped in accordance with the *vāritika* on Pāṇini, VIII., 3., 56, see *bandhō styān-ākṛiti*, l. 17; the *anumāra* before *ś* and *ṣ* has been wrongly changed to the dental nasal in many places, see e.g., *-vanta*, l. 21, and *-vidhvansa*, l. 4; final *m* has wrongly remained unchanged in such cases as *-dhanvaram=vap*, l. 3, *yam-vikshya*, l. 14; so also *n* in *bhagavān=jyōtismām*, l. 16, *vairāgyāna*, l. 21 and *gūṇam=śakshyati*, l. 26, while it has been wrongly changed to *p* in *dhitur=ppanu*, l. 15. Other instances of wrong *sandhi* are the elision of the *visarga* in *-Nāgabala Khaila*, l. 18, and the addition of *sh* in *warud-ga-pānām chchhāy*, l. 16. *Ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *-dripta*, l. 12 and *=saty-ādrīta*, l. 14. Finally, one of the two similar consonants forming a conjunct is dropped by syncope in several places, see *-lasadya*, l. 1, *-ajvalim*, l. 3, *āsi=avishad*, l. 4, *kōpa-valyāḥ*, l. 8, *datvā*, l. 24, *satva*, l. 26, etc.

As stated above, the inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which was composed by Śrinivāsa, opens with four verses invoking the blessings of Śiva and the moon. The poet then proceeds to state the genealogy of Kāyasthavarsha, whose queen Nōhalā erected the temple, at which the inscription was originally put up. From the moon sprang the family of the Hathayaa. In this family was born the king Arjuna (i.e., Kārtavīrya Sahasrārjuna) who defeated the lord of Laṅkā and was favoured by the god Dattātṛeya with the promise of a son. Among his descendants was Kōkalladēva (I) who, having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Kṛishṇarāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north. This statement evidently means that by his help Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. A statement to the same effect is made in the Banaras plates² of Karmā also.

Kōkalla (I) was followed by his son Mugdhatuṅga who conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala. This statement also is corroborated by a Prakrit *gāthā* about Prasiddhadhavalā (who is identical with Mugdhatuṅga) which occurs in the Banaras plates.³

¹ Kielhorn thought that the inscription was composed by only two poets,—verses 1-43, which originally formed an independent *prastāva*, by Śrinivāsa and the remaining verses by Sajjana. Further, he took the Kāyastha Śiruka to be the scribe of the first *prastāva*, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 271 and p. 270, n. 50. It would, however, appear that Śiruka was the author of verses 79-81. Had he been the author of the first *prastāva*, his name would have been either mentioned immediately after v. 43 or omitted altogether.

² See verse 7 of No. 48, below.

³ *Ibid.*, verse 12.

The inscription then proceeds to describe in verses 24-29 Mugdhatunga's son Yuvarājadēva (I) *alias* Kēyūravārsha. He is said to have fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, to have sported on the breasts of the ladies of Kaṇṇāta, to have applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāṭa, to have enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra and to have been fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kalinga. Curious as it might appear, a similar description of Yuvarājadēva occurs in the *Viddhaśālabhaṣṭikā* of Rājāśekhara, who, in the later part of his career, flourished at his court. From the fourth act of this play¹ we learn that its hero Kēyūravārsha had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avantī, Jālandhara and Kēraḷa. These statements are evidently intended to convey that Yuvarājadēva raided Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Kaṇṇāṭaka, Gujarat, Kashmir and other parts of India and married the princesses of those States. The present inscription further states that he caused endless trouble to his enemies from the Himālaya in the north to the bridge in the south, and from the eastern to the western sea. The description of Yuvarājadēva to which the poet has devoted as many as six verses is otherwise conventional and contains no histroical information.

The next eight verses (30-37) introduce a digression and describe the pedigree of Yuvarājadēva's wife Nōhalā. From a handful (*chuluka*) of water taken by the sage Bhāradvāja (*i.e.*, Drōṇa) to curse Drupada there was born a warrior, the family descended from whom came to be known as Chaulukya. This legend about the origin of the Chaulukyas, it may be noted in passing, differs from that given by Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramānkaudāvacharita*, Canto I, verses 46-55. According to the latter, the progenitor of the clan was born from the handful of water taken by the god Brahmā for his morning libation when he was requested by Indra to create someone for the punishment of the haters of religion. Again, a third legend occurs in a later inscription, according to which the Chālukyas were born in the interior of the water-pot (*chulukā*) when Hārītipaṇḍitaśikhā was pouring out a libation to the gods.² Our inscription next proceeds to state that in the family of the Chaulukyas was born Avanivarman. His father was Sadhanva and grandfather Simhavarman. Avanivarman had a daughter named Nōhalā.

This Nōhalā was a favourite wife of Yuvarājadēva. She constructed a lofty temple of Siva. We are further told that she gave the villages Nipāniya and Ambipāṭaka to the Saiva ascetic Īśvaraśiva as a reward for his scholarship. This Īśvaraśiva was a disciple of Śabdaśiva who was himself a disciple of Pavanaśiva, also called Mādhumatēya (the lord of Madhumatī). Further, Nōhalā donated the villages Dhaṇḍagaṭapāṭaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khailapāṭaka, Viḍā, Sajjāhālī and Gōshṭhapālī to the god Siva.

The second part of the present record, which commences with verse 46, opens with a description of Lakshmanarāja (II), the son of Yuvarājadēva I and Nōhalā. Verses 46-58 again introduce a digression and give the spiritual genealogy of the Saiva pontiff, Hṛidayāśiva, who was invited by Lakshmanarāja to his country and was placed in charge of the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha. We are told that at the venerable place called Kadambaguhā there lived a sage named Rudrasambhu. His disciple was Mattamayūranātha who initiated the king of Avanti in the Saiva faith. His disciple was Dharmasambhu, and the disciple of the latter Śabdaśiva. Śabdaśiva was followed by Mādhumatēya, and the latter by Chūḍāśiva who, again, was the spiritual preceptor of Hṛidayāśiva. Lakshmanarāja respectfully invited Hṛidayāśiva to his country and

¹ See the *Viddhaśālabhaṣṭikā*, (ed. by B. R. Arte), p. 114.

² See Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, *Bom., Gaz.* Vol. I, part ii, p. 339.

made over to him the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha, which is called Nauhālśvara in the next verse. Hridayasīva placed it in the charge of his disciple Aghōrasīva. As Hridayasīva was a contemporary of Lakshmanarāja, his spiritual preceptor Chūḍāsīva lived in the same period as Lakshmanarāja's father Yuvarajadēva I. He is, therefore, probably identical with the Śikhāsīva of the Chāndrēh inscription¹ and the Chūḍāsīva of the Gurgi inscription,² whose disciple Prabhāsīva was invited by Yuvarajadēva I to accept a monastery at Gurgi.

Lakshmanarāja, then, proceeded to conquer the regions in the west and reached the shores of the western ocean where he worshipped Śiva at the well-known temple of Sōmanātha in Kathiāwāḍ, and presented the deity with the effigy of the serpent Kālīya wrought with jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the king of Ōḍra (Orissa) after defeating the lord of Kōsala. This statement indicates that the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala and Ōḍra were at this time probably ruled by the scions of the same family.³

Lakshmanarāja was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragapa (III), about whom the present record furnishes no historical information. He was followed by his younger brother Yuvarajadēva II, whose adventure in killing a huge tiger is graphically described in verse 68. As many as five verses are devoted to this king's description, but they contain mere conventional praise. Verses 71-76 contain a hymn which Yuvarajadēva II is said to have composed in praise of Śiva.

The third part of the inscription opens with an enumeration of the taxes in cash or kind, which manufacturers and traders had to pay at the market-place in the town (Bilhārī) for the benefit of the monastery and the support of its occupants. Next comes a verse in praise of Aghōrasīva, the head of the Nauhālśvara monastery. He is said to have put this *prastuti* together. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out "What is now its first portion from verse 1 to 45 originally was or formed part of an independent *prastuti* and this original *prastuti* was renewed and enlarged by the addition of verses 46-86 of the present inscription two or three generations after the composition of the first part"⁴.

The record next mentions the towns Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vīmānapura and some others, whose names are lost, in connection with the celebration of a fair in honour of the deity. Finally, there occurs a curious reference to the Sanskrit poet Rājasēkhara. The present eulogy is said to have deserved praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājasēkhara. Kielhorn who translated the expression *vismita-kavi-Rājasēkhara-stutyā* as 'which would deserve praise (*even*) from the wonder-struck poet Rājasēkhara', evidently took it to mean Rājasēkhara would have been struck with wonder at this composition if he had been living. The expression can be taken either as instrumental singular meaning '(May this composition live to the end of the world) as it has evoked praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājasēkhara', or as nominative singular conveying the sense, '(this composition) which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājasēkhara'. In either case we need not suppose that Rājasēkhara was dead at the time. From his *Karpūramallikā* we learn that he was at first called *Bālahari* probably on account of his precocious poetic talent. He was patronised by the Gujara-Pratihāra princes Mahēndrapāla and Mahipāla and afterwards by Kēyāśavarsha-

¹ See above, No. 44, line 6.

² See below, No. 46, line 8.

³ We know that the two countries were ruled by the princes of the Kōsari dynasty later on in the 10th and 11th centuries A. C.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 252.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 270.

Yuvarājadēva I, whom he has made the hero of his Sanskrit play *Viddhatālabhañjika*. If we suppose that he was a young man of sixteen when he went to the court of Kanaṇj towards the end of Mahēndrapāla's reign (in *circa* 905 A.C.), his age at the beginning of the reign of Yuvarājadēva II (*circa* 975 A.C.) when the present inscription seems to have been put up, would be about eighty-five years, which is not altogether improbable.¹ Such a long life is also warranted by the poet's prolific literary activity.

It is not difficult to conjecture why this eulogy of Kalachuri princes pleased Rājaśekhara. The characteristics of his own poems as noted by ancient critics² are his fondness for the metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* and the poetic quality *śamādhī* which means an alternate combination of heavy and light syllables.³ A third mannerism noticed in his works is his reference to the several parts of India on some pretext or other. All these qualities can be illustrated from the present inscription. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise to read that it evoked or deserved praise from Rājaśekhara, who must have seen in it a clever imitation of his own style.

The last verse states that the eulogy was written by Nāī, the son of Dhīra who was a writer of legal documents, and incised by Nōṇna, the son of the artisan Saṅgama.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present inscription, Madhumatī, from which the name of the sage Mādhumatēya was evidently derived, is probably identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet one mile south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat. It contains the ruins of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Śiva. From the characters of the inscription incised on the front lintel of the porch of one of them, it appears that the shrine dates back to the seventh century A. C.⁴ The river which flows by Mahuā is mentioned as Madhuvēṇī in an inscription found at Tērahi.⁵ It seems that Mahuā was an important seat of Śaivism in mediæval times. Kadambaguhā, which is mentioned in the present inscription as the original seat of the Śaiva sect, figures also in an inscription at Rāṇōd. In his article on the latter Dr. Kielhorn identified it with Kadwāha about six miles south of Tērahi.⁶ It may, however, be noted that Kadambaguhā is mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription as the place of residence of the spiritual ancestor of the sage Purandara who was brought from Upēndrapura by Avantivarman who ruled in Central India. Kadambaguhā and Upēndrapura are not, therefore, likely to have been situated in the latter's territory. Kadambaguhā may be identical with Kadambapadraka situated in the *maṇḍala* of Upēndrapura which is mentioned in a grant of the Paramāra king Naravarmadēva.⁷ It will, therefore, have to be searched for in Mālwa. Of the villages granted by Nōhalā, Nipāniya is probably Nipāniā in the Sihōrā *tahsil*, 10 miles south-west of Bilhāri.⁸ Ambipāṭaka may be Āmkuhi, 8 miles north by east, and Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka Dungarhai, 7 miles south of Bilhāri. Pōṇḍī which still retains its old name lies 4 miles to the northwest.⁹ Nāgabala and Khaila-

¹ Like Rājaśekhara, Umāpatidhara was a contemporary of three successive kings, *viz.*, Vijayasēna, Ballālasēna and Lakṣmānasēna, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 306.

² See '*Sārdūlakrīḍitair-iva prakhyātā Rājaśekharāḥ | śikhar-iva parāṇi vakraiḥ ś-ślīkhaiḥ-sukha-śikharāḥ ||*' in the *Suṃritatīlaka* of Kṣhēmēndra; and '*Samādhī-guṇa-sālinyaḥ prasanna-paripakṣtrimāḥ | Yāyānara-kavīḥ-sūchē mīmāṇs-iva vṛttiyaḥ ||*' in the *Tīlakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla.

³ See the definition of *Samādhī* in the *Kāyālaṅkārasūtra* of Vāmana, III, 1, 12.

⁴ M. B. Garde, *Archæology in Gwalior*, pp. 100 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 202.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 313.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

⁸ I. C. P. B., p. 24.

⁹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, p. 104.

pāpaka are probably represented by modern Naigawan, 2 miles to the south, and Kailwardi, 7 miles to the north-east of Bilhār. Sajjāhād may be Sajharā in the Murwārī *taluk*, and Gūshthapālī Gatakhārī, 10 miles almost due east of Bilhār. Tripurī, which was the capital of the Kalachuris, is now represented by the small village of Tēwar, 6 miles from Jabalpur. Southāgarpurā is probably Sohāgpur, the chief town of the Sohāgpur *taluk* in the Vindhya Pradesh. Lavanāgarā, Durābhāpurā and Vimanāpurā I am unable to identify.

TEXT:

- १ विधिः ॥ [१५] बौ नमः शिवाय ॥ प्रयाहः स समस्तमण्डपविधिः सम्भोज्यंटावृत्तको प्रविष्टो जलेल-
सप्तमं चकारानन्दान्दिकीनापिभिः । माहप्रमिनिनीतिहोरागवति प्रस्का फुल्लरत्नप्रीमिव्यावृत्त-
नमनमाप्रतभूतः स्वेवातपनामिसं (तम्) ॥ [१६] अपि च ॥ प्रयाहः स्वयं प्रहस्य कोननाजिव्यतः
शिवा ॥ [१७] मित्रमेव स्मरत्येति वस्तु विधुयिदोदगा ॥ [२०] वं सेलाय वहाजनः शिशुतया
कृत्वागर्हं मार्गति प्रभो यय
- २ दुरोधरः पुरोधो देव्या समं शीव्यतः ॥ (१) केलीकोपकपायु वेन तनुते हेतिभियां फार्मंती पायाहः
त जटावर्ककसुप्तं शार्मः कृपादीधितिः ॥ [२१] विष्णु मेलाभियोगप्रचलितवल्गवविभ्रमाकाण्ड-
चण्डौदेष्याना प्रकामप्रविषमिरनिर्दूरमुत्सारिताय । किं च प्रस्कारपारीतमदवनिक्याहपो-
न्नि याते महतामध्यायध्याहृतं च त्रिपुरविषयिस्तच्छब्दम्बर—
- ३ म्दः ॥ [२४] वन्द्योऽयं सोमसंभूतो वायं निक्षिपता यया ॥ [२५] इत्त हस्तैरुपकान्ता मोहेन त्रियतो
मितिः ॥ [२६] [५॥] वाचामुज्ज (उज्ज) लिमापि नास्ति यदि ये सत्कीर्त्यमानोसतेरस्मादेव महीयसः
वाचभूतो वंशात्स संप्रस्यते ॥ [२७] यथा पश्य निसर्गं कालिमभुवोप्यासेनदावच्छटाः क्षीरोदन्वति
किञ्च सङ्कतिमुतस्तच्छासताम्वि (वि) मतिः ॥ [२८] नेत्पावदनेर्द्वितीयवलयसुहृदां
वास वाग्नामुदंस्त्योकाकोकं यया—
- ४ य प्रभवमत्किञ्चान्तविषयसहेतुः ॥ सोमं सोमाभियानतिस्तलकवति कला फौलिमस्यैव सम्भो-
रस्मादेव प्रवृत्तः किमपरसंयम्यमयो हेहयानां (नाम्) ॥ [३०] अस्मिन् यय वन्द्यतमता [३१]-
मिहे वु (वु) वाचं राक्षीनृपैर्नृपतिरक्षीर्षु इत्युवारः । अक्षीष्टि (द्वि) वद्विपिनकतनकीर्त्तनीयकीर्त्ति-
च्छटाच्छ्रितदीर्घदित्तरालः ॥ [३२] यद्यस्तत्ताडनातिस्तलकवृत्तपविप्रोच्छलक्या (उज्जा)
लाभाधिक—
- ५ राक्षिनेन करिणा देवाधिपः वहायसाय । लोकोत्कालितशर्मा ॥ पञ्चैतपतेस्तस्यापि लक्ष्यपतेर्यं

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 254.

* From the original stone in the Central Museum, Nagpur, and ink impressions.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Road — नरसिंहपुरमार्ग —

* The charge which was at first incised after ~~it~~ has been struck out.

• **Metre:** Sans-Metre

7. Melrose, Massachusetts

• **Metre:** Sans Rime/Rhyme

* Read - इमर नः ॥ As Kielhorn has pointed out, इमर is generally used in the masculine.

Metre: Sruṅkāra.

19 Read बरीय.

11 Metric: *Amorpha*.

11 Metre: *Sarcodiambridite*.

18 Read - freely:

14. Name: Frankford.

14. Name: Vasanthakumari

is Originally ~~was~~, changed to ~~was~~

द्वेऽव्यवसायिनो यदभवत्स्यातिप्रमाणं हि तत् ॥¹ [११॥*] दत्तात्नेय इति प्रकामकमलालीला-
यितानाम्यदं यो देवः स सुतप्रतिभुक्तमयःप्रीत्या वसन्वपुह्रीत् । के वा तद्वपुषवर्णने वयमहो
किं फल्गुभिर्जल्पितैर्मन्ये सापि च वाग्वपुर्भगवती तत् स्फुटं मुह्यति ॥[१०॥*] अथ ततस्त-
तसत्पुरुषव्रतव्रततिपर्वततः कति ना-

- 6 भवन् । तरुणतारकराजपराजयव्यसनि²कीर्तिभूवः पतयो भूवः ॥³[११॥*]तेष्वेवन्तस्म⁴वत्सु
क्रममनु मनुजावचयतामादधानो वन्यानामेकसीमा समुप[न]तमहीमण्डलाखण्डलाभः
जातः कोकलदेवो दलदहितलतादाहृदावायमानो मानोत्तसस्य⁵ यस्य त्रिभुवनबलयव्यापनो-
भूतप्रतापः ॥⁶[१२॥*] भुवनविजयहेतोर्भुक्तमर्थाद्यादस्सदनलडितलोलैर्यद्वलैस्सम्बलद्भिः⁷ ।
अतलिनतरभारभ्रश्यदुध्वी-
7 विषीदत्फणफलककलापो भोगिमर्त्ता व(व)भूव ॥⁸[१३॥*] दयाभाशङ्किभिराकुलैर्विजयटे
चक्राह्वयानान्दयैरम्भोदागमविभ्रमेण विदधे लास्योत्सवः केकिभिः । भग्नालोकमकाण्ड एव च
दुशामाण्ड्येन लेभे पदं यत्सेनारजसि क्रमादवनितस्तारापथे लुप्यति ॥[१४॥*] वेलावनप्रणयिसै-
न्यमरे च यत्न मज्जङ्गिराकुलकुलाद्रिनिर्भरिभेनैः । संप्रान्तमन्दरगिरेस्समयस्य तस्य कालाह (द्व)
-होः स्मरणमाप निषिज्जलानां(नाम्) ॥⁹[१५॥*] यत-
8 इष वैन्ध्यन्तटमाददाने दानेद्वसेनामजमञ्जनेन । अमञ्जुशिञ्जानशकुन्तचक्रञ्चक्रन्द दुःखादिब
बुधजालं(लम्) ॥¹⁰[१६॥*] जित्वा कृ[त्स्ना] येन पृथ्वीमपूर्वङ्गीर्तिस्तम्भद्वन्द्वमारोप्यते
स्म । कौम्भोद्भव्यान्दिश्यसौ कृष्णराजः कौवे(वे)यञ्च श्रीनिधिर्भोजदेवः ॥¹¹[१७॥*]
व(व)भूव तस्मादथ मुग्धतुङ्गस्तुङ्गस्त्रिलोक्यामपरो न यस्मात् । दिशश्च यः किञ्च विजेतु-
कामः कामस्तशत्रुर्न भुवन्विलेभे¹² ॥¹³[१८॥*] शय्या संप्रामलक्ष्याः परव(व)लपरिचः
पल्लवः कोपवल्या¹⁴ प्रेयो दर्पस्य मित्वं सुचरितसलि-
9 लस्येन्द्रनीलप्रणालः । शाला शौर्यद्रुमस्य प्रसरणसरणिश्शाश्वती साहसानामासीद्यस्यासिरेव
प्रधनपरिकरारम्भिणः प्रीतपात्रं(त्रम्) ॥¹⁵[१९॥*] बलाद्वेतालवर्णं त्वुदितनिजशिरो-
धारिषावत्कव(व)न्धण्डात्कुर्वन्नुकिडिम्बं(म्बं) मुखवि(वि)लविलसत्सम्मुखोल्लामुखोल्लं(ल्कम्)
। मान्स्¹⁶प्रासाभिलाषस्वनदशिवशिवाभैरवारावरीदं रीदं यो वाम वि(वि)भ्रत्प्रतिसमर-
मिति द्वेषिचक्रञ्चकार ॥¹⁷[२०॥*] उपविपिनभूवो निषेज्जलानामधिवसता कटकेन
यस्य या[त्] । अथ-
- 10 वयविचलद्वधूकराग्रद्विगुणितविद्रुमपल्लवा व(व)भूवः ॥¹⁸[२१॥*] इह विहितविलासा वीचयो

¹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² It is not quite necessary to change व्यसनि into व्यसन as proposed by Kielhorn.

³ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁴ Read तेष्वेवं सम्भ-.

⁵ Read मानोत्तसस्य.

⁶ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁷ Read यद्वलैस्संबलद्भिः.

⁸ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁹ It would be better to read मुह्यति as suggested by Kielhorn. Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹² Metre: *Sālinī*.

¹³ Read भुव विलेभे.

¹⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ Read कोपवल्याः.

¹⁶ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁷ Read -मांस-.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁹ Metre: *Puṣpīṭāgrā*.

- वारिराधेरिह व वस(ह)ति वानुः केरलीकोलिकारः । इह हति वुजङ्ग¹स्तोरमं नृक्षानामिति
मलयसमीपे वद्विचारः प्रवेशः ॥²[२१॥*] विजित्य पुष्पान्(म्)विकूलपालीः पालीस्तमादाय
च कोसलेन्द्राद् । निरस्तरोद्गतिस्त्रावीरिचामा भासाधिकः सङ्गपतिर्वा मासीत् ॥³[२३॥*]
गोडीगावमनीमनोरथकरः कण्ठिकानातकुचनीडापलतटीविहारहरिणो लाटीललाटाकूवः ।
काशमी—
- 11 रीविहितस्मरव्यसिकरस्तस्मात्कलिङ्गाङ्गनासपुत्रमव्यसनी स नीतिनयनः केयूरवर्षोभवत् ॥⁴
[२४॥*] मातापालवराजयस्य जनिततर्लोकपयङ्गुपदं सैन्यैर्यस्य सुमान्तकोलिकलनैर्हस्तप्रयाणैरपि ।
न प्रोद्भूतिमय(वा)व पावुपटलं भूयो गृहीतक्षिपद्(व)न्दीवुन्वणहृदिलोचनपमःपूरप्लुतायां
भुवि ॥ [२५॥*] यस्यस्यति प्रकटपटितवृद्धिर्भक्त्युन्मकुताफलप्रणयबाहुमुवाह देवः । भूयो निपीत-
दुदपीडनवेगवास्तविह्विषीर्तितकमकीर्णैर्विवातियण्डं(म्) ॥⁵[२६॥*] मा कैलासाद—
- 12 नलसलसत्याव्वीतीकेलिब(व)म्बोरा च प्राचरिणकरिवरतो भास्वबुद्धासम्भवेः । भारास्तेतोस्तबनु
पयसामा प्रतीकीपि कस्युयस्तेवानामहितनिहितामन्ततापः प्रतापः ॥⁶[२७॥*] प्रैकतिप्रवृ[२]⁷—
प्रघातविगलत्कीलाललोकोलस्तुतालीकरयन्मपीडनवस प्रत्येकपालात्विभिः । यस्तस्तार सविस्तरं
रणभुवः कोपोत्कटाभिर्द्वे(ह)वद्वि⁸(वृ)पाद्वेविशिरोभिरन्व(म्) रचरीनेत्यन्तिमार्पाण्वितैः ॥⁹
[२८॥*] देवो सन्नास्तारस्विभुवनमन्वोत्तमन्वो देव एव त्वामी देवः प्रमाद्युपति—
- 13 नियमने नैगडन्ताम देवः । इत्यन्त¹⁰द्विद्वन्नेरविरलविलसन्वाटुवाहं वदद्भिर्यस्यास्वानस्थिता-
नामसममसुहृदो विष्वधे वितवृत्तिः ॥¹¹[२९॥*] नरदाजो नाम व्युत्कलुषदोषस्तमम[व]क्ष
ए[क]स्सर्वेषामुपशमनानामधिपतिः । तदीयास्तैजस्तः कृतकलशावासाद्यवनवत्स वै भारदाजस्मि-
भुवनचमत्कारिवरितः ॥¹²[३०॥*] त्वैलोकावधि यस्य कीर्तिलक्षितं लक्ष्मीक्ष्ण वाञ्छावधिर्य-
त्कोपः प्रलोपपन्नमहिमा क्षाप्तेन क्षापेन च । वप्यन्वा¹³ नयविक—
- 14 नैकजलधेः किन्तस्य यस्यामवस्तीलासज्जितसर्व¹⁴कार्यगणिमा शिष्यस्तुनद्रापतिः ॥¹⁵[३१॥*]
कोदण्डताण्डवनपण्डितवा(वा)हृदण्डमुदण्डकाण्डमरकण्डितपाण्डुसैन्यम् । यम्बीक्ष्य¹⁶ विजित-
विपक्षपराजयास्तत्पाद्वि(दु)तस्व तपसोपि सुतरनचाल ॥¹⁷[३२॥*] नचाक्षोपातेन दुपदविपद-
बौद्धतथिया यदात्तं शायाम्मस्तरलितकराव(व)द्वचुलुकम् । पुमानासीत्स्मिन्विजय इव साक्षादनु
च तं कुलं बोलुन्वानामनगुणसीम प्रवृत्ते ॥¹⁸[३३॥*] विमवति च वि[स]र्प्यत्सी(म्)यै-
सोन्दर्यव—

¹ Originally वुजङ्गी—, changed to वुजङ्ग—.

² Metre: *Māhāt*.

³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁴ Metre of this and the next verse *Sārdhānikhṛtāḥ*.

⁵ Metre: *Vammatilakā*.

⁶ Metre: *Mandakrūtā*.

⁷ Originally वृष, changed to वृर.

⁸ This *ekabars* is quite clear.

⁹ Metre: *Sārdhānikhṛtāḥ*.

¹⁰ Read इत्यं स—.

¹¹ Metre: *Sṛṅgharā*.

¹² Metre: *Sikharip*.

¹³ Read वप्यं वा.

¹⁴ वप्यं seems to have been changed to वप्यं as stated by Kielhorn.

¹⁵ Metre: *Sārdhānikhṛtāḥ*.

¹⁶ Read व बीक्ष्य.

¹⁷ Metre: *Vammatilakā*.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sikharip*.

- 15 यंक्षितिधरपरिपाटीसूत्रिते तत्त्र गोत्रे रचितचटुलपापाकुष्टिकुष्टाहितधीरभक्तवनिवर्मा विव-
विख्यातकर्मा ॥¹ [३४॥*] पितामहो वस्तु सिहवर्मा पिता च महीरक्षरत्तमः । जतत्यतीवा-
तिशयोमुनेव महानुभावत्वमतोपि वस्तु ॥² [३५॥*] यस्य त्यागः सकलव्यवसायास्तदारिद्र्यमुद्रो
वेला व(ब)न्धुक्षितिधरदरीवारितारिः प्रतापः । ईष्टे स्पष्टन्स³ यदि भक्तान्तकुमुदाग्राभिवधात्-
म्वाचा⁴धेनुर्ण(सं)नु भगवती भारती यस्य वक्ष्या ॥⁵ [३६॥*] रुद्राणीमिव भूधुतां परिवृढो
16 लक्ष्मीमिवाम्भोनिधिः कालिन्दीमिव भास्करस्स भगवान्ज्यो(ऋज्यो)त्स्वामिवात्मेस्तुतः । वैदेहीमिव
जानकः क्रतुविधिः श्रीनोहलेत्यद्भुतं कन्या नाम ललाम तान्⁶ सुपुत्रे सामन्तकिन्तामणिः ॥⁷
मर्तुः [३७॥*] पुलोमतनयेव मरुद्गणानां च्छा(छा)येव दष्टतमसां महसाञ्च वस्तुः । देवस्य सा
रतिरिवक्षुशरासनस्य केयूरवर्धनपतेर्द्विगता व(ब)भूव ॥⁸ [३८॥*] देव्या [त]या मववलच्छटयेव
दन्ती वा(वा)लप्रवाललतयेव तटः पयोधेः । पुण्यधियेव च तरुस्तडितेव मेघः सोमां स
17 कामपि व(ब)भार नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ॥ [३९॥*] निर्मपितन्सुकृत⁹सकृतये तयेदमभक्तुषाप्रशिर-
स्त्रलि तोष्णरश्मि । देवस्य मन्दिरमुमाप्रणयैकव(ब)म्भो¹⁰स्त्यानाकुति स्वयशसामिव(व)
चक्रवालम् ॥ [४०॥*] आकाशयानक्रमस्वेदितानामङ्गोधिनाथस्य तुरङ्गमाशाम् । फेना-
म्बु(म्बु)भिन्नित्यनिषिच्यमाना मन्ये समुद्रान्ति न यत्पताकाः ॥¹¹ [४१॥*] विटकुमानेषु वृ(वृ)-
हत्सु यस्य वर्षसि तुङ्गामलसारकस्य । आश्लेषवत्यो नवमेघमालाः पारावतालीतुलनाम्बहन्ति¹²
॥¹³ [४२॥*] आसीन्माधुमते-
18 यः पवनशिवस्तमनु जयति शब्द(ब्द)शिवः । ईश्वरशिवः पुनाति च तस्यान्तेवासितान्सुकृती¹⁴ ॥¹⁵
[४३॥*] तस्मै तपोनिधानाय निपानीयाम्बि(म्बि)पाटको । दत्तो विद्याधनत्वेन ग्रामावग्राम्यया
तथा ॥¹⁶ [४४॥*] वज्रपाटकोपण्डीनागव(व)ला[ः*] खैलपाटको वीडा । सज्जाहली च दत्ताः
स्मरारये गोष्ठपाली च ॥¹⁷ [४५॥*] ख्यातः श्रीयुवराजदेवनृपतेस्तस्याभूवभूपतिः श्रीमल्ल-
क्ष्मणराज ऊज्जितमहाभास्वानिवाभ्युन्नतः । भूभुत्तुङ्गशिरोभिरद्विभ्ररुचयो यत्सेविताः¹⁸
श्रीभि-
19 ताः कामं यः कमनीयसुन्दरगुणैर्नैव्यैज्जिगाय स्मरम् ॥¹⁹ [४६॥*] यस्याहवे दृढनिपीडितलङ्ग-
कोटिनिर्द्धारितारिकरिकुम्भसमुद्भवेन । वीरधियः क्षितितले विततञ्चतृष्कं मुक्तादलेन ननु

¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

² Metre: *Upāndravajrā*.

³ Read स्पष्टं म. Kielhorn's suggestion to change यदि गणनां to परिगणनां is gratuitous. See below, p. 219, n. 3.

⁴ Read -णानां विधातु वाचा-.

⁵ Metre: *Mandākerānī*.

⁶ Read तां स.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre of this and the next verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Read निर्मपितं सुकृत-.

¹⁰ It is not necessary to restore the *visarga* here as done by Kielhorn. It is correctly dropped accord-
ing to the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

¹¹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹² Read तुलनां बहन्ति.

¹³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ Read -वासितां सुकृती.

¹⁵ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁸ As Kielhorn has observed, the context requires some reading like यस्याक्षिताः in place of यत्सेविताः.

¹⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 24 तत्सोमेवराभ्यर्चनम् । इत्वा(त्वा) यः करिष्यामिभुवना(स)नसकवन्नादीन्पुनः संसार¹धमशा-
न्तयेतिविनतस्तुष्टाव तुष्टः प्रभुः ॥² [६२॥*] असारं संसारं³ च इह भनूते कोपि नृपतिस्त्व-
दंघ्रिव्यानत्वा विगलिततमास्तत्त्व(त्वा)निस्तः । न तस्य श्रीभूयो विकृति⁴कृतये जन्मविरहा-
दिति ध्यानाविष्टः शिवमहसि चि[त्तं] विहितवान् ॥⁵ [६३॥*] श्रीशङ्करगणस्तस्मादभूभूमी-
श्वरो महान् । यत्पादद्वन्द्वद्वंद्वं द्विविभूरपि सेवितम् ॥⁶ [६४॥*] संस्थेसंस्थविपक्ष-
25 पक्षदलनव्यासङ्गि सङ्गवत्तं यस्यासीद्वृद्धसाहसस्य सततन्दानं जनानन्दकृत् । रूपेणाप्रतिमो मनो-
मवमवं दम्पं जहारोद्धतं यः सर्व्वत्वं च सर्व्वकालमवनीनाथः स्तुतः कोविदः ॥⁷ [६५॥*]
यत्पादद्वयपक्षस्य विततं भूतेरभूभूषितं भूपानां नमतां किरीटविकटप्रान्तस्वरस्तांशुभिः । वक्षो-
रत्ननिधिस्तमाश्रितवती⁸ लक्ष्मीः क्रमेणागता क्षीरक्षीरपरैव यस्य नृपतेः कोक्षेवधाराश्रया ॥
[६६॥*] तस्य श्रीयुवराजदेवन-
26 पतिभ्राता कनीयानभूभूषणैर्यञ्चरणारविन्दपतितैर्मृज्जैरिवा[ङ्ग]स्मितम् । यः सत्यव्रतसत्त्व(त्वा)-
सुक्तिवसतिः श्रीविक्रमैकाग्रयः प्रायस्तस्य न सज्जनोपि सकलान्वक्तुं गुणान्वा(व्या)क्यति ॥
[६७॥*] दंष्ट्राकोटिविपाटनोपवदनः क्रूर⁹स्वरो भासुरो नेत्र¹⁰प्रान्तविकीर्णकोपकधिरः
पादप्रचारायुधः । येनाक्रम्य भुजेन भूमिपतिना लाङ्गूलव(व)द्वक्रमो दैत्यो व्याघ्रवपुर्हृत्तोतिभयदः
शस्त्रीमृता पाणिना ॥[६८॥*] कन्दर्पोभिनवः पुर-
27 निम्नयनप्रीतिप्रदोप्यन्यथा यः कालः करवालकोटिविहितस्थूलेमकुम्भस्थलः । चित्रं यच्च सर-
स्वतीकृतरतिः श्रीकण्ठपूजापरश्चातुर्व्यर्ण्यविचारचारुचतुरो यच्चार्थचिन्तामणिः ॥ [६९॥*]
यस्योत्तु(त्तु)ङ्गजेन्द्रमज्जनगलहानाम्बु(म्बु)भिर्मिश्रितं रेवाबारि विविक्ततिक्तमुचितस्नानेन
तन्वीजनः । संप्राप्योरुनितम्ब(म्ब)ताडनवशाभ्यस्तास्तवीचीचयं स[द्वंद्वं] स्मरसौरभेण महता
निर्भ्याजमायोजितः ॥[७०॥*] रामाणां कु-
28 चमण्डलेषु नियतं हारप्रकारक्रमात्संपूर्णं शशिमण्डले च विमले ज्योत्स्नाच्छलेनोज्व(ज्ज्व)लम् ।
मन्ये¹¹ मानसवारि यस्य वितते हस्तावली¹²विभ्रमाव्भ्रान्तवाशेषमुभापतेस्तु वसती
विश्रान्तिमागच्छाः ॥[७१॥*] संपूज्य देवमीशानम्बिमवैः¹³ स्वैर्यथोचितैः । यथागमं
यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्रम्विहित¹⁴वाभूपः ॥¹⁵ [७२॥*] अविचलितमनोभिर्यस्त्वमीश क्षितीशैर्विभव-
विहितकृत्यैरिज्यसे [ते] कृतार्थाः । य इह कृतवि]-
29 कारा मन्मथैकान्तचिता(त्ता) भवति वरद तेषां संपदुन्मादहेतुः ॥¹⁶ [७३॥*] समदकरिषटाभिः
किं किमङ्गाङ्गनाभिर्मंदनशयनलीलां भावयन्तीभिरामिः । कनकतुरगवासोरत्नजातैर्न कृत्यं न हि
भवति भवानीवल्लभस्यार्चनं चेत् ॥[७४॥*] भवति नृपतिवन्धो¹⁷ जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुत-

¹ Read संसार-.

² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Read संसारं.

⁴ The *akṣhara* ए, which was omitted, is written below the line.

⁵ Metre: *Sikharīṇī*.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Metre of this and the next six verses: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Read -रत्ननिधिं समाश्रितवती.

⁹ The *visarga*, which was at first incised after र, is cancelled.

¹⁰ The न्न of नेत्र is written below the line.

¹¹ Originally मान्ये, changed to मन्ये.

¹² Read हस्तावली-.

¹³ Read -मीशानं विभवैः.

¹⁴ Read स्तोत्रं विहित-. The change of स्तोत्र into स्तोत्र has not been made in the original.

¹⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Mālinī*.

¹⁷ Read -वन्धो.

- मुनिविचारवाक्यमन्त्रावः । समस्तविषयसंपत्तयः श्री निःप्रपञ्च^१स्वरणयुगलमूलं संवितः
 चक्षुरस्य ॥[७५॥^२] किमिह
 ३० व(न)द्विजयतीक्ष्णं सर्वस्य हेतुर्वचसु मयति निधं मयितयोगी मनेकः । सकलसुखविशेषाद्यत्र
 श्रीमूषकः स्वयमनुभवाभ्यो जायते स्वात्मसाक्षात् ॥ [७६॥^३] मूषकययस्योराशिगणनं प्रथमं
 कृतम् । श्रीमता श्रीनिवासेन श्रीस्विरामनन्दसुता ॥^४ [७७॥^५] मूषकीनां राधाणां तु कीर्तिकीर्त-
 नमनुभ(जम्)कम् । विहितं सचनेनस्य सुविद्या श्रीसुतुना ॥ [७८॥^६] पत्तनमण्डपिकायां ॥
 स्वयमस्य खण्डिका[यां] यो-
 ३१ [व]सि(वि)का वाणके च वोड^७ वोडसि(वि)का । तैलस्य भासि भासे विमननु च युगायुगे
 च पीरस्तु ॥^८ [७९॥^९] पूमकलमरिचमूषकीप्रभृतिषु पाण्डेयु मरकटोरस्तु । वीथीं च प्रति च
 कपटीं वृत्तकप^{१०}इस्तु वाक्यार्थाकम् ॥^{११} [८०॥^{१२}] रसवनिवासायामस्तुनपूलकवी[र्ण]रादि य-
 तिकिञ्चत् । दत्ते करी चतुष्टयमङ्ग पुरज्जो इकस्तु वीरायाम् ॥ [८१॥^{१३}] यद्ब्रह्म[न्य]दानं
 किमपि च विद्याचनस्तदुद्दिष्टम् । यत्नः यः [पुष्पवी]-
 ३२ [वी]र्तयः प्रवर्तन्ते ॥[८२॥^{१४}] यत्न च श्रीनोहलेस्वरमठे श्रीमदभोरसिवा[चा]याम्भुत् ॥
 यवविद्वि[साय]तिः यवविदपि च वाक्यभ्यवहृतिः यवविन्मूलाहारः यवविदपि च कदाश्च
 नु(नु)भुजे । परं ज्योतिः शैवं विगलितरजस्कान्तमसं नि(वि)चिन्वन्तो यातो विवविकयवे-
 [य]स्य कलनाम् ॥^{१५} [८३॥^{१६}] सेवेवं प्रशस्तिः सज्जतिमानीता । श्रीनिपुरी[सी]भाय-
 पुरलभयनगरदुर्गमपुरविमानपुर[न]^{१७}
 ३३ निः काष्ट[व]पः प्रत्यहमच रक्षितः समानेयः । देव र्म्माचारार्थं^{१८} [वाह]-
 दारणि ॥^{१९} [८४॥^{२०}] सुदिलुप्तव(व)न्वचटना विस्मितकविराजशेखरस्तुत्वा । जास्तामियमा-
 कल्पं कृतिश्च कीर्तिश्च पूर्णं च ॥^{२१} [८५॥^{२२}] कावस्वमीसीहकस्य ॥ करणिकवीरसुतेन
 तु नाईनाम्ना प्रशस्तिरालिखिता । सत्सुन[वा]र[स]ज्जमतमूनोभेन श्रीकीर्णा ॥[८६॥^{२३}]
 स्वकी[यदायवकयपु(प्र)दानम्] ॥^{२४} द^{२५} [१*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Oh ! Adoration to Siva.

(Verse 1) May the mass of Sambhu's matted hair, the store of all blessings, protect you !—(the mass of matted hair), on which the rolling waters of the Mandākinī (i.e., the Gāngā), flowing down from the bright vault of heaven, appear like a white umbrella, being upheld by the wind from the opened mouths, dreadful through the large expanding hoods, of the lord of serpents (which is) greatly afflicted, being drawn into a tight knot !

Moreover—

(V. 2) May the flame of the fire of the eye of the moon-diademed (Siva) protect

¹ Read निःप्रपञ्च—.

² Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Delete वीथ. There is no indication that these *śloka*s have been cancelled.

⁴ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Ghā*.

⁵ The *śloka* which was at first omitted is written below the line.

⁶ Metre: *Śikharit*.

⁷ About eight *śloka*s are illegible here.

⁸ Perhaps र्म्माचारार्थं is meant.

⁹ Metre: *Arj* (2).

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: *Arj*.

¹¹ These *śloka*s are fairly legible on the original stone.

¹² One *śloka* is indistinct here, and two or three more have been lost by the breaking off of the corner of the stone.

you,—(*the flame*) which rises up as if to burn the moon, because it is a friend of the god of love!

(V. 3) May the nectar-rayed (moon) of Sarva, the unique flower in the forest of his matted hair, protect you!—that (*moon*) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, persistently asks for,¹ in order to play with; which is the stake when (Śiva), the destroyer of the cities, plays at dice with the goddess (Pārvatī); (*and*) which Pārvatī uses as a missile when she is talking angrily (*with Śiva*) in amorous sports!

(V. 4) May the gigantic dance of the conqueror of Tripura (*i.e.*, Śiva) in which he indulged to his heart's content² protect you!—(*the dance*) during which the quarters were pushed back by the exceedingly strong blasts of wind, caused by his massive arms, which suddenly became terrific through his graceful movements as he energetically applied himself to it (*i.e.*, to the dancing); and during which the sky rose higher as the earth bent down under (*the weight of*) his mighty *chārī* step!

(V. 5) Using my speech to (*describe*) the family which has sprung from the moon, I, alas! have, through folly, begun to measure the sky with my hands.

(V. 6) Even though my speech has no brilliance, it will attain it from this great family of the moon whose rise is being described. Or, do not, mark! the streams of rut of the elephants of the quarters, though naturally black, attain the (*white*) colour of the milky ocean, when they come into contact with it?

(V. 7) That abode of lustre which obtained its rise from the eye of Atri, which befriends the earth by whitening it, which rises up to the Lōkālōka mountain (*and*) dispels great darkness, is called the moon. The crescent of that very (*moon*) adorns the forehead of Śambhu. From the same moon sprang, what more (*need I say?*), this family also of the Haihayas.

(V. 8) And in this (*family*) which was rendered the highest object of reverence by (*those*) primeval kings, Budha and others, there was a noble prince named Arjuna who covered the wide quarters with the lustre of his fame, which deserves praise because he cut down his enemies like forests.

(V. 9) What happened even to that lord of Laṅkā (*i.e.*, Rāvaṇa) when he was engaged in hostility with him—(*the lord of Laṅkā*), who with ease had lifted up³ (Kailāsa) the lord of mountains belonging to Sarva, (*and before whom*) the lord of gods went, none knew where, on his elephant which was terrified by the fire issuing from the thunderbolt as it vibrated and broke in striking (Rāvaṇa's) broad chest—that indeed is the measure of his glory!

(V. 10) Who are we, oh! to describe the merits of him whom the god Dattātrēya, that abode of unrestrained amorous endearments of the goddess of fortune, favoured

¹ Kielhorn, who made the *pada-cchēda* as *kṛitvā grabhāṁ mārgati*, translated—'that (*moon*) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, lays hold of and seeks to play with'. It is better to construe the words as *āgrabhāṁ kṛitvā kbālāya mārgati*.

² Kielhorn translates *avyāhat-iccham* by 'to the full extent of your desires', evidently treating it as an adverb modifying the verb *avyāt*. The tenor of the whole verse, however, requires that it should be taken as an adjective to *tāpāḥ-āḥambaram*. Śiva could indulge in the dance to his heart's content, because the quarters were pushed back, the sky rose higher and the earth bent down, thus affording more space for his dance.

³ Kielhorn translated 'of that lord of Laṅkā even, who with ease had coaxed Śarva and the lord of mountains', evidently deriving *ullālita* from *ullal* to coax, to fondle. But the word is clearly used here in the same sense as *ullāsita* (lifted up) in *bāl-ullāsita-v(b)āhu-danḍa-vibhita-Śrīkaṇṭha-tail-baddha(ri)ti* in line 6 of Goharwa plates of Karṇa (No. 50, below).

with the gracious promise of sons? What is the use of vain prattle? In this case even the goddess of speech is, I fancy, deeply perplexed!

(V. 11) Then, from him who was a mountain¹ for the creepers that were the far-reaching vows of good men, how many lords of earth did not spring, the fame springing from whom was in the habit of defeating (*i.e.*, surpassing in lustre) the young (*i.e.*, full) moon?

(V. 12) Among those who thus appeared successively was born Kōkalladēva (I), who caused the wonder of men; who marked the highest limit of blessedness; who was like Indra on the orb of the earth that submitted to him; who was the wild fire in burning the spreading creepers that were his enemies; (*and*) whose valour, adorned as he was with pride, pervaded the circle of the three worlds.

(V. 13) On account of whose forces, when they met together for the conquest of the world, marching like the waves of the ocean overflowing its bounds, the multitude of the broad hoods of the lord of serpents sank under the earth which was pressed down by their excessive weight.

(V. 14) When the dust raised by his forces gradually rolled on from the earth to the sky, the pairs of Chakravāka birds, apprehending (*the approach of*) night, separated in grief; the peacocks, mistaking it for the approach of clouds, performed a joyful dance; and on the disappearance of all light, the eyes suddenly became blind.

(V. 15) When the lords of elephants in his vast army, which was fond of the forests on the sea-shore, plunged into (*its*) water like the principal mountains crowding together, the ocean after a long time was reminded of that occasion when the Mandara mountain revolved in it.

(V. 16) While he was occupying the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, the forest, with its multitudes of birds chirping harshly, cried out, as it were, in pain, as (*the trees were*) being broken by the rutting elephants of the army.

(V. 17) Having conquered the whole earth, he planted two unique pillars,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya)² that (*well-known*) Kriṣṇaparāja, and in the quarter of Kubēra³ Bhūjadēva the treasure-house of fortune.

(V. 18) From him then was born Mṃgdhanuṅga, than whom (*there was*) none exalted in the three worlds. And when he was desirous of conquering the quarters, what country did he not obtain, having destroyed his enemies?

(V. 19) His sole object of affection, when he was preparing for fight, was his sword,—(*which was*) a couch for the goddess of battle, a bolt for (*the destruction of*) the enemy's army, a sprout of the creeper that was his anger, a dear friend of haughtiness, a channel (*made*) of sapphire for the water of good deeds, a branch of the tree of bravery, and an endless path for the movements of his adventurous deeds.

(V. 20) Possessed of the prowess of Rudra⁴, he so dealt with the hostile forces

¹ It is not necessary to translate *parvat* by 'a tree' as Kielhorn does. Again, his translation of the expression *śaṃkha-śūbhā-śūbhā*, *etc.* as 'renowned for their seal in defeating kings who were like newly risen Tārakas' and his remark 'Tāraka was a Daitya who was killed by Indra' are manifestly wrong. *Tāraka* (n.) means 'a tree' and *śūbhā-śūbhā*, 'the moon'.

² *I. e.*, in the south.

³ *I. e.*, in the north.

⁴ Kielhorn translated *raṃdras-śūbhā-śūbhā* by 'possessed of terrific splendour'. The whole verse is, however, intended to compare the battlefield, where the king slaughtered his enemies, with the cemetery where Rudra revels in the company of his hosts of spirits and goblins. Besides *raṃdra* is used before in the sense of 'terrific' and it is not likely to have been used in the same sense again in the last quarter. I, therefore, prefer to take *raṃdras-śūbhā* as 'the prowess of Rudra'.

in every fight that crowds of goblins stalked about, headless trunks (*of warriors*) were running (*here and there*), carrying their own heads (*which had been*) cut off, small imps were howling, confronting goblins had fire blazing forth from the hollows of their mouths and (*the battlefield*) appeared dreadful with the terrific cries of ill-omened jackals howling in their desire for devouring flesh.

(V. 21) The forests near the sea-shore where his forces were encamped during his expeditions, had their coral sprouts doubled on account of the foreparts of the hands of women moving (*among them*) to gather them.¹

(V. 22) 'Here the waves of the ocean are playing, here the wind is blowing which makes the women of Kēṛala sport, here the serpent is taking away the fragrance of the trees'.—Thus wandered his thoughts in the vicinity of the Malaya mountain!

(V. 23) Having conquered the rows of countries along the shore of the eastern ocean, and having taken the country of Pāli from the lord of Kēśala, he, who continually destroyed the abodes of (*his*) enemies, was the ablest master of the sword.

(V. 24) From him was born that Kēyūravaraṣa², who was guided by polity³; who fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa; who sported on the breasts of the ladies of Kaṇṇāṣa even as a deer does on a pleasure-hill; who applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāṣa; who enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, (*and*) was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kaliṅga.

(V. 25) Even when his forces marched for vanquishing the guardians of the quarters, sporting as at the time of world-destruction, so as to rouse the apprehension of the three worlds, no mass of dust could rise from the ground, inundated as it was with the streams of tears flowing from the eyes of the wives of (*his*) enemies who were again and again taken captive.

(V. 26) In battle that king wielded his large sword, which, being covered with a multitude of pearls from the pitcher-like frontal globes of elephants which were clearly broken open, appeared, as it were, to be strewn with the particles of the enemy's fame, which it had often drunk but subsequently emitted, under the pressure of the king's firm grasp.

(V. 27) Up to the Kailāsa mountain, the friend⁴ of Pārvatī's continuously charming sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (*of the south*) and then up to the western lord of waters (*i.e.*, the western ocean) the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies.

(V. 28) He strew the battlefields all over with the heads of his proud enemies who, exasperated with rage attacked him—(*the heads*), the skull-bones of which were falling off, being pressed by the machine-like hands of the exulting female goblins, eager for the blood dripping from (*the parts*) struck by his vibrating swift arrows, (*and*) which were honoured with side-glances of (*heavenly*) damsels moving in the sky.

(V. 29) "(*Our*) king is Rudra incarnate; (*our*) king is the support of the mansion of the three worlds; (*our*) king is an iron fetter for curbing the wayward princes;"—When multitudes of excellent bards continuously uttered such brilliant words of flattery, the minds of his enemies who were present in his hall of audience were incomparably afflicted.

¹ The idea suggested is that the fingers of the women were like coral.

² He is identical with Yuvarājadēva I mentioned in verse 46 below.

³ Kielhorn translates *niti-nayanah* by 'the observer of good conduct', but the idea that the science of politics is an eye of the kings is often met with in Sanskrit literature. Compare *Datukumāravarṇana* (Bom. Sansk. Series ed., 1919), p. 130.

⁴ *I. e.*, where Pārvatī is always sporting.

(V. 30) There was (a sage) named Bhṛadīśa, (who was) free from the blemishes of sin, (and) who was the sole lord of those whose wealth is tranquillity. What sprang from his male energy deposited in a jar—that verily was Bhṛadīśa, i.e., Drōṇa whose deeds excited the wonder of the three worlds.

(V. 31) His fame gracefully reigned throughout the three worlds; his fortune was limited (only) by his desires; his rage, (manifested both) by his curse and his bow, was terrible, such as would be suitable for the destruction of the world. What can we describe of that sole ocean of policy and valour, whose disciple was that husband of Subhadrā (i.e., Arjuna) who with ease humbled the great pride of Sarva.²

(V. 32) Seeing him whose strong arm was skilful in wielding the bow, and who with his many powerful arrows exterminated the Pāṇḍava army, even that son of Dharma, who was honoured for veracity, swerved (from the truth)³ when he lost (all) hope of defeating the enemy.

(V. 33) Now, in the water, of which he in the act of cursing had taken up a handful (śulaka) with his trembling hand, in rage to bring calamity on Drupada when insulted (by him), there sprang a man like victory incarnate; from him is descended the family of the Chaulukyas of great merit.

(V. 34) In that powerful family, in which was produced a series of kings eminent in spreading valour and beauty, was born Avanivarman whose deeds were well-known in the (whole) universe, (and) who drew to himself the enemy's fortune when he bent his beautiful bow.

(V. 35) That his grandfather was Śiṃhavarman and his father was Sadhanva the best of heroes,—this by itself rendered him exceedingly great in the world. To add to this was his great dignity.

(V. 36) Of him, whose liberality has broken the seal of poverty of all people, (and) whose valour has made the enemies take shelter in the mountain-caves by the seashore, he (alone) apparently might possibly⁴ count the merits, to whom is indeed submissive the divine Bhārati, the milch-cow of speech.

(V. 37) As the lord of mountains (Himālaya) begot Rudrāṇī (i.e., Pārvatī), the ocean Lakṣmī, the divine sun the (river) Kālindī (Yamunā), the son of Attri the moon-light, Janaka's sacrificial rite Vaidēhī (i.e., Sītā), even so (he), the jewel that fulfilled the wishes of the feudatory princes, begot that wonderful ornament in the form of a maiden, named the illustrious Nōhalā.

(V. 38) As the daughter of Pulōman⁵ (was the beloved wife) of the lord of the hosts of Maruts⁶, as Chhāyā (was) of that lord of the light (i.e., the sun) that dispels darkness, as Rati (was) of the god whose bow is (made of) sugar-cane,⁷—even so did she become the beloved (wife) of Kēyāvaraha.

(V. 39) That moon-like king attained indescribable splendour through her, even as the elephant (does) by the stream of rutting juice, the seashore by a creeper of tender coral, a tree by the beauty of flowers, and a cloud by lightning.

¹ The reference is to Arjuna's encounter with Śiva, described in the *Mahābhārata*.

² Kielhorn's translation 'Even that son of Dharma minding his promise retired etc.' gives a wholly incorrect sense. The allusion here is to an incident in the Bhārata war when Yudhiṣṭhira was tempted to tell a lie to bring about the death of Drōṇa. See *Mahābhārata*, Drōṇaparvan, Adhyāya 193, vv. 34-39. Compare also *Vaṇavāsa*, Act III, v. 117.

³ For *yaś* used here in the sense of 'possibly,' compare the *Māgadhī*, v. 113.

⁴ i.e., Śakti.

⁵ i.e., of Indra.

⁶ i.e., of the god of love.

(V. 40) For the attainment of religious merit she has constructed this temple of the god (Siva) who is the sole object of Umā's love, (*this temple*), on the pinnacles of which with their cloud-scraping tops trips the sun, (*and which is*) as it were the mass of her extensive fame (*in a tangible form*).

(V. 41) The flags on it do not flutter, because, I fancy, they are constantly sprinkled with the foam-water of the horses of the sun, that are fatigued by continuous marching through the sky.

(V. 42) On the broad pinnacles of this temple, which has a lofty fluted disc,¹ the rows of fresh clouds clinging to them in the rainy season bear resemblance to flocks of pigeons.

(V. 43) There was (*a sage*), Pavanaśiva, the lord of Madhumatī; after him flourished Śabdaśiva; the pious Īvaraśiva again sanctified his discipleship.

(V. 44) To him, who was a store of austerities, the cultured (*queen*) donated the villages Nipāñīya and Ambipāṭaka as a reward for scholarship.

(V. 45) And she gave to (Siva) the enemy of Smara, Dhaṅgaṣpāṭaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khailapāṭaka, Viḍā, Sajjāhalī and Gōṣṭhapālī.

(V. 46) From her was born to the illustrious king Yuvarājadēva (I), the illustrious Lakṣmṇarāja (II), elevated and possessed of great splendour like the sun; the lustre of whose feet, resorted to by fortune, was honoured by the exalted heads of kings (*even as the lustrous rays of the sun, possessed of beauty, are revered by the high peaks of mountains*), and who, by his unique, attractive and beautiful excellences, surpassed the god of love.

(V. 47) For the goddess of whose heroism the lady Fame verily spread out on the ground a four-stringed necklace, with the multitude of pearls from the frontal globes of the enemy's elephants, rent, in battle, by the edge of his firmly grasped sword.

Moreover—

(V. 48) Venerable is that Kadambaguhā where there was a succession of sages. To them again was Rudraśambhu, the chief of sages, an object of adoration.

(V. 49) He, who was most venerable in this world by his power (*derived from the knowledge*) of the reality, had in this world a disciple (*named*) the Lord of Mattamayūra, who, having completely removed the stain of impurity from the king Avanti, communicated to him the supreme lustre² (*by initiating him in the Saiva faith*).

(V. 50) After him came the illustrious Dharmaśambhu, who became an ornament of the world, (*and*) whose feet were revered by the lustre of the crest-jewels of princes; who, having crossed the ocean of the Saiva faith by his austerities, attained fitting, spotless and pleasing fame.

(V. 51) After him came his disciple Sadāśiva, who had a store of austerities, (*and*) whose venerable feet were worshipped by princes with the rays of their crowns.

(V. 52) After him came his disciple named Mādhumatēya, who, living on fruits and roots, was possessed of excellent lustre, (*and*) in whom austerities and radiance always dwelt together.

(V. 53) After him there was (*his*) most venerable disciple Chūḍāśiva, who, being

¹ In Indian Śilpasastra, *amalasaraka* means 'a circular fluted disc which surmounts the spire of temples', so called from its resemblance to the *emblic myrobalan*. Cf. *Shandhāt-sūtrabāṇī bhavāḥ ghaṇṭā pādī v-āmalasarakam*, in *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Vol. II, p. 173.

² Kielhorn at first read *puram-abḥ* in this verse and translated it as 'who became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince Avanti,' but himself corrected his mistake later on in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353.

desirous of final liberation, removed completely the taint consequent on actions (*performed in previous births*).

(V. 54) Then (*now*) his disciple named Hṛideyaśiva, a mine of all virtues, whose fame deserves to be sung even now; the soles of whose uniquely venerable feet were rendered beautiful by the multitude of rubies set in the crowns of princes.

(V. 55) To whom is not the holy man an object of praise—(*the holy man*) who, an abode of (*all*) loves, wise and true to his vows, increased still further and for a long time the fame of the illustrious Mīdhamaśya lineage; who, moreover, surpassed the earth by his forbearance, the cloud by his impartiality, and the ocean by decorum of conduct, and (*who*) vanquished the god of love by his freedom from passion?

(V. 56) Or, why need that foremost of sages be praised at all—(*he*), whom the king, the illustrious moon of the Chēdi (*country*), showing his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, brought him hither respectfully (*and*) in due form?

(V. 57) The illustrious Lakshmanapārāja also, being full of devotion himself, offered that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha.

(V. 58) The sage, having accepted it, again made over the holy Nauhṛēśvara monastery to his well-conducted disciple Aghōraśiva.

(V. 59) Then, having accomplished his object, the powerful lord of Chēdi, with all his elephants and horses (*as well as*) powerful feudatories and foot-soldiers, proceeded to the extremely charming western quarter, causing terror to all his enemies, his progress being difficult to check.

(V. 60) Having struck with valour those who showed vehemence for fighting,¹ having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who submitted to him, having fulfilled the desires of suppliants with wealth on which they had set their hearts, he allowed the host of his army to sport in the water of the ocean.

(V. 61) Having bathed in the ocean, the illustrious (*Lakshmanapārāja*) quietly worshipped (*the god*) Sōmēśvara with golden lotuses and also offered something else.

(V. 62) He worshipped Sōmēśvara with that (*effigy of*) Kālīya wrought of jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the prince of Ōdra, after defeating the lord of Kōśala. The prince, having besides presented elephants, horses, white garments, garlands, sandal and other (*gifts*), (*and*) being filled with joy, very humbly praised (*the god*) to get rid of the troubles of worldly existence.

(V. 63) "Whenever a prince, who is freed from ignorance by bowing to your feet (*and*) is devoted to the truth, considers this life worthless, his royal fortune will not produce again (*any*) passion in him,² for he gets rid of re-birth"—Absorbed in such meditation, he fixed his mind on Śiva's greatness.

(V. 64) From him was born the great lord of the earth, the illustrious Śaṅkara-gaṇa (*III*), whose matchless pair of feet was worshipped even by (*his*) enemies.

(V. 65) Firm in daring as he was, he devoted his sword to the destruction of the innumerable hosts of his enemies; his charity always delighted the people; being of

¹ Kiehlhorn translated *amara-kṛita-vibhāva-vibhāva* as 'having valorously struck down (*adversaries*) who were humbled in battle.' The verse is intended to contrast two types of the king's adversaries—(i) those who prepared themselves for fight and (ii) those who submitted to him. The poet has used *amara* and *vibhāva* several times in this inscription in the sense of 'passion,' 'rage' etc.

² Kiehlhorn translates 'His good fortune is no longer liable to change', but *su* which is used here generally means 'fortune,' 'wealth,' 'prosperity'. *Vibhāva-vibhāva* (*liberati*) can scarcely mean 'is not liable to change'. For the idea of fortune influencing a person, see below in the *kṛita-vibhāva* etc. in verse 71, below. For the meaning of *vibhāva* see n. 1, above.

matchless beauty, he humbled the haughty pride of the mind-born (*i.e.*, the god of love); and as the lord of the earth, he was praised at all places and times by the wise.

(V. 66) The pair of his lotus-like feet, which afforded a broad resting place for fortune, was adorned by the rays of jewels set on the broad sides of the diadems of princes as they bowed (*to him*). Fortune, which resorted to his ocean-like breast, had come to him as a heritage;¹ not so, however, the glory of heroism which depended on the edge of that prince's sword.

(V. 67) His younger brother was the illustrious king Yuvanaśādhava (II), on whose feet princes bent down as bees hover on lotuses. Of him, who was an abode of devotion to truth, courage and pleasing speech, and the sole resort of fortune and valour, even a good man² will not probably be able to describe all excellences.

(V. 68) This prince overpowered with his arm and killed, with his hand which wielded a dagger, the radiant, fiercely roaring demon in the form of a tiger, whose mouth appeared terrible as it tore (*animals*) with its sharp teeth, the corners of whose eyes were blood-shot with rage, which used its paws as weapons of attack, and which sprang forward with its uplifted tail.

(V. 69) Though he delighted the eyes of women as a new god of love, he was otherwise the god of death who broke open the frontal globes of huge elephants with the edge of his sword and, strange to say, (*though*) he was fond of Sarasvatī, he devoted himself to the worship of Śiva, and clever as he was in discriminating between the four castes, he was a wish-fulfilling jewel to (*all*) supplicants.

(V. 70) When young women for their usual bath plunged into the water of the Rēvā, which was clear, but bitter, being mixed with the rutting juice which flowed into it at the bathing of his huge and excellent elephants, they innocently became perfumed with the strong fragrance of copulation³ as the multitudes of waves, dashing against their thighs and hips, surged up and down.

(V. 71) I fancy that his radiant fame, after wandering everywhere,—on the round breasts of women surely in the form of pearl-necklaces, on the spotless full disc of the moon in the guise of the moon-light, on the extensive waters of the Mānasa lake as a beautiful row of swans,—has found rest in the abode of Urmā's husband (*i.e.*, in Kailāsa).

(V. 72) Having worshipped the god Īśāna (Śiva) with suitable (*gifts of*) his wealth, the king composed the (*following*) hymn of praise, according to traditional works (*āgamas*) (*and*) scriptures :—

(V. 73) "Happy are those kings, O Lord, who with steady minds worship thee, spending their wealth on (*charitable*) works. For those who (*on the other hand*) are swayed by passion, and whose minds are solely engrossed in love, fortune becomes a cause of intoxication, O granter of boons!

(V. 74) "Of what use are these troops of rutting elephants (*and*) these women

¹ Kielhorn translates *kramāṅ-gatā* by 'come to him gradually', but here the sense clearly is that of 'obtained by succession'. Compare *krama-prāpta* in Vākātaka seals. There is a contrast intended here between Lakshmi and Vīśrī. Both of them resorted to Śaṅkaraṅga; but while he received the former as a heritage, the latter was attracted by his deft swordsmanship.

² The use of *saṁjāna* 'a good man' seems at first sight to be inappropriate here, as there is hardly any connection between the good nature of a man and his ability to describe the merits of a king. The poet has, however, used it here as his own name was *Saṁjāna*; see v. 78 below. So he means to say 'Even I may not be able to describe all the merits of this king!'

³ Kielhorn's rendering 'they truly become perfumed with the strong fragrance of the god of love' does not bring out the intended sense clearly. The idea expressed in this verse occurs, though in a somewhat different form, in the *Raghavastaka* also, see Canto IV, v. 45.

who display smugness dalliance? Gold, houses, garments and all kinds of jewels are of no avail, if thereby (Siva) the lord of Bhavāni is not worshipped.

(V. 75) Birth in a royal family, enjoyment of the earth, learning, proper discrimination, beautiful form (and) excellent victory in battle,—(these) accrue to him, who takes refuge with the holy feet of Śaṅkara.

(V. 76) Why need I say more? May my single-minded devotion, the cause of everything, be always directed to thee O Lord!—in which there will be, by thy grace, a shower of nectar,—such as can be experienced by one's own self,¹—owing to the presence therein of all kinds of highest pleasures."

(V. 77) The great fame of the (first) three princes was first described by the illustrious Śrinivāsa, the son of the illustrious Śhṛīnanda.

(V. 78) Then the brilliant eulogy of the three (other) princes was composed by Saṅjana, the wise son of Thita.

In the *Mandapikā*² of the town—

(V. 79) There shall be paid a *śaḍaṭika*³ (coin) on (every) *khaṇḍika*⁴ of salt and (also) one *śaḍaṭika* for (every) oil-mill per month, and a *pauva*⁵ for a couple of *yuga*⁶ per day.

(V. 80) In the case of betel-nuts, black pepper, dried ginger and other merchandise, a *pauva* (shall be paid) by every measurer⁷; a *kapaṇḍa* shall be paid for every *vithi* (shop) and *dyūtakapardas*⁸ for vegetables and egg-plants.

(V. 81) In the case of dealers in liquids, the tax should be (in the form of) bundles of grass,⁹ *dhirmara*¹⁰ and whatever (else may be possible). An elephant (offered for sale)

¹ Kielhorn translates *ananta-mukha-gaṇḍa* by 'which will manifest itself of its own accord'. The expression, however, clearly means that the shower of nectar cannot be described in words, but can be appreciated only by self-experience.

² *Mandapikā* (from which the Marāṭhī word *Mandā*, a 'market-place', is derived) seems to have been a pavillion in the market-place where things brought to the market for sale were taxed. It was also called *śaṭka-mandapikā*, see *Bhāṅgaṇa Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, p. 159.

³ *Śaḍaṭika* was probably a coin equal in value to one-sixteenth part of a *dramma*. Cf. *Vīṇāśaka* mentioned in lines 10, 20, 26 etc. of the *Siyāḍḡl* inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 174 ff.

⁴ *Khaṇḍika* seems to have been a measure of capacity corresponding to the modern *āḥaṇḍ* which is equal to 20 maunds. The Harsha stone inscription of Vīṇāśaka (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57 ff.) mentions the tax of one *śaḍaṭika* on every *āḥaṇḍ* of salt at Śāṅkabhārī.

⁵ *Pauva* seems to have been a small coin like *kapaṇḍa*. The *Siyāḍḡl* inscription states in line 20 the tax of two *kapaṇḍas* per *yuga*, which was assigned to the local deity.

⁶ The meaning of *yuga* is not certain, but it may be noted that the *Siyāḍḡl* inscription states in line 6 that a *yuga* was stamped at the local *mandapikā* when a quarter *paṭṭāyaka-drumma* was paid and that it was valid for a day. It was probably a voucher authorizing the owner to exhibit his articles in the market-place for one day.

⁷ *Bharuka* is probably a kind of measure. It is also mentioned in connection with coconuts in v. 71 of the *Arthāṅga* inscription of Chāṇuḍaṭṭa of V. 1136 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 302). See also *Mittabard* on *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, II, 221. The *Siyāḍḡl* inscription mentions in line 30 the tax of three-quarter *Vīṇāśaka-drumma* on every *dharmas* (measure).

⁸ *Dyūtakapardas* seems to have been a smaller coin than a *kapaṇḍa*. It was so called probably because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling. It may be noted that the *Māṅgrōl* (Kāthiāwāḍ) inscription of V. 1202 mentions a daily tax of one *āḥaṇḍ* on gambling. *Bhāṅgaṇa Inscriptions*, pp. 158 ff.

⁹ *Paṭṭā* may be connected with *paṭṭā*. The *Siyāḍḡl* inscription mentions in line 26 a tax on every *paṭṭā* of leaves. *Paṭṭā* is also mentioned in v. 72 of the above-cited *Arthāṅga* inscription.

¹⁰ *Dhirmara* is in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *dhirmara* in the sense of 'a fish-basket'. *Dhirmara* may have the same sense here.

should be taxed four *panras*, and a horse two *panras*¹.

(V. 82) Similarly whatever other gift and whatever reward for scholarship may be made . . . (by them) the religious merit, wealth and fame are obtained.

At the monastery of the holy Nôhalâvara there was the illustrious preceptor Aghôraśiva—

(V. 83) Sometimes living on alms and sometimes on vegetables, sometimes eating roots and sometimes subsisting on bulbous roots, seeking the supreme light of Siva free from the intense darkness of passion, he had never to suffer from the virulent poison of sensual enjoyment.

By him was the eulogy put together.

The (inhabitants of) famous Tripurî, Saubhâgyapura, Lavapamagam, Durâkshapura, Vimânapura . . . shall bring guarded (to the monastery?) the bull made of beautiful wood every day (at the fair?) of the god for the performance of the religious rite.

(V. 85) May this composition, which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Râjasâkhara, and the afore-mentioned glorious work,² (both of) which have well-joined parts, endure till the destruction of the world!

Of the Kâyastha, the illustrious Siruka.³

(V. 86) (This) eulogy was written by Nâli, the son of Dhira, the writer of legal documents and was engraved by Nônna, the son of the excellent *Sâtradhâra* (artisan) Saṅgama.

There shall be no sale or gift (of any portion) of one's own donation.⁴

NO. 46; PLATE XXXVI

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II

THIS inscription was noticed for the first time by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, pp. 31 ff. The same scholar subsequently published a transcript and a translation of it in his *Haitiyas of Tripurî and their Monuments*, pp. 122 ff., and finally edited it with a lithograph and a translation in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 127 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj at Gurgi, a village about twelve miles due east of Rewa town in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewa.

The inscribed slab measures about 4' 1" by 3' 4". There are forty-nine lines in all. The average size of the letters is .8". The record has suffered a good deal in its lower parts

¹ The Pôhêvâ inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 184 ff.) mentions the tax of one *dharna* on each horse brought to the market for sale. The Haraba stone inscription mentions the tax of one *dharna* on every horse sold by the Hôdâvikas of Uttarâpatha, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 64. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 124.

² For *kirtî*, a glorious work, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212, n. 6. It probably refers here to the temple of Nôhalâvara.

³ Siruka was evidently the author of the portion of the present inscription which follows verse 77. Kielhorn however, thought that he was the writer who originally wrote the eulogy of the first three princes.

⁴ For a similar restriction, see verse 35 of the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahâ-śivagupta, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 193.

comprised in ll. 23-26 owing to the flaking off of a large portion of the surface of the stone. In ll. 28-29 especially, only a few *akṣaras* at the right end can be read with confidence. The loss of this portion is very much to be regretted as, judging from the few preserved *akṣaras*, it contained a description of the military exploits of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. As it is, we are left in doubt not only about the Kalachuri king during whose reign it was incised,¹ but also about the Śaiva ascetic who caused it to be put up.²

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and closely resemble those of the Chandrēhī inscription of Prabhōdhasīva. The only points that call for notice are that *dh* in some cases shows the left limb developed as in the Kāritālī inscription of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa II,³ but it is here joined to the right vertical, see *-dhvast-āntarāy-ādhyab* in l. 17. In other cases the letter does not differ from *v* except in the absence of the wedge at the top, and it is noteworthy that the two verticals of *dhā* are not joined here as is generally done in other records of the period. In one other respect⁴ the present inscription shows a later stage, *viz.*, in the use of the *avagraha* which appears for the first time in the records edited here; see *-samadhyāḥ=śikhā-matayō*, l. 17, *tasy-āspadī=grā-*, l. 30 and *Mahindrī=rvudī*, l. 31.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for the opening obeisance to the deity, the whole record is metrically composed. There are forty-six verses in all. The inscription is composed in an artistic *kāvyā* style. As regards orthography, the consonants preceding and following *r* are doubled in a few places, see *-tribhuvana-*, l. 8, *-kīrttanīyab*, l. 9 *etc.*; *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*, see *e.g.*, *-pravandha-*, l. 4; the dental *s* is used for the palatal *ś* in *yasē-*, l. 13, and *n* for the *anuvāsa* followed by the dental sibilant in *-pradhvansa-*, l. 23 and *-vansa-*, l. 24. In other respects the record is carefully written and incised.

The inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which comprises vv. 1-26, contains the spiritual pedigree of the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present record. After two *mangala ślohas* invoking the blessings of Śiva, the inscription mentions Madhumatī, the abode of the Śaiva Saiddhāntikas. In their lineage there was an ascetic named Chāṇḍāsīva. His disciple Prabhāvasīva was invited by Yuvarājādēva (I), the son of Mugdhastuṅga, and was placed in charge of a monastery which the latter had built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple was Prasāntasīva who erected a temple of Śiva near another built by Yuvarājādēva, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hara-Gaurī, Kīrttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the Śōpa for the practice of Yōga, and another on the bank of the Gaṅgā in Vārāṇasī for the performance of austerities. His disciples are said to have toured in the country, imparting right knowledge to the people and receiving homage from their rulers. Prasāntasīva's disciple, Kṣāṇasambhu, is next praised. He appointed his younger brother-disciple Prabhōdhasīva the head of the monastery. Verse 21 which is partly mutilated seems to refer to the construction of a temple by Prabhōdhasīva near⁵ the

¹ Banerji referred it to the reign of Gāṅgādēva and N. P. Chakravarti to that of Kōkalla II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 129 and n.1). I have supported the latter view below.

² Both Banerji and Chakravarti hold that the record was put up by Prabhōdhasīva. I have shown below that it belongs to the time of his successor, whose name is lost.

³ See above, No. 42.

⁴ Banerji's remark that the record contains the later form of *dh* in which the upper loop has become open does not seem to be correct; for everywhere in this record the earlier form only is used.

⁵ The monastery of Prasāntasīva seems to have been mentioned here as in the Chandrēhī inscription only to define the position of the temple built by Prabhōdhasīva. It does not seem to have been repaired by him as supposed by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 129.

monastery built by his preceptor on the bank of the Sōṇa. These two buildings are referred to in the Chandrēhē inscription also. The next five verses are almost wholly damaged, but the few words preserved at the end of l. 30 indicate that verse 24 probably contained the name of another Śaiva ascetic who succeeded Prabōdhaśiva. The next two or three verses were devoted to his description, but they have unfortunately been too much mutilated, so that even the name of the ascetic has not been preserved. The *aksharas* at the end of l. 31 suggest that his fame had spread from the Mahēndra to the Arbuda mountain. Verse 26 mentions the village Sāmantaṭṭaka, but in what connection it cannot be determined.

The second part of the inscription, which comprises vv. 27-34, contained a description of Kalachuri kings and their military exploits. Their family is introduced in v. 27 as *īṇāṅkāwya* 'the lineage of the deer-marked (moon)'. Verse 28, which mentions the defeat of a Gurjara king, probably describes Yuvarājadēva I; for, the latter is said to have conquered the north in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* of his court-poet Rājasēkhara, which means that he had inflicted a defeat on the contemporary Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperor of Kanauj. The names of his successors who were eulogized in the next four verses have been lost; but verse 33 mentions the king Kōkalladēva who is doubtless the second king of that name, the great-grandson of Yuvarājadēva I. The following verse refers to his victories over a Gurjara king and the rulers of Gauḍa (Western Bengal) and Kuntala which comprised the Southern Maratha country and the adjoining Kanarese districts.¹

The third part of the inscription, which commences with verse 35, records the grants which the king Kēyūravarsha made for the benefit of the god Śiva installed in the temple where the present inscription was put up, and for the support of the Śaiva ascetics who were in charge of it. The name of the god was Sōmanātha as appears from v. 42. It was also mentioned in the opening obeisance, but only the last two *aksharas* of it are now legible. Among the villages granted by the king, the names of the following can be made out with certainty—Sārasaḍōllaka, Vakkaḍōllaka, Rajyaud-dha, Nāsapuṇḍikā, Khaṭōllikā, Ābhīrapallī, Sarasvatī (which may be a river), Sāman-taṭṭaka, Bhaddhachiurā, Kusumbā,² Kukkuḍiyā, Rajōgrāma, Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Susiddhārthaka and Pōṇḍik. Besides these, two fields called Kavachakshētra and Nannēsvarakshētra are also mentioned in the same connection. Verse 43 expresses the hope that the provision for the maintenance (*vr̥tti*) of the Śaiva ascetics which was originally made by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva and was preserved by his successors may last for ever. This clearly indicates that this Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently identical with Kēyūravarsha mentioned before in v. 35, is the first king of that name. The use of the plural in connection with his successors (*ananīarair=nr̥ipaiḥ*) in v. 43 shows that at least three kings had followed him before the time of the present record.³ This is also corroborated by the fact that Kōkalladēva II is the last king mentioned in it; for we know from other records⁴ that he was the fourth successor of Yuvarājadēva I. The present inscription, which apparently mentioned in verse 24, a successor of Prabōdhaśiva is later

¹ These victories were ascribed to Gāṅgēyadēva by Mr. Banerji on the ground that Gāṅgēyadēva is known to have raided Kuntala, but the record does not carry the genealogy of the Kalachuris further than Kōkalla II. *Vanavāsa* means 'dwelling in a forest' and has no reference to Banavāsī in North Kanara, as Banerji supposed.

² Banerji read this name as Tujumvā.

³ So he cannot be Yuvarājadēva II as supposed by N. P. Chakravarti. Besides, there is no evidence to show that Yuvarājadēva II also bore the *biruda* Kēyūravarsha.

⁴ *Viz.*, the Bilhāri stone inscription (No. 45, above) and the Banaras plates of Karna (No. 48, below).

than the Chandrēh inscription of Prabōdhasīva, dated K. 724 (972-3 A.C.) and may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the tenth century A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in this record, Mahēndra is evidently the well-known mountain of that name on the eastern coast. Arbuda is, of course, Mount Abu. Himālaya and Vārāṇasī are too well-known to need identification. Madhumatī has been shown to be identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet, one mile south of Tārāhi in Madhya Bharat.¹ Gauḍa and Kuntala have already been identified. Of the villages granted by Yuvarājadeva, only Sārasaḍḍollaka was identified by Mr. Banerji with modern Sahdol, a station on the Bilāspur-Kaṭni section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, but it is far away from Gurgi. It may be Sarsi, a miles south of the Sōṇa and 34 miles south by west of Chandrēh. Brahmapurī may be Bāhmangaon about seven miles south by west of Gurgi. As for Karōḍhaka there are several villages of the name Karaṇḍī or Karaṇḍia in the Rewa District, but the nearest to Gurgi is the Karaṇḍī which lies only four miles to the south-east. The other villages I am unable to identify.

TEXT²

- 1 तिदिः³ [ना]यस्य⁴ ॥ लङ्का[वीर्येड]⁵ वा(वा)हुष्यतिकरवदुल[स्का]टिकाद्रीन्द्रकोटि-
वेणीसंघट्टि(वि)म्यद्गगनचरस्वरच्छमति[स्वक]मालं(लम्) [1*]
- 2 -----⁶ मत्या जगवकुत तदाभन्दनि[स्त्री]वधोरं स्वच्छन्दः सोद्विवासी मुदमुपचिनुताम्बन्ध-
बुधामणिस्यः⁷ ॥[१॥*] नन्दिस्केवं प्रणिष्टा प[शुपति]-
- 3 [स*]व[ने] [सैव*] देवीति म[न्ये] मिष्येतत्तास्वि साध्या मम क[वय] क[प]र्वस्थिता का तवेश ।
मुग्धे त्वद्वपवारी शिदसरिपुरसी दृश्यता पातितोत्रे केनास्वेनेति दे-
- 4 [स्या] क[टुव]वसजितः पातु मीमी शिवो वः ॥[२॥*] [सज्जय्या]वा[यंयया] [सतत*][हुत-
वहु]स्मिन्वधूमप्रव(व)न्मप्रारम्भा(म्भा)कालमेधोयमवमुदितोसादिनृत्यन्मयूरा । व-
- 5 स्युग्धैः [सौ]वजालज्जलदनमुमणि[ज्यो]ति[पा]म्ब[कवा]लैः स्वलोकम्बा⁸ हसन्ती जयति
मधुमती वाम सैद्धान्तिकानाम् ॥[३॥*] पूर्व्वे वजावतीर्षे व्रतनिवतमनावृत्-
- 6 यस्तापसेन्नाः शिष्याणामाकाशसुः शिवमतमतनु व्यस्तनिःसेवधोवम् । मेधामद्यापि कीर्तिद्वंद्वलयति
सुधाघोतकान्तिः प्रसिद्धा विस्वं सम्प्रविहृज्य-
- 7 लकुमुद्रमलाम्बिनी चन्द्रिकेव ॥[४॥*] सैवानामम्बवेस्मिन्नतिमहति मुनिम्मनिनीयो मुनीनामेनः-
सुष्केन्वनामान्दवदहन इव श्रोतमार्गिर्माहोभिः ।
- 8 श्रीमांस्त्रुडाशिकोन्मूत्रवचरगयुलध्यामवो(वो) धडिलाभप्रोद्भूतात्पन्तशुभ्रशिमुवनभवनाम्यन्तरभा-
स्तकीर्तिः ॥[५॥*] तस्यालिककितिपतिप्रगतोत्तमाङ्गभूडा-
- 9 मणिद्विचयार्णितपादपीठः । शिष्यो व(व)भूव मुवनजयकीर्त्तनीयः श्रीमत्प्रभावशिवनाममुनि-
मर्त्तनीवी⁹ ॥[६॥*] आनीय यं सहजवात्सलया नयतः श्रीमुग्ध-

¹ Above, p. 208.

² From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read नमः श्रीसोमनाथाय. The name of the god occurs again in l. 47.

⁵ Banerji doubtfully read -नीरेन्-, but r has only a wedge and no acute-angled triangle in its lower part as is seen here, and the subscript letter in the last *akshara* is certainly not r.

⁶ The *akshara* lost here may have been सर्व्व कल्पान्त-

⁷ Metre of this and the following four verses: *Shrigāhā*.

⁸ Read स्वर्लोका वा.

⁹ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Varantatilaka*.

- 10 तुङ्गतनयो युवराजदेवः । सत्त्वो(स्वो)पकारभवदुत्तमकीर्तिहेतोर्ग्राह्यन्मठमनस्तवनप्रतिष्ठम् ॥
[७॥*] तस्यामलेन तपसा च विवर्द्धमानविद्याव(व)लेन च सम—
- 11 स्तजगत्प्रतीतः । शिष्यः प्रकामकमनीयगुणैकधाम श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवनाममुनिर्व्य(व्यं)भूव ॥
[८॥*] आकृष्टा चिरसञ्चितेन तपसा यस्याङ्गसङ्गोत्सुका लक्ष्मीर्भोग—
- 12 पराङ्मुखस्य सततं निःश्रेयसाकांक्षया । आत्मा प्राप्य परोपकारकृतये तद्वत्सलभानां सतां स्वामेव
स्थिरतामवाप वनितेवात्यन्तसत्यव्रता¹ ॥[९॥*] त्यागं स्तम्भमि—
- 13 बावलंभ्य(व्य) विलसज्जानाम्बु(म्बु)सेकक्रियामासाद्य प्रसरत्तपोव(व)लकृतप्रत्यन्तरत्नाक्रमः ।
इत्थं यस्य यसो(शो)मयः स ववृषे का[ले]न कल्पद्रुमो येन व्याप्तमिदं प्रस—
- 14 ह्य सकलं व(व)ह्याण्डमाण्डोदरम् ॥[१०॥*] येन श्रीयुवराजकारितलसत्कलासमृङ्गोपमप्रा—
सादोत्तरतः सुमेरुशिखरस्पृष्टिं प्रसिद्ध[म्भु]वि । सद्यः स्थापितमीश्व—
- 15 रय सकलत्रैला[लो]क्यविस्मापकं यत्स्वर्गं² व्रजतस्तदीययस(स)सः सो[पा]³नमान्मयिते ॥
[११॥*] यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्र⁴भीशं वटाननमय प्रचितोरुकी[र्ति]ः ।
- 16 प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान्द्वारे तथा गणपतिञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च⁵ ॥ [१२॥*] बाहोस्तीर्णसु—
वर्णदानशमितद्व्याधिसार्धस्पृहः सिद्धस्यानमचीकरत्तदपरं यः शो—
- 17 णतीरोपरि । यस्मिन्योगजुषः प्रविश्य नियमञ्चस्तान्तरायाधयः शान्ताः सिद्धसमाधयोञ्छमतयो
गच्छन्ति मुक्तेः पदम्⁶ ॥[१३॥*] तीर्थस्थाननिषेवणोद्यतधिया—
- 18 मत्यन्तविश्रान्तये यस्तत्कारितव(वा)न्मुनिः सुरसरितीरे तपःस्थानकम् । यत्संसेव्य महेश्वराच्यं—
नरता वाराणसीवासिनो मन्यन्ते भवसागरं गुह्यमपि क्षीणं
- 19 यथा [गोष्प]दम् ॥[१४॥*] आसीनस्य जितासनस्य बिजने हृत्पद्मनध्यस्थितस्था—
गुध्यानिलीननिश्चलमनःसंवेदितान्तर्मुदः । जम्बुयंस्य दिनानि दाननिरत—
- 20 — — ⁷पाञ्चाथिक]तत्त्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानविचक्षणैश्च गुणिभिः सार्द्धं⁸ परीक्षाक्रमैः ॥ [१५॥*]
तीव्राशोरंशुसंघा इव निरतिशयोत्लासिनः स्वैः प्रभावंयस्यान्तेवासिनोषस्तमसि नि—
- 21 [पतिता*][न्रत्यहं] वो(वो)भय[न्तः] । [लो*]कानालोकदानो[प]कृतिपरिणमस्कीर्तयः संभू—
ताशा[शो]भा भूभृच्छिरोभिः प्रवरमुनिजनैरभ्य(च्यं)मानाश्चरन्ति⁹ ॥ [१६॥*] तस्याम[व]—
- 22 [त्य*]र[वृ]राम इवेश्वरस्य [शिष्य*]ः समस्तकविपुंगवगीतकीर्तिः । श्रीशान्तशम्भुरसिलाव—
निपाल[मो]लिमालामणिद्युतिपिशंगितपादपयः¹⁰ ॥[१७॥*] नि[जि]त्य
- 23 ००—०—०००— — ० [सर्वार्थि]नां येन श्रीगमितोपभोगपदवी¹¹ [श्रीर्ग]त्स्वदुःखच्छिदा ।
सद्विद्या भवव(व)न्धनव्यतिकरप्रध्वन्स¹² कर्मक्षमव्यापारेति
- 24 [समग्रसं]०००— — ०— — ०—¹³ ॥[१८॥*] यो माद्यत्कलिकालदन्तिदलन¹⁴ व्यापारपञ्चाननः
श्रीगन्मतमयूरवन्स¹⁵ तिलको निःशेषविद्यानिधिः । विद्वत्प—

¹ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² The engraver at first incised पी, but later on cancelled the curve on the top.

³ What looks like an *anusvāra* on *mi* is probably due to a fault in the stone.

⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁵ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ The damaged letters may be conjecturally restored here as —त्याद्यात्स—.

⁷ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁸ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

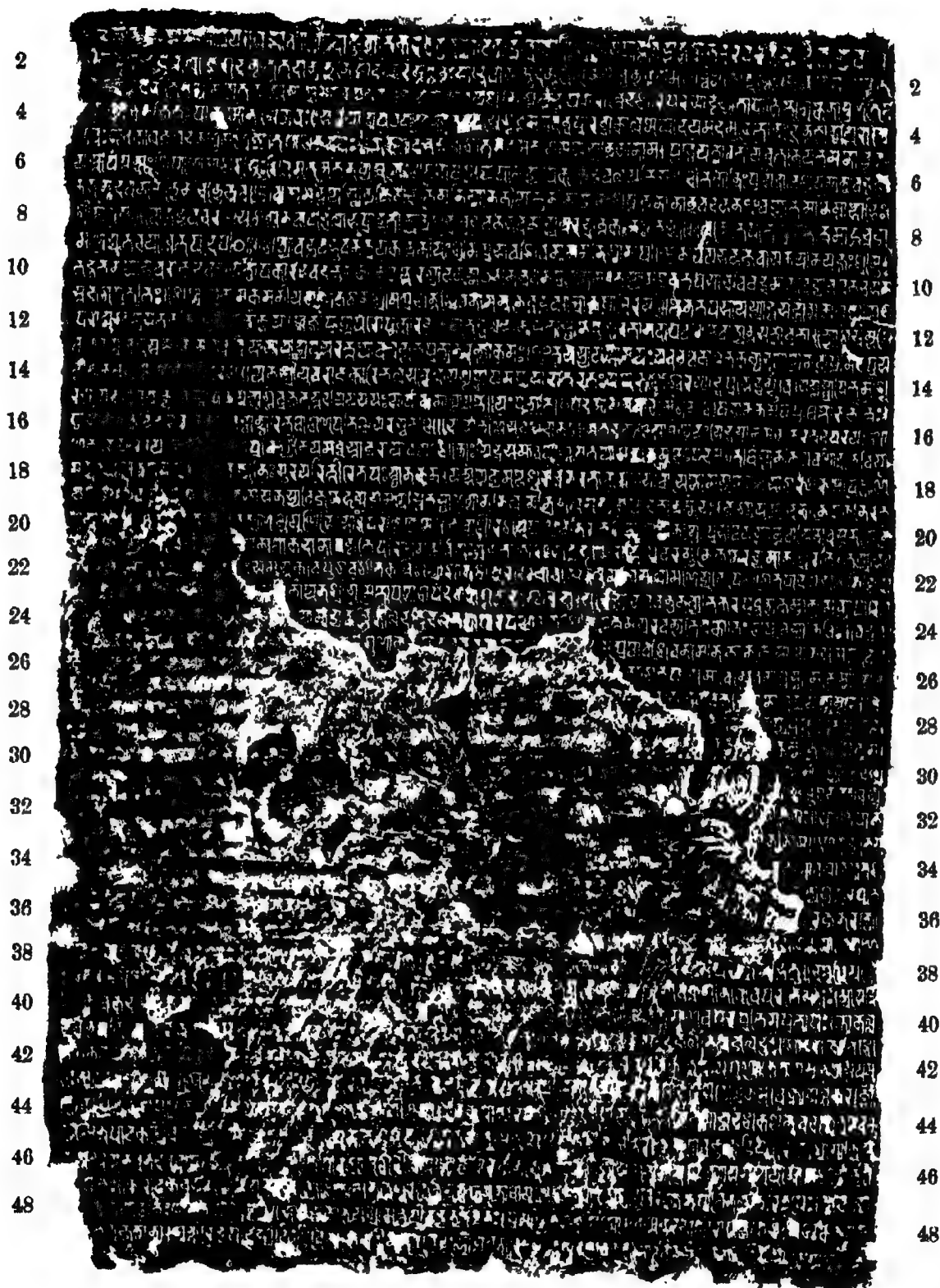
⁹ Banerji read पदवी, but the *anusvāra* on वी is clear in the impression. The sense also requires the use of the accusative.

¹⁰ Read —प्रध्वन्स—.

¹¹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹² Read —वैश—.

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II



25. [ध]३ - ०-०००- - - ०- - ०- [तस्या] श्वेवमुपाक[रस्य भुवने] - - - १ ॥
[१९॥*] [मी]मप्रको(मी)मसिमेनामनिमानुस्य स्वार्णं समर्थं विधि-
26. ३ मि[जमसिमेनाम] १* - - ०-०००-००-०- - - ०-०००-००-०- ३ ॥
[२०॥*] [मेन*] स्वार्णं सप्तमाधिविधिना स्वस्वामिनिष्पित-
27. - - - ०००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०- [१*] - - - ०००-०-०००- - - ०- - -
[मसि*]तसिदिमा(मा)मकमि[मा] मोलकमस्यम्ब(म्ब)रे^४ ॥[२१॥*] कु-
28. [ध] - ००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०- - - ०००- - - ०- - ०- [१*]
- - - ०-० [मसि*]विमह[प्राप्तो]व्यपूज्यैः सप्तमाधिवस्व-
29. ००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०- [॥२२॥*] - - - ००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०-
- - - ०००-० वल्ल ००- [स]स्वार्णं निष्पितम् ।
30. - - - ००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०- - - ००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०-
[॥२३॥*] - - - ०- [तदम् ?] - ०० [र ?]मतात्मा तस्यास्पदेऽप्र-
31. ००-००-०- - [१*] - - - ०००-०००-०- - - ०-०००-००-०- ५
॥[२४॥*] - - - ००-०-०००- - - [म ?]हेन्नेऽर्जु(र्जु)दे यस्मोन्वेदव
32. ०-०-०००- - - ०- - ०- [१*] - - - ०००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०-
००-०-०००- - - ० [मासी]स्वामः^६ ॥ [२५॥*] सामस्तपाट-
33. [क*] ०-००००यय[य ?] - - - ०-०००-००-०- - [१*] - - - ०००-०००-०-
- - - ०-०००-००-० नीना[न] ॥[२६॥*] एनाकुलव-
34. - ०-०००- - - ०- - ०- - - ००-०-०००- - - ०- - ०- [१*] - - - ००
- ०-०००- - - [यू]हीत्वा व(व)लात्स्यातं व-
35. [इय*]०-०-०००- - - ०- - ०-^८ ॥[२७॥*] - - - ०००-००-०- - - ०-
- ०००-००-०- - [१*] [नि*][जि]त्य गूजैरपति
36. ००-०- - - ०-०००-००-०- -^९ ॥[२८॥*] ०००००० - - - ०- - ०-
०००००० - - - ०- - ०- [१*] ०० परिजनरक्षो-
37. - ०- - ०- - , ०००००० - - - ०- - ०- -^{१०} ॥[२९॥*] - - - ०००-००-०-
- - - ०- ०००-००-०- - [१*]सा[मस्त]मौलिमनि-
38. [रजिज*]तपावरो[युः] - - ०- [मजयटा] ००-०- -^{११} ॥[३०॥*] - - ०-०००-
००-०- - - ०-०००-० पराक्रमोभूत् [१*] [वि]त्रेपि य[वल्लित]-
39. खितरूपमवेक्ष्य - - वीरवत् ०००-००-०- - ॥[३१॥*] - - ० जा ०००- [निजवैरि] -
- - - [न] विक्रमनिधिविपरीतमल्लः । आसी[म]-
40. वः कविकदम्ब(म्ब)[यनाय*]यान - - ०-०००-००- [वशा]कुः ॥[३२॥*] तस्माव[मू]
०००- दितपुण्य[सम्बसंगी*]यमानवपुस्प्रतिमप्रतापः । कोकल-

^१ The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied here as कि नाम नालोक्यते ।

^२ The first eight letters may be conjecturally supplied as श्वेव जगाम भुवनं.

^३ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

^४ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Sārdhānāṭikrīḍita*.

^५ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

^६ Metre: *Sārdhānāṭikrīḍita*.

^७ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

^८ Metre: *Sārdhānāṭikrīḍita*.

^९ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

^{१०} Metre: *Māhāt*.

^{११} Metre of this and the following three verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

- 41 देवनृपतिः [व]तिस्तथा[न] -- ०-०००-००-० [नान्स्:] (नान्स्:) ॥[३३॥*] [म]-
विशति हतशक्तिर्गु[र्ज][रेशो हि*]मात्रि जलनिविजलदुर्गं गौडराजोविशे-
- 42 ते । निवसति वनवासे कुन्त[ले][शः*] ०-०-००००००-० [मण्डनं वास्य मन्ये]¹ ॥
[३४॥*] [स्थानं] ०-००००-०० कीर्तनी[श] पुण्याम्बिताय मुनये स्वयम्-
- 43 च्चिताय । -- नमू(मु)ल्लिखित[शा] ००-०-० [केयू*]रवर्चनपतिः [स्वयमाजहार]² ॥
[३५॥*] एक ००० -- [तं?] तथा सारसडोल्लकम् । वक्कडोल्लकरण्यौ-
- 44 द्वे को ००[ना]सपुण्डिका³ ॥[३६॥*] ००००००-०, ०० पुरं खटोल्लिका⁴ । ०
नकलाभीरपल्ली ० ००० सरस्वती ॥[३७॥*] [एतेषां] द्वादशकञ्च कवचक्षेत्रमेव च ।
- 45 सामन्तपाटकश्चैव वट ०० ०-००० ॥[३८॥*] ००० या[तल्लपटी] शासनं [स*]वमित्यपि ।
सं ०० भद्रचिउरा [कुसु?]म्या(म्वा)⁵ च कु[क्कु]डिया ॥[३९॥*] रजोप्रामाण्यिता-
- 46 [नेता][न्वा] सनत्वेन दत्तवा[न्]* ०००००० [सिद्धा]⁶न्तपारगाय गरीयसे ॥[४०॥*] पुरं
पौरजनाकीर्णं ००००० समस्तकम् । मक्त्या समर्पयामास शासनत्वे-
- 47 [न मू*]पतिः ॥[४१॥*] करोटकं व(व)ह्यपु[री] [सुसिद्धार्थ?]कपोण्डिकाम् । नक्षेत्र[क्षेत्र]-
मदात्तोमनाथाय वा[म्भवे]* ॥[४२॥*] दत्ता श्रीमुवराजेन पालिता[न]न्तरै*भूयैः । आकल्प-
- 48 [स्था*][यि]नी भूयाद्वृत्तिः शैवतपोभूताम् ॥[४३॥*] मारुताजान्वयभीमरथयोव[र्द्ध]ननन्दनः । प्रस-
(श)[स्तिमकरोस्तुत्यो] मधुमंभुरया मिरा ॥[४४॥*] अलेखि लेखकेनेयम्-
- 49 [व्योक्त*]तनुजन्मना । अक्षरैर्दंष्ट्रि स्पष्टैः शिवनागेन भीमता ॥[४५॥*] उत्कीर्णां सूत्रचारेण
महेश्वरसुतेन च । माघवेन न -- ० [गु*]णिना विश्वकर्मणा ॥[४६॥*] सिद्धिः⁷ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to [the holy Sōma]nātha !

(Verse 1) May the self-willed moon-crested (god Siva) living on the mountain (Kailāsa),—who made the world,—which had its multitudes of quarters covered by the best of aerial beings¹⁰ terrified by the clash of the rows of peaks of the excellent crystal mountain (Kailāsa) (*when it was*) shaken by the movements of the mighty arms of the lord of Laṅkā, —dreadful with the echoes of their cries at the thought that it was the end of the world, —increase your joy !

(V. 2) 'Nandin, who is this (*lady*) that has entered the abode of Paśupati?¹¹ 'I think that she is none but your ladyship'. 'This is false. I am not she. She is some-

¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

³ Metre from here to the end: *Anushubh*.

⁴ Banerji read *Khayllikā*.

⁵ Banerji read these two names as भद्रचिउरा and तुजुम्वा.

⁶ These two *aksharas* are conjectural. Banerji suggested वेदा-.

⁷ Banerji's reading सान्तर- is not correct and does not give a good sense.

⁸ The starred *aksharas* in the beginning of ll. 47-49, though lost in the accompanying plate, are read from an old estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ The reference here is to the denizens of Kailāsa, who were terrified by the shaking of the mountain, and not to mere birds as thought by Banerji.

¹¹ The verse refers to Pārvatī's jealousy of the river Gaṅgā which Śiva sheltered for a while in his matted hair. The verse is in the form of a dialogue first between Pārvatī and Nandin (Śiva's door-keeper) and next between her and Śiva who tries to conceal the Gaṅgā from his consort. For a similar dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, see *Mudrārākṣasa*, I, 1.

one else. O Īśa! Who is seated in your matted hair? 'You simple-minded, he is the enemy of gods who has assumed your form. See I have thrown him down before me!'¹ 'By what missile?'—May Śiva who was thus silenced, being vanquished by the goddess (Pārvatī) with harsh words, protect you!

(V. 3) There is in this world Madhumatī, the abode of those who are versed in the Śaiva Siddhāntas,—which contains excellent Āchāryas of noble conduct; in which the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the untimely appearance of clouds caused by the uninterrupted mass of dark smoke of the ever-kindled (*sacrificial*) fires; (*and*) which laughs at the heavenly world with the mass of lustre of the large and resplendent jewels set on the rows of its high mansions;—

(V. 4) Where appeared the first best ascetics, whose minds were restrained by vows, (*and*) who taught the great and flawless doctrine of Śiva to their disciples;—whose well-known fame, having the bright lustre of nectar, even now whitens the universe, delighting the prosperous and learned men even as moonlight does the assemblage of night-lotuses.

(V. 5) In this very great succession of Śaivas there was the illustrious Chūḍāśīva, who was venerable to sages; who, with his shining lustre, was to sins what the forest fire is to dry fuel; (*and*) whose extremely white fame, which had arisen from the attainment of the perfection of knowledge through meditation on the feet of Śiva, roamed about inside the mansion of the three worlds.

(V. 6) His disciple was the wise sage called the illustrious Prabhāvaśīva, whose foot-stool was honoured by the mass of lustre of the crest-jewels on the heads of all kings bending (*in salutation*), and who deserved glorification in the three worlds.

(V. 7) Having brought him out of a natural desire, Yuvarājādēva (I), the son of the illustrious Mugdhataṅga, who was versed in policy, made him accept a monastery, which was constructed at an enormous expense, with the object of gaining excellent fame arising out of the benefit to creatures.

(V. 8) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious Praśāntaśīva, the sole abode of the exceedingly attractive qualities, who became famous in the whole world by his faultless austerities and increasing learning.

(V. 9) Attracted by his long-accumulated austerities, the goddess of fortune, (*though*) eager for the bodily contact of him who was always averse to enjoyment on account of his desire to attain final emancipation, remained steadfast like an exceedingly virtuous wife, in the houses of good persons who were dear to him, when she received his order to benefit others.

(V. 10) Having obtained the support of the post of (*his*) charity, having received the sprinkling of the water of (*his*) shining learning, and being protected all round by the force of (*his*) extending austerities, the wish-fulfilling tree of his fame grew up in course of time, which has completely filled the cavity of the vase-like universe.

(V. 11) To the north of the temple,² resembling the shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, which was caused to be built by the illustrious Yuvarājādēva (I), he erected a temple of Īvara, well-known on the earth, which vies with the summit of the Sumēru (mountain) (*in altitude*), which causes wonder to all the three worlds, (*and*) which serves as a flight of steps to his fame rising to heaven.

¹ Śiva is referring to the stream of the Gaṅgā which flows down from his matted hair.

² Benetji translates *prāsāda* by 'a palace,' but it is probably used here in the sense of 'a temple'. Compare the Kārtīkāli inscription (No. 42), v. 18.

(V. 12) The learned one, whose great fame was well-known, installed Umā, Siva united with Umā, and the six-faced (Kārttikēya) in the shrines attached to the temple and also Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī at the gate.

(V. 13) He, who had satisfied the desire for wealth of hosts of suppliants with gifts of gold which had emerged (*purified*) by burning, caused to be built another abode for the *siddhas* on the bank of the Śōṇa; having entered which, the tranquil Yōgins, who have destroyed the impediments of mental anxieties by (*the performance of*) vows and who have clear minds, having attained success in meditation, reach the goal of final emancipation.

(V. 14) For the absolute rest of those who are intent on living in a holy place, he, the sage, caused to be built the (*well-known*) abode for performing austerities on the bank of the heavenly river (Gaṅgā); having resorted to which, those who live in Vārāṇasī (Banaras), devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, consider the ocean of worldly existence, though extensive, to be as small in size as a puddle made by a cow's foot.

(V. 15) Seated in a solitary place he,—who had mastered (*all*) the *āsanas*, who felt the inner joy with his steady mind absorbed in the meditation of Śiva seated in the midst of the lotus of the heart, and who was fond of making gifts,—passed his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adept in the philosophy of the Pāñchārthika¹ system and were capable of examining (*other systems*).

(V. 16) Extremely resplendent by their own majesty like the multitudes of the rays of the sun, his disciples,—who day by day arouse those who are steeped in ignorance (*as the rays awaken those enveloped by darkness*); whose fame is due to the benefit they confer on the people by their gift of knowledge (*as that of the rays is due to the light they give*); whose commands are borne by kings on their heads (*as the splendour of the rays is borne by mountains on their peaks*),—move about (*among people*) being honoured by the best of sages.

(V. 17) His disciple was the illustrious Iśānaśambhu, even as Paraśurāma was of Śiva,—(*he*) whose fame was sung by all great poets, (and) whose lotus-like feet were reddened by the rays of jewels on the rows of heads of all kings.

(V. 18) Having conquered he, who removed the misery of poverty, made the goddess of fortune become an object of enjoyment to all suppliants, and [devoted himself to] right knowledge, because it is capable of destroying the multitude of the bonds of worldly existence.

(V. 19) Of him, who was a lion in the act of destroying the rutting elephant that is the Kali age; who is the fore-head mark of the illustrious Mattamayūra lineage, and the store of all learning; (*who is*) the source of all excellences in this world the assembly of learned persons-[what has not been observed?].

(V. 20) Having made over his office (*as the head of the monastery*) to his younger brother, the illustrious Prabōdhaśiva, he [attained the world of Śiva] which he had won by his devotion.

(V. 21) By him who was the store-house of charity, austerities, and meditation [was built a *maṭha* near the temple] erected by his teacher which [the celestial beings] do not cross for fear of obstruction in the attainment of the desired *siddhis*.

¹ The Pāsupata system is called *pāñchārthika*, because it treats of the five subjects, *kārya* effect, *kāraṇa* cause, *yōga* union of the soul with Iśvara, *vidhi* rites, and *duḥkhaṇṭa* the cessation of misery. See *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, Ch. VI.

(V. 22) And a well [was dug by him] The host of suppliants also having obtained abundant wealth which they had not (*now*) longed for before

(V. 23) caused to be built by his good work

(V. 24) Thereafter, the high-souled one in his place

(V. 25) His (*fame*) on high on the Mahendra (*and*) Arbuda (*mountains*) was able

(V. 26) Sāmanta-pāṭaka

(V. 27) In the lineage of the moon having snatched the well-known sword by force

(V. 28) Having vanquished the lord of Gūrjara

(V. 29) the protection of the family

(V. 30) he, the dust of whose feet was reddened by the jewels on the heads of feudatories the herds of elephants.

(V. 31) was born the valiant one seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture the vow of heroes.

(V. 32) [From him was born] the king who was the store-house of valour, the terrible fighter who was to the poets what a cloud is to the kadamba trees

(V. 33) From him was born the king Kōkalladēva (II) of matchless prowess, whose (*beautiful*) form was praised by the god of love, (*who was*) the lord of the best

(V. 34) The Gūrjara lord enters the Himālaya, being deprived of power, the king of Gauḍa lies in the watery fort of the sea, the lord of Kuntala lives in the forest this I consider to be the ornament (*of his prowess*).

(V. 35) The king Keyūra-varaṣa himself offered by an inscribed [charter] the famous abode to the ascetic possessed of religious merit whom he himself worshipped

(V. 36-7) The villages Pakka- and also Sārasaḍōllaka Vakkaḍōllaka and Rajyauddha Nāsapuṇḍikā -pura, Khaṭōllikā, -nakalā, Abhirapallī, (*and*) Sarasvatī.

(V. 38-40) The twelfth part of these and the Kavachakshētra, and also Sāmanta-pāṭaka (*and*) Vapa- Tallapaṭī, Bhaddhachiurā, [Kusumbā] and Kukkuḍiyā, together with Rajōgrāma, [the king] gave as a grant to the great [ascetic] who had completely mastered the (*Saiva*) Siddhantas.

(V. 41) The king gave through devotion the whole city crowded with citizens as a grant.

(V. 42) (*He*) gave to the Śiva (*called*) Sōmanātha (*the villages*) Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Susiddhārthaka, Pāṇḍikā (*and*) the Nannēśvarakshētra.

(V. 43) May this provision for the maintenance of Śaiva ascetics, made by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I) and preserved by the succeeding rulers, endure till the end of the *kalpa*!

(V. 44) The praiseworthy Maḍu, the son of the illustrious Trayivardhana of the Bhāradvāja family, composed this *prafasti* in sweet words.

(V. 45) The intelligent scribe Śivanāga, the son of Avvōka, wrote it on the stone in clear letters.

(V. 46) It has been inscribed by the *Sutradhāra*, the skilled artist Mādhava, the son of Mahēśvara

Success!

No. 47; PLATE XXXVII

MAKUNDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GĀNGĒYADĒVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

THIS inscription was brought to public notice by General Cunningham's Assistant Mr. J. D. Beglar who found a rubbing of it in the Asiatic Society's collection. He called attention to its date¹ in connection with the description of the ruins at Makundpur, a village about nine miles south by west of Rewa, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. He could not, however, find the inscription when he visited the place in 1874-75. The record was next twice referred to by Dr. Kielhorn² who, drawing attention to its date, pointed out the desirability of examining it. Its impressions were not, however, accessible to him, when he wrote his exhaustive articles on the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era³, and none has noticed the inscription since then. At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, kindly visited Makundpur in 1931. He was fortunately successful in tracing the inscribed slab, and supplied me with excellent estampages from which the inscription is edited here.

The record is incised on a slab lying on the ruins of a small temple⁴ situated to the north-west of Rūpasāgar, a large tank, at Makundpur. The inscribed surface measures 3' 2" in length and nearly 5" in height. The record has suffered considerably at the top, about half a dozen *aksharas* and the *mātrās* on the top of some more on the right-hand side of the first line being wholly or partially damaged.

The inscription consists of three lines of which the last two are shorter than the first. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh century A.C. Most of the letters have a wedge or an inverted acute-angled triangle at the top. It is noteworthy that the left limb of *ś* is not joined to the right-hand vertical; *ṭh*, though still without a vertical, has, for the first time in the records edited here, a horizontal line at the top, and *h* has a fully drawn tail. The language is Sanskrit. Attention may be drawn to the incorrect causal participle *ghaṭāpita*, 1. 3, formed on the model of *kārāpita* which figures in earlier records, and the wrong gender in *dharmam=idaṁ*, 1. 2. As regards orthography, the sign for *ṽ* is used to denote *b* in *Vudha-*, 1. 1, and the dental *s* substituted for *ś* in *Jalasayana-*, 1. 2. The consonant preceding and following *r* is reduplicated in *Sūtradhāra-*, 1. 3 and *dharmma-*, 1. 2 respectively.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is mentioned here with the title *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka* which is rarely, if ever, seen to be assumed by rulers of the eminence and power of Gāṅgēyadēva. Owing to the mutilation of the Piawan rock inscription this is now the only known extant record of the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva. The object of the inscription is to record that the *Srāṣṭhin* Dāmōdara, the ornament of the family of Gṛihapati, caused a temple of *Jalasayana*⁵ (Vishṇu reposing on water) to be constructed. The work was executed by the *Sūtradhāra* Sāmbhūka.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its date, which is given with full details in line 1 as *Saṁvat 772*, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*, a Wednesday. Beglar called attention to the fact that from the form of the characters, the date cannot be referred to the *Vikrama Saṁvat*. He also suggested that it probably referred to the *Chēdi*

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 5, n. 1.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 354.

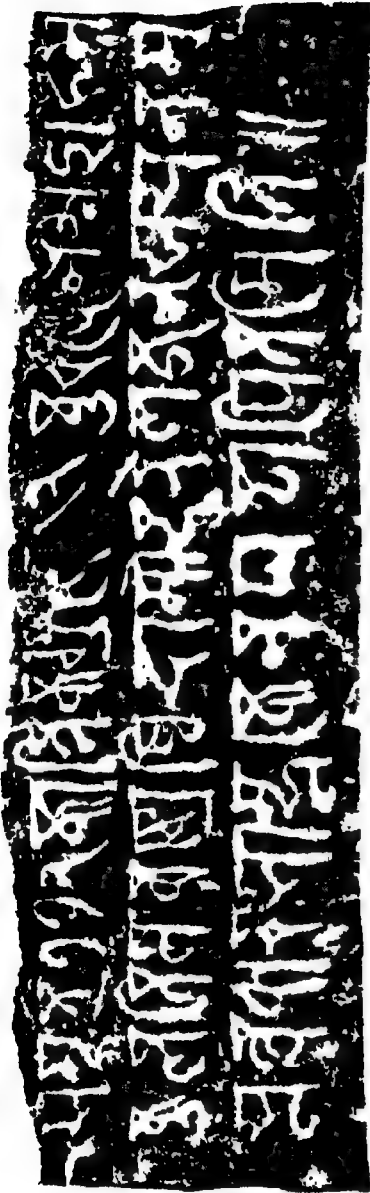
³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff. and *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 ff.

⁴ This may be 'the Vaishnavic temple' which, according to Beglar, supplied materials for a large Saiva temple nearby. See C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 4.

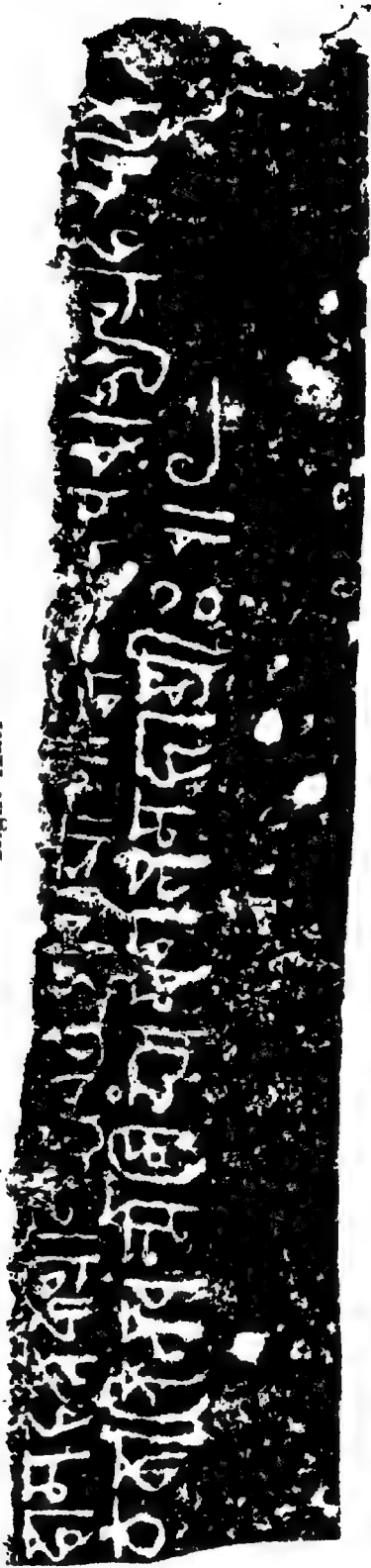
⁵ This form of the deity is probably identical with what is commonly called *Śeṣhaśāyin* 'Vishṇu sleeping on his couch of the serpent Śeṣha'. As the temple was situated near the large tank of Rūpasāgar, it was appropriately dedicated to this form.

MAKUNDAPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

Left Half



Right Half



era,—an opinion to which Dr. Kielhorn lent his support. This is no doubt the correct view, for the Banaras grant of Gāṅgēyadeva's son Kappa which was made on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death is dated in the Kalachuri or Chēdi year 793 *i.e.*, only twenty-one years after the date of the present record. According to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., the month of Kārttika should fall in 1019 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 772 was current and in 1020 A.C. if it was expired. But in 1019 A.C. the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), while in 1020 A.C. the same *tithi* ended 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was the *tithi* connected with Wednesday in any way. Even the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits earlier dates of the era will not do; for in 1021 A.C. which, according to it, should correspond to the expired Kalachuri year 772, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 30th October). The date is, therefore, irregular. But of the three equivalents mentioned above, the first, *viz.*, Tuesday, the 13th October 1019 A.C. comes nearest to it. Overlooking the discrepancy of one day, the date of the present inscription may, therefore, be taken to correspond, for the current Kalachuri year 772, to the 13th October, 1019 A.C. This is one of the few dates in current years. It shows, again, that the Kalachuri year must have commenced on some day before the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धिः² [१³] सम्बत्⁴ ७७२ कार्तिक शु दि १२ बु(बु)व[दिने]⁵ महा[हं]महामहत्तक[शी]-
[महाराज⁶?] [शी][गङ्गेयदेव⁷]रा[ब्जे] ग्रहपति—
- 2 कुलतिलकशेष्ठिबामोदरेण बलस(स)यनमठं कारि[तं]⁸ वर्म्ममिदं⁹ ॥ मंगलं महाशीः ॥ सिद्धिः² ॥
- 3 सुरप्रधारसाम्भूकेन षट्पितमिति¹⁰ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (In) the year 772 on Wednesday, the 12th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika, during the reign of the *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka*¹¹ the illustrious [Mahārāja] Gāṅgēyadeva, the *Srīśikṣhin* (merchant) Dāmōdara, an ornament of the family of Grahapati,¹² has caused (this) temple of (Vishṇu) who reposes on water, to be constructed. This is a pious work. (May there be) bliss and good fortune! Success!
(This work) was executed¹³ by the *Sātradhāra* (artisan) Sāmbhūka.

¹ From inked estampages, kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read संवत्.

⁴ The *mātrās* and curves on the top of letters enclosed in brackets in l. 1 have been broken away.

⁵ Only the first *akṣaras* of this word is partly seen. I am not certain about the following three *akṣaras*.

⁶ Of the five *akṣaras* in this royal name, traces of the first are clearly seen, the third *akṣara* *ya* is completely damaged, and only the *mātrās* over *ḥ* and *ḍ* have been broken off, while the last *akṣara* is quite clear. There is, on the whole, little doubt about the correctness of the reading given above.

⁷ The *anuvāsa* over *te* is wrongly placed over the following *akṣara*. Read मठः कारितः ।

⁸ Read वर्म्ममिदं.

⁹ Read षट्पितमिति.

¹⁰ For *Mahattaka* used as an official title, see l. 77 of the Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 252.

¹¹ *Grahapati*, *lit.* the lord of planets, signifies the moon. The expression would then mean an ornament of the lunar race which would scarcely be appropriate in the case of a merchant. Perhaps *Grahapati* is a mistake for *Grihapati*, but even then it seems to be used here as a personal name rather than in the usual sense of 'a house-holder', or 'the head of a village.'

¹² *Grahapati* seems to be used in the same sense as *Ārāpita*. For its sense, see Kielhorn's remarks on *Ārāpita* in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62, n. 33.

No. 48; PLATE XXXVIII

BANARAS PLATES OF KARNA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 793

THE inscription on these plates was first brought to notice by Captain Wilford who described it as follows in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, page 108:—

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish in the old fort of Banaras. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly and in the same shape with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting with her legs crossed; two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī and the bull is written *Sri-Karṇadēva*. The grant is dated in the second year of his new year and also of his reign answering to the Christian year 192 . . . The ancestors of Sri-Karṇadēva mentioned in the grant were, first his father Gāṅgēyadēva, with the title *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka*; he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kōkalladēva, whose father was Lakshmaṇarājadēva."¹ The plates were subsequently edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff., with lithographs, but without a translation, by Dr. Kielhorn, who gives the following account of their subsequent history²:—

"The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Banaras College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College. Both were made over to Dr. F.E. Hæll, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal and has thus enabled me to publish the text of the inscription, the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately, the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise." As the plates appear to have been lost forever, they are edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Kielhorn's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.

The plates, which are two in number, appear to be 1' 4" broad by 11½" high each and are inscribed on one side only. They have each a hole about .6" in diameter for the ring which held them together. The letters appear to have been deeply incised. The inscription consists of forty-eight lines, of which twenty-eight are inscribed on the first and the remaining twenty on the second. The writer began with closely packed lines

¹ There are several mis-statements in this account. The figure on the seal must be taken to be that of Lakshmī. What is described as a basket before the Nandi is probably an incense pot. There must have been another like it behind the bull; see the seals of the Goharwa and British Museum plates (Nos. 50 and 54). The seal of Jayasimhadēva (Pl. LII) shows a handle to these pots, which makes it plain that they are not drums as conjectured by Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 140). The legend had probably a *visarga* at the end as in the legend of other cognate plates. The mistake about the second regnal year was probably caused by the word *dvitīyāyām* referring to the *tithi* in 1.40. As regards Wilford's reading of the date, Cunningham has remarked, 'I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193 and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plates,' (*C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 82). *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka* is shown by Kielhorn to be a mistake for *vijaya-kaṇṭaka* 'a victorious camp'. Finally, the misconception about Gāṅgēyadēva's dying in a loathsome dungeon was probably caused by a wrong interpretation of v. 25. See, however, Kielhorn's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 302, n. 38.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 297.

until he came to the middle of the second plate when he found that he had more than sufficient space at his disposal. He, therefore, left more space between his lines and wrote letters of a larger size especially in lines 38-40. The writing is in a state of good preservation.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some letters show considerable development, approximating to their forms in the modern Nāgarī alphabet, though they are still in the stage of transition. The initial *ś*, for instance, shows, for the first time in the records edited here, its left curve separated from the right vertical in *śhasmin-*, 1.28; elsewhere it is joined to the latter, see *śh-aika-*, 1.11; *śh* has its left member fully developed, see *khyāta-*, 1.13, but notice *Napp-śhaya-*, 1.10 in which it shows the older form; *ṣ* appears with a dot for the first time in *bhujangam-a-*, 1.11 and *bhrā-bhamāga-*, 1.13, but without it in *-jangama-*, 1.31 and *-Gāṅgādīvarya-*, 1.40. Similarly *th* has its upper loop open in *Dāsarathir-*, 1.13 and *-nāthap-*, 1.23, but in other cases it shows its older form, see *yasy-ārtha-* and *-tathā*, both in 1.8; *ph* has now a tail added to the loop on the right, see *phalam*, 1.45; *s* in *-sārthi-*, 1.31 has the same form as in the modern Nāgarī, but in other cases it has the older form. The subscript *ṇ* has the same form as when it is independent, see *Karṇa* and *iv-āvatirṇṇap-*, both in 1.29. Besides, owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver several letters appear in varying forms, see, for instance, *bh* in *bhāva-*, 1.1, and *-prabham-*, 1.2; *y* in *dharmaṇḍya-*, 1.7 and *Gāṅgāya-*, 1.28; *g* in *yōgāya-*, 1.7 and *-gamanān-*, 1.18 and *r* in *kārunya-*, 1.20 and *param-*, 1.32. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between *bh* and *h* as well as between *v* and *dh*.

The language is Sanskrit throughout, except in verse 12 which is in Prakrit. The first thirty-two lines which contain the eulogistic portion of the record are in verse, with the exception of the introductory *ōm namaḥ Śivāya*, 1.1 and the words *kim-v-āparēṇa*, 1.13. This part of the record is written in the usual *kāvya* style. The description in vv. 16 and 20, which is based on *śleṣa* or *double entendre*, is cleverly done. It is noteworthy that v. 18 is taken from the play *Bālabhārata* (called also *Prachandapāṇḍava*) of Rājasekhara.¹ The formal part of the grant begins in 1.32 and is followed by six benedictive and imprecatory verses. The last line contains the date expressed in numerical figures. The record is very carelessly written. See, for instance, the mistake of concord in *yasy-ārtha-saktō matīp-*, 1.8, the wrong form *Trikaṇṭy-ādhipati-* for *Trikaṇṭ-ādhipati-*, 1.34, the use of the short for the long vowel in *-bhupālē* in 1.9 and *vice versa* in *-dhanānū-saṇḍhita-*, 1.7, the use of *ī* for *i* in *prathīta-*, 1.29 and the reverse of it in *-sārthiṣhv-*, 1.31, the wrong elision of the final consonant in *sthir-āsī* for *sthir-āsīt* and of *visarga* in *Lakshmi* for *Lakshmīp-*, both in 1.22. These and other mistakes, too many to be enumerated, make it very difficult to restore the original correct readings. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noticed:—*s* is used for *ś* almost throughout except in the case of *śrī*, see *Sivāya* for *Śivāya*, 1.1, *-āślēṣa* for *-āślēṣha*, 1.3 etc.; *v* is employed for *b* in *sad-rahmanā*, 1.1, *vavandha*, 1.4 and so forth; *y* takes the place of *j* in *tasy-ānnyō* for *tasy-āmyō*, 1.22, *-jāyata* for *-jāyata*, 1.23 and *vice versa* in *dur-jyasap* for *dur-yyasap*, 1.27; *ṇ* stands for *ṇ* in *darjya*, 1.8 and *parijanaishit* for *pariyapaishit*, 1.10; the *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *n* in *kim-v-āparēṇa* 1.13 and to *ṇ* in *-vansa*, 1.6 and *-vansī*, 1.45; *ksh* is written for *khy* in *saukshakrit*, 1.7 and *kshātani*, 1.27 and *ky* for *ksh* in *kaukytyakō-*, 1.26; the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* in *nistṛimsatā*, 1.21 and *Trikaṇṭy-*, 1.34; finally, the consonant following *r* is repeated in many cases, see *Kārttiaviryap-*, 1.3, *Karṇap-*, 1.29 etc.

The plates were issued by Karṇa of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, from his

¹ See *Bālabhārata* (Nirṇayaśāstra ed.), Act I, v. 62.

victorious camp at Prayāga. After the customary verse in praise of Brahman, commences the genealogy of the donor. From the famous king Kārtavīrya who subdued Rāvaṇa, were descended the Haihayas. An ornament of their family was Kōkkala who gave protection to Bhōja, Vallabharāja, Śrī-Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa, and the king Śaṅkaragaṇa. This Kōkkala is evidently identical with Kōkalla I mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription.¹ The first two kings mentioned here as having received help from him are also named in the Bilhāri inscription and are plainly identical with Bhōja I of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj and Kṛishṇa II of the Rāshtrakūṭa family who, from Rāshtrakūṭa records, is known to have married Kōkalla's daughter. Śrī-Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa, is the well-known king of that name in the Chandēlla dynasty, whose kingdom included that hill fort. Finally, Śaṅkaragaṇa is not Kōkalla's own son as was supposed by Dr. Kielhorn, but the first prince of that name, the father of Guṇāmbhōdhidēva, mentioned in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva.² As Guṇāmbhōdhidēva was a contemporary of Bhōja I, it is not unlikely that his father may have received some help from Kōkalla I in the early part of the latter's reign.

Verse 8 states that Kōkalla married the princess Naṭṭā of the Chandēlla family. By her he had a son named Prasiddhadvahala who is evidently identical with the Mugdhatuṅga of the Bilhāri inscription.³ A Prakrit verse introduced here states that he conquered the Pāli country to provide for the great princes who would be born thereafter in his family. As already shown, this statement is corroborated by the Bilhāri inscription which mentions that Mugdhatuṅga took the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.

The record next mentions Prasiddhadvahala's son Bālaharsha who is described in general terms. His name is omitted in the Bilhāri inscription, either because his reign was short or because he was a collateral. He was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva I who is said to have attained the position of *Paramēśvara* (Emperor), through his devotion to Śiva. He was followed by his son Lakshmanarāja (II). As already observed, verse 18, which occurs in his description, is borrowed from the *Bālabhārata*, a Sanskrit play of Rājasēkhara. Lakshmanarāja's son and successor was Śaṅkaragaṇa (III) who was followed by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva II. The latter's son was Kōkalladēva II who was succeeded by his own son Gāṅgēyadēva. The record finally mentions Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor Karṇa who granted the present plates. The eulogy of these princes is merely conventional and contains no reference to historical events.

The present record gives Karṇa the Imperial titles *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. He is also called here the lord of Trikalīṅga and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadēva. Vāmadēva is clearly identical with Vāmarājadēva whose name is mentioned with the same Imperial titles in the Saugor stone inscription of the time of Śaṅkaragaṇa I.⁴ Karṇa made the present grant at Prayāga after bathing in the Vēṇī and worshipping Śiva on the occasion of the *saṃvatsara-frāddha* of his father, Gāṅgēyadēva, which he performed at Prayāga.⁵ The object of the grant was the village Srusī situated in the *bhūmi* (sub-division) of Kāśī.⁶ The

¹ Above, No. 45, vv. 12 ff.

² Below, No. 74, v. 8.

³ Above, No. 45, v. 18.

⁴ Above, No. 55, l. 1.

⁵ Note *ib-ava* in l. 39 of the text.

⁶ See below, p. 244, n. 11.

donec was the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpa, son of Nārīyapa, grandson of Vāmana and great-grand son of Amaha¹ who belonged to the Kautika *gṛha* with the *pravara* Auddālaka,² Dēvarāta and Viśvāmītra, who had emigrated from Vāsāla. The date of the *śrāddha* is given, in line 40, as Saturday, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna and that of the charter, in the last line, as Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793. The latter *tithi* and the year are expressed in numerical figures only.

As Dr. Fleet has shown from his calculation of the date of Karṇa's Goharwa plates, this *śrāddha* was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death and this view is also confirmed by the wording of the grant.³ From other Kalachuri records⁴ we know that Gāṅgēya died at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga. Karṇa seems, therefore, to have especially gone to Prayāga to perform the first annual *śrāddha* of his father at the holy place where he had died. The dates mentioned in this inscription, like those in other Kalachuri records, must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. Though no year is mentioned in connection with the first date, it is probably identical with that of the second; for, it is not likely that the issuing of the plates was delayed by more than a few days or months at most. Of these two dates, the second is quite regular; for according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., the ninth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna in the expired year 793 ended 18 hours after mean sunrise on Monday, the corresponding Christian date being the 18th January 1042 A.C. The date of the *śrāddha*, however, if it refers to the same Kalachuri year as it evidently does, is irregular; for the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna in that year commenced 5 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 10th January 1042 A.C.) and ended 7 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise next day.⁵ It was not, thus, connected with Saturday in any way. This date, therefore, appears to be irregular. Dr. Kielhorn, however, found by calculation that the same *tithi* of the previous month (*viz.*, the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha) was current at sunrise on Saturday, the 12th December 1041 A.C. He, therefore, supposed that the *śrāddha* was really performed on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, but 'the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in l. 40 the month in which he was writing the grant'. Such an explanation is not impossible and other cases of a similar type can easily be cited.⁶ But this involves the supposition that there was an interval of more than a month between the making of the grant and the recording of it. Some scholars have, therefore, attempted to explain away the irregularity of the present date in other ways.

Dr. Fleet thought that the mistake lay in the week-day (or else in the *tithi*) rather than in the month,⁷ but he offered no explanation of it. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, on the other hand, suggested that though Gāṅgēya died on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna, and hence the *śrāddha* must be performed on that date, in the year 793 it fell on a Sunday, which is not an auspicious day for such ceremonies. It was, therefore, per-

¹ See below, p. 244, n. 14.

² See below, p. 249, n. 20.

³ The text mentions the *śrāddha*, which means the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary. The *śrāddha* on a later anniversary is called *prati-śrāddha*.

⁴ See, for instance, v. 12 of the Khairha plates of Yaśahkarna (below, No. 56).

⁵ According to Kielhorn's calculations, the *tithi* commenced 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C., and ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 300.

⁶ See, e.g., the date of the Pēṇḍrābandh plates (below, No. 101).

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 146, n. 7.

formed on the day before and while *dvitīyā*, the anniversary day, could not be changed, it had to be associated with the week-day on which the ceremonies actually took place.¹ This explanation also does not appear to be convincing; because, there is no authority in the Dharmaśāstras for changing the *tithi* for the performance of a *śrāddha*, even if it falls on an inauspicious day. We must, therefore, seek some other explanation of this irregularity.

It seems to me that the date of the *śrāddha* was really the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna. As shown by Dr. Kielhorn, in the Kalachuri year 793 it was connected with the sunrise of Monday, but as the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon for the performance of a *śrāddha*², Karṇa must have performed the *śrāddha* of his father in the afternoon of the preceding day, i.e., Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C. when the second *tithi* was current. As we have seen before, this was the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death. The Smṛitis lay down two or three *śrāddhas* which are to be performed before the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary of a relative's death.³ The ceremonies are, therefore, usually commenced one or two days before the day of the first anniversary. Karṇa also seems to have done the same. At the time of the *śmābdika śrāddha* on the day preceding the annual *śrāddha*, i.e., on Saturday, the 9th January 1042 A.C. he seems to have made a *saṅkalpa* about the grant. On the next day he performed the first annual or *sanivatsara-śrāddha*. The grant was thus made by Karṇa on Saturday in connection with the *sanivatsara-śrāddha*, which fell on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna. The writer of the grant has, by mistake, coupled Saturday, when the grant was actually made, with the *tithi* of the first annual *śrāddha* which was really performed the next day. The foregoing discussion will show that Gāṅgēyadēva died on Phālguna va. di. 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present grant, Dr. Kielhorn at first identified the river Vēpī in which Karṇa had bathed before making the grant with the Waingāṅgā of Madhya Pradesh.⁴ Later on, however, he corrected himself and identified it with the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā with the subterranean Sarasvatī at Allahabad.⁵ The village Vēsāla, from which the donee hailed, is plainly Vaiśālī which figures prominently in Buddhist literature. Archaeological excavation has identified it with Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.⁶ Prayāga, where the *śrāddha* was performed, is of course Allahabad. As for Srusī, it is probably identical with Sursi (long. 82° 52', East and lat. 25° 12', North) in the Mirzapur District, 9 miles north of Chunār.⁷ It is stated that the village was situated in the sub-division of Kāśī, modern Banaras, and it is noteworthy that Sursi is just outside the southern boundary of

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 206, n. 3. He has not cited any authority for his statement that Sunday is regarded as an inauspicious day for the performance of a *śrāddha*.

² तथा आहृत्य पूर्वाह्णपरारम्भे विशिष्यते । *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya III, v. 278. Compare also पूर्वाह्णिकारम्भे तिस्रो देवकार्ये फलप्रदाः । अपराह्णिकारम्भे त्रयोः पितृर्न तु शुभावहाः ॥ Hemādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, Parisēsha khanda, (*Bibl. Ind.*), p. 283.

³ These are the *śmābdika*, which according to some is performed one day before, and the *sapindikarāṇa* and the *ābdika* (also called *sanivatsara-vimōksha*), which are performed on the anniversary day. Some authorities identify the *sapindikarāṇa* and *ābdika śrāddhas*. See Hemādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, Parisēsha khanda, pp. 294 ff; *Nirṇayasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgar ed.), p. 427.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 299.

⁵ The Kamauli plates of Jayachandra also mention *Vēpī* in this sense, *ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 122.

⁶ *A. R. A. S. I.*, for 1903-4, pp. 81 f.

⁷ The identification was first suggested in my article in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 1, pp. 51 ff.

TEXT¹

1 सिद्धिः*॥१॥* जौ नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥ निर्वृणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारणं(जम्) ।
 भावसाहचं पर(रं) ज्योतिस्तत्त्वै सद्युक्ताये^३ नमः ॥^४ [१॥*] गङ्गा^५स्थितमव्य[यं] प-
 2 रमपि यो(ज्यो)तिस्त्रि(विष)दत्तं(शु)प्रभं(जम्)।^६ सूर्यासा(स्थ)स्य च [जा]स्वरप्रभृतयो यस्य
 स्फुरत्सुखैः [१*] सर्वज्ञान[म*]यो व(व)भूव [न]गवास्तत्त्वान्मनुम्यनिसौ यस्मात्सृष्टिरभू-
 [दिवं गु]-
 3 णवती स्त्रीपुत्रमिता ततः ।^७ [॥२॥*] देवः श्रीकार्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्रूपण(जं)
 भूतवाय्वा हेलोत्तिप्तावि(वि)भ्यतुहिनागिरिसुतास्ते(स्ते)वसन्तोषितेस(श)म् [१*]दिहृण्डा-
 4 काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाहव्यापीतय*^८(भ्य)क्षपूजायुक्तमनितत्वं रावणं यो ब्रह्म* ।
 [॥३॥*]मस्य भूय(य)[३*]मीता वदति नृपतयः किलष्ट-
 5 मावे प्रतिपं^{१०} आ के(कं)कास(सा)त्सहेकं हरणभवसमुत्पात[सुं](शु)नाम[भि]तेः । आ
 चः^{११} प्राचः समुद्रात्सुरसरिवतुलस्थूलमुस्तावलीकावस्मोवेईक्षिणाञ्च स्फु-
 6 रवतुलमयैः सेतुसीमन्ता[भा]जः [॥४॥*] तद्वत्स^{१२}प्रमवा नरी(रं)व्रपतयः क्याता[:*] क्षितौ
 हैहयास्तेषामनु(न्व)यमुषणं^{१३} रिपुमनोविभ्यस्ततापानलः । बर्म्मध्यानच-
 7 नानू(नु)संधितसुखः सस्वत्सता^{१४} सौख(स्थ)कृत्त्रेयास(न्स)ज्वगुणाङ्कितप्रभृतया श्रीमान्-
 भूकोककलः^{१५} । (॥)^{१६} [५॥*] सम्यक्सा(क्शा)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदिनं भर्म्मय घोषाय च^{१७} हृष्टा-
 8 [पू]र्त्तपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्चसक्तो(क्ता) मतिः ॥ (१) आनुष्वा(व्या)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः
 सद्रंस(स)पुष्टेस्तथा ज्ञानाव्यासवसा(शा)न्व(न्धु)मुज(शु)पदवीमते च यः प्राप्तवान् ।
 [॥६॥*] भोजे च-
 9 क्लम*^{१८} राजे^{१९} श्रीहर्ष(र्वे) विनकटम्(म्)पाले । स(श)कुरगने च रा[ज*]नि यस्यासीदभवदः

16

- पाणिः ।¹[1७॥*] सचिमिवेन्द्रः² कमलामुपेन्द्रो³(न्द्रो) नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः । चन्द्रेस्त-
वसप्रभवा
- 10 सुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पञ्जनेषीत्⁴ ॥⁵[८॥*] उहामदर्पेद्विषतो जयन्तं कद(न्द)र्पमाधि-
(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् । अजीजमत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्या महास(श)क्तिम[रं] क-
- 11 भारम् । [1१॥*] नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुव(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्वो अवलः स राजा । बोद्धु(हुं)
धुरं यो गुह्यहारहा योज्यानुपेन्द्रान्कहार चकार⁶ ॥[१०॥*] एकैक(कं) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-
- 12 सं(शं) स्व(स्व) जीवित(तं) रक्षता भक्ष्याव(व) गह्वराय नामपतिना म्यक्कार उन्मीलितः ।
चारित्राय ददो(दो) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्[ह*]त्यामृतौ वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेप्ययममृदौ-
- 13 चित्त(त्य)वृत्तेः प[द](दम्) ॥⁷[११॥*] किम्बापरेण⁸ । होहिन्ति एष्य वंसे पुरिसा पुहृदय-
गारवमहृद्वा[1*] इज भाविकुण जेणं पालीष परिग(ग)हो गहिबो ॥¹⁰[१२॥*] तत्सुनुः¹¹ स्यात-
- 14 कर्मा दिगिमकरनिभाजानुवा(वा) हुमंहात्वा भूमेम(मं)ताव(व)भुवक्षतरिपुनृपतिव्या(व्या)लहं-
षः (हृषः)¹² सु[ज*]न्मा । यं सद्धतानुरागानुकृतय(यु)गाचारमासु(श्रि)त्य जातस्त्य-
- 15 क्तान्योन्योपमहंस्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्गत्रि(त्रि)वर्णः ।¹³[१३॥*] । अत्योत्र वास(श)-
रथिरेव रिपुहंसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्किमपरं समरोत्सवाय भूभङ्ग¹⁴[म*]नसकलद्विषतो
- 16 धिगस्मानात्मानमाहवरसादिति या सुसोच¹⁵ ॥¹⁶[१४॥*] सत्यव्रतकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य
तस्यानुयः(जः) प्रथितवा(वा)हुव(व)लो व(व)भूव । दुर्योधनारिव(व)लवि(वी)रवर्चकष-
- 17 न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः । [१५॥*] भु(भू)भारक्षमदुस्सति¹⁷प्र[ज*]थिनीमालम्ब-
(म्ब)मानस्तन(नुं) कुर्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पचगानागच्छतो विद्धिः(द्विषः) ॥ (1) विख्या-
- 18 तां भुवि भूरिभार्गवमनामुचैहंद्वाही(हि)नीं यः साक्षात्परमेस्व(स्व)र[ः*] समभवत्स-
म्यक्सि(क्सि)वाराधनात् ॥¹⁸[१६॥*] तस्मादमूलकमणराजदेवः पुष्ये¹⁹ज्जमाना(नां)
- 19 जनितव्यवस्थः । आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्मेमिव क्षितीसं(शं) चिराय लेखे जनना सुखानि ॥²⁰
[१७॥*] यः सत्यस्य निधिः सि(श्रि)यां च सरणिः साम्ना च धाम्ना [च*] यो यो दाता च
दयालु-

¹ Metre: *Āryā*.

² Read सचिमिवेन्द्रः.

³ Kielhorn read भूपेन्द्रो, but the facsimile does not show any subscript *r* in this *akṣara*; see the form of *ṛ* in नगन्द्र-.

⁴ Read the second half of the verse as चन्द्रेस्तवसप्रभवा सुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पञ्जनेषीत् ॥

⁵ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Upajāti*.

⁶ Read गुह्यभाग्युक्तामन्यासूपेन्द्रान्करीचकार ॥

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Read किं वापरेण.

⁹ Kielhorn read this as एहृदय, but the form of ए, which occurs in this line and in l. 28 are different.

¹⁰ Sanskrit—भविष्यन्त्यत्र वंसे पुरुषा पृथिव्यां गौरवमहर्षाः ।

इति भावयित्वा येन पासीनां परिग्रहो गृहीतः ॥ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹¹ Read तत्सुनुः.

¹² Kielhorn read -व्या(व्या)लहं, but the facsimile shows *rāpha* over ह.

¹³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁴ The *anusvara* on भू is clear and distinct. Read भूभङ्ग-.

¹⁵ Read सुसोच.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁷ Read दुस्सति-.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁹ The reading is clearly पुष्ये-, and not पुष्यी- as taken by Kielhorn.

²⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*.

[illegible]

- 20 रेव व पयं कीर्तिस्व(स्व) नीतेस्व(स्व) नः । तस्यासीत्वरदेव रूपवक्त्रः¹ कास्व(व्य)–
पुष्पात्मनः परापात्रमिनेवर्न न यवमुत्तम्यस्वदानेभ्यः² ॥ [१८॥³] अस्ति(श)कुरगणदेव–
21 स्तयोवयसककमृद्वनतलतिकः । सा(सा)कतिः कमुषा यस्मिन्वत्तामित(तं) क्वापि कलि-
नापि ॥ [१९॥⁴] कवी निस्तु(स्मि)न(त)ता यत्र वक्त्रं फलितगमे [१⁵] रवचक्रेषु(वु) चारि-
22 त्वं कायो(यो) स्वच्छन्दचारिणः⁶ ॥ [२०॥⁷] तस्मानुयो(जो)मु(मु)धुवराजदेवः पतिः
कितेः कवकुकप्रमु(वु)तिः । यस्यासिचाराजलघोतमु(मु)तेस्वि(वि)रं स्थिरासिचपलापि
कस्मि⁸ ॥ [२१॥⁹] अथि–
23 सा[वी]कविस्वामः से[व]ं सुरतमावधिः¹⁰ । यत्त(त)सा[सा] चर्मराक्षे(से)स्व(स्व) नावधिर्यस्य
मृपतेः¹¹ ॥ [२२॥¹²] सीतास्ततोयामत यातकीर्तुः कोकलदेवो वस्वविक्रमावः¹³ । ज(य)
न्यव–
24 लामो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यकार्यस(स)व्य(व्य)ः¹⁴ ॥ [२३॥¹⁵] नम्र कामुकवत्
कृतं निमग्नितं तूणीरवत्पुष्टः¹⁶ । काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रवृष्टिहितान्तं न दोष्यवत् ।
25 कृत्वा साक्षपरिच्छेदेन रहितं सम्यक्करं स्थापितं सवयामबोल कुल्लेनरपतिवि अवेनासिवत्¹⁷ ॥
[२४॥¹⁸] काककलनृपादवाप्तसकलकवाणीवपद्वती¹⁹–
26 रक्षालितहारगो(गो)रगुणभूगणिवदेवावत्²⁰ । यस्याज्जायत केवलं रथमुक्ते कीक्ये(क्षे)यकोपेसरः
॥ स्तत्रेव प्रतिविबि[व] पुनरभूताकावरं सम्पुत्रा²¹ ॥ [२५॥²²]
27 अनुनेहो ज लोलेति कातं यदिह दुर्जयः²³ । लक्ष्म्या तदधुना धीतं दिव्यमादाय तद्वपुः ।²⁴
[२६॥²⁵] क्वातः²⁶ सत्यतया स चर्मतनयः त्यागेन विरोर–
28 निः²⁷ सोमेनेत्रसुर²⁸ न चैतदयवस्तस्य गता²⁹ चेतसि । एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो(कौ) सयनिकं³⁰
गांगेयदेवे नृपे दु[स्ता]रिस्वितमिव तेर–

¹ This verse is borrowed with a slight change from Rājāśekhara's *Prachindepāṇḍava* (I, 62). The latter reads तस्यैतस्य स एव in place of तस्यासीत्वरदेव. Metre: *Sārdālavikrīḍita*.

² Metre: *Āryā*.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Read स्थिरासीचपलापि कवीः ॥ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁵ Read कौर्म्यं पूरजयावधि.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Following Kielhorn, I read the line as सीमास्ततोयामत यातकीर्तुः कोकलदेवो अनुवैकमावः. The metre does not require कोकल to be changed to कीकल.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ This *anda* is superfluous.

¹⁰ Kielhorn has ingeniously restored this very corrupt stanza as follows:—

नम्र कामुकवत्कृतं निमग्नितं तूणीरवत्पुष्टः
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रवृष्टिहितान्तं न दोष्यवत् ।
कृत्वा साक्षपरिच्छेदेन रहितं सम्यक्करं स्थापितं
सवयामवित्तं कृतं नरपतिवेष्टेन वेनासिवत् ॥

¹¹ Metre: *Sārdālavikrīḍita*.

¹² I propose to restore the first quarter as follows. सीकोकलनृपादवाप्तसकलकवाणीवपः [सीकृतः*]. The last three *akṣaras* which are wholly omitted in the text are supplied conjecturally.

¹³ Read —गाङ्गेयदेवीवपत्.

¹⁴ Read —सत्यतया प्रतिविबितं पुनरभूताकान्तं सम्पुत्रम् ॥

¹⁵ Metre: *Sārdālavikrīḍita*.

¹⁶ Read अनुनेहो लोलेति क्वातं यदिह दुर्जयः । as in the Goharwa plates.

¹⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁸ Read विरोरपि.

¹⁹ Read सीमेनेत्रसुरो.

²⁰ Read गता.

²¹ Read सयनिकं.

Second Plate

- 29 वितवं¹ पूव्वे(व्वे) ये(य)योक्ता भू(भू)पाः ॥²[२७॥*] तस्यात्मजः कर्णो इवावतीर्णः
कर्णः पृथिव्या(व्या) प्रथे(थि)तपु(प्र)भावः । यस्याभिसे(वे)क[स्त्र](भ)वणाद्वि(द्वि)व-
30 द्भिर्नष्ट(ष्टं) प्रहृष्टं द्विजमित्रवर्णः ॥³[२८॥*] यत्कीर्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरत्स्या दिने दिने ॥ (१)
द्र(त्र)ह्याण्डमण्डपाभोगः स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥⁴[२९॥*] स्वय(यं) समु-
31 त्मूजन्नर्चनार्थिसार्थि⁵व्यचिन्तिताम् । कोपे(प्ये)व भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गमः कल्म(ल्प)पादपः ॥
[३०॥*] स(श)क्तिवर्मे(वे)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य चम्पा(म्पा)त्मनः
32 स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(कि)चित् । आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभिः सदे(दे)व राजन्वती
वसुमती भवते(तै)व भू(भू)यात् ॥⁶[३१॥*] तवे(दे)व(वं) गुणगणालंकृत-
33 स(श)रीरः स्व(प्र)यागसमावासितश्रीमद्विजयक[टा](टका)त्परममष्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेस्व(स्व)रश्रीवामद(वे)वपादानुध्यान(त)परममष्टा-
34 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममहेस्व(स्व)रत्(त्रि)कालिया(गा)धिपतिश्रीमत्कर्णदेव[ः]*
कुस(श)ली महादेवी महाराजपु[त्रा]⁷ महाम-
35 त्रि[णो] महामात्या⁸ महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकरणिका
स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामतो(न्तो)
36 महाप्रमातारो महास्व(स्व)साधनिको महा[भा*]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष⁹ एतानन्यास्व(स्व)
कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तिता(तां)स्व(स्व) यथाहं(हं) मानयति वो(वो)धयति समाज्ञापयति [१*]
विवित-
37 मसु(स्तु) भवता(तां) यथाहपावा¹⁰कासि¹¹[भूम्य]न्तर्गतसुसिग्रामः साव(स्व)मचूकः सगर्तस्थ-
लजलोपरः सर्वोकरत्त[नि*]प्रभृतिसमुत्प-
38 तिसमेतस्व(स्व)नुराव(वा)टसीमापर्यन्तः ।¹² बेतालग्रामविनिर्गन्ताय को(कौ)सि(शि)कगो-
त्राय ।¹³ ओदलदेवरात्रिस्वामित्र¹⁴त्रि-
39 प्रवराय वाजसनेयसाखाया¹⁵महप्रम(ण)त्रे वा[म]ननर्त्रे नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीविस्व(स्व)-
रूपाय ।¹⁶ इहं पितुः श्री-
40 मद्गाङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे सादे¹⁷ फाल्गुनव(व)हुलपञ्चद्वितीयायां स(श)नैस्व(स्व)रवासरे
वेण्यां स्नात्वा भगवंतं(वन्तं) देवं(व)देवं त्रिलोचन-

¹ Read वृष्ट्वा निश्चितमेव तैरवितथं.

² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁴ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushtubh*.

⁵ The lithograph clearly has सार्थिज्ज-, Read -सार्थेव्यचिन्तिताम्.

⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ The Goharwa plates read महाराजपुत्रो.

⁸ As Kielhorn has observed, what was intended to be incised here was perhaps महामात्यो । महामात्यो-विग्रहिक । *etc.* Or read महामात्यो, महासन्धिविग्रहिको *etc.* in conformity with महाप्रतीहारो *etc.*

⁹ This official is omitted in the Goharwa plates.

¹⁰ The three *akṣaras* are superfluous.

¹¹ Read काशीभूम्यन्तर्गतसुसी-. Kielhorn admitted that he could not make out the proper reading of the name of the district in which the donated village was situated. He read the name of the village as सुसि, but it is clearly mentioned as सुसी in l. 42, below.

¹² This *deṇḍā* is superfluous.

¹³ Read औदालकदेवरात्रिविश्वामित्र-.

¹⁴ Kielhorn read -साखाय । मह-.

¹⁵ Read संवत्सरआदे, as proposed by Kielhorn. Fleet later on remarked that the change was

- 42 यत्त(स)नस(सं)भारप्रकल्पितमोपच(स)दुष्ट[न]पंचेन परया नकरया समन्वयार्थमस(स)-
द्वय(स)या सा(सा)हं निवर्तयामिभयोनेन¹ सा(सा)स[न]त्वेन यप्रदत्तः² । अतः श्रीमत्क-
43 म्भवेत्तयावा[न] नृसीधामनिवासितः समस्तकवचनान्समाविस(सं)ति [न] विदितमस्तु भवता(तां)
नवा नामोम स्थाभिः³ सा(सा)सत्त्वेन प्रवत्त इति यत्त्वा-
44 साधनोपकरहिरण्यवस्त्रावायकासोत्पत्तिप्रभृति⁴सवस्तराजप्रत्यावाय(या) अस्योपन(ने)[त]व्या
इति [न] तत्पविर्कीर्षया मध्ये वातेवापि न
45 गंत(गन्त)व्यमिति ॥ अन्त्यर्धना ॥ सव्यमिना[न] जाविनी राजपुत्रा[न] भूयो भूयो याचते
रामशत्रुः । सामान्योय(यं) चम्पसेतु(नृ)पाणा(गां) काले का-
46 ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः⁵ । [३२॥⁶ न(व)दुष्टिच(व)मुधा मुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा कलम्⁷ । [३३॥⁸ अस्मिन्वन्से⁹ द्विष्ना-
47 पि¹⁰ यस्वा(स्वा)न्वो नृपतिर्नवेत् । तस्यापि हस्तलब्धोहं सा(सा)सवं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [३४॥¹¹
यानीह वस्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रा(र्ष)नानि चम्पस्यस(स)स्करा[णि] ।
48 नृमाल्य¹²वा प्रतिमाति तानि को न(ना)न साधुः पुनराददीत।¹³ [३५॥¹⁴ अस्व(स्व)मेध-
सहस्रेण राजसु(सु)यसहतेन¹⁵ च [न]गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिह-
49 र्त्ता नसु(सु)ध्यति (॥)¹⁶ [३६॥¹⁷ सुवर्णमेक(कं) नामेका(कां) भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल[म्] ।
हरज [रक?] साप्नोति यावदायु(यु)तस(सं)प्लव(वम्) ॥ [३७॥¹⁸ संवत् ७९३ काल्युन-
वदि ९ सोमे [॥¹⁹

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Adoration to Siva!

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) (and) supreme light conceivable by the mind!

(V. 2) That which, though highest and changeless, appears in two forms,¹⁸—the light which has the refulgence of intelligence; from which in the form of the sun there shine forth waves such as the days¹⁴,—from it there sprang forth the venerable mind-born

unnecessary. But this was the *Jrddha* on the first anniversary of the death of Gāṅgāyādēva, which is called संवत्सराह. Subsequent annual *Jrddhas* are called प्रतिवत्सरिकवाह.

¹ The *aksharas* here are quite clear. Perhaps the intended sense is —योवकसर्गेण, as suggested by Kielhorn.

² Read संप्रदत्तः ।

³ Read नामोमस्थानिः.

⁴ Kielhorn proposed to read दयाकरोत्पत्ति-.

⁵ Metre: *Śāliṭ*.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Read —जसे.

⁸ Read द्विजन्तोपि.

⁹ Read निर्माल्य-.

¹⁰ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹¹ Read राजसुयसतेन च.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹³ These may be the male and the female. Compare हिमा कुशात्मनो देहमर्धेन पुरुषीऽनयत् । यर्धेन नारी

॥ *Manuṣṛī*, ch. I, v. 32.

¹⁴ The *Sahakalpapurāṇa* gives *Jrddha* in the sense of 'a day' and cites the work *Rājjanirghaṇṭa* as its authority.

Manu, the repository of all knowledge, from whom proceeded this entire creation possessed of *guṇas*¹ through male and female (*creatures*).

(V. 3) There was the king, the divine and illustrious Kārtavīrya, the ornament of the earth,—who threw into bondage Rāvaṇa who had propitiated Śa (Śiva) by making the terrified daughter (Pārvatī) of the snow-mountain embrace him when he (Rāvaṇa) lifted up the mountain Kailāsa with ease, (*and*) who was greatly enraged when his offerings to the three-eyed (Śiva) were washed away by the stream of the greatly flooded Rēvā which was turned back by the suddenly placed dam of his (*i.e.*, Kārtavīrya's) mighty arms.²

(V. 4) Being frightened by his frown, kings (*of the countries*) extending as far as Kailāsa, the slopes on the tops of whose summits are dug up by Śiva's bull, and as far as the eastern ocean which has a string of matchless and large pearls in the form of the celestial river (*i.e.*, the Gaṅgā), (*and*) again as far as the southern ocean which has a shining peerless jewel³ and a parting line of hair, *viz.* the bridge (*of Rāma*), adhere steadfastly to affliction.

(V. 5) The lords of kings, who were born in his race, became famous on the earth as the Haihayas. An ornament of their family was the illustrious Kōkalla (I)⁴ who kindled the fire of anguish in the minds of his enemies; whose pleasures were linked with the wealth of religious contemplation; who always made good people happy; (*and*) who was dear (*to all*) as his majesty was marked by all good qualities.

(V. 6) Day by day he duly reflected on the *sāstras* for (*the knowledge of*) religion and union (*with God*),—(*he*) whose mind was fond of wealth (*only*) for religious and charitable works (*and*) for the benefit of others; who was devoted to charity to pay off the debt he owed for being brought up in a noble family; and who ultimately reached the path of beatitude through application to knowledge.

(V. 7) His hand afforded protection to Bhōja, the king Vallabha, the illustrious Harsha who was the lord of Chitrakūṭa, and the king Śaṅkaragaṇa.

(V. 8) As Indra married Sachi, Upendra (Vishṇu) Kamalā (Lakshmi), the moon-crested god (Śiva) the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.*, Pārvatī), even so did he espouse the good-natured queen Natṭā, born in the Chandēlla family.

(V. 9) For the establishment of good order among the people, he begat on her a prince endowed with great prowess, who vanquished (*his*) enemies, possessed of haughty arrogance, and who was the god of love to ladies of fully-developed and compact breasts.

(V. 10) The king was well-known in all the three worlds by (*his*) name Dhavala with Prasiddha prefixed (*to it*),⁵—who, in order to bear the very heavy yoke (*of governing the earth*), made other kings lend their (*helping*) hands⁶ (*i.e.*, exacted tribute from them).

(V. 11) By making over constantly serpents one by one to the Eagle, (Śeṣha), the lord of serpents, caused (*his own*) humiliation. The lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra) lost his

¹ *Vir.*, *salva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, which in different proportions constitute the nature of all beings.

² For the story, see the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, Uttarakāṇḍa, Adhyāyas 32 and 33.

³ This is probably the island of Ceylon, which, being situated opposite Rāma's bridge, appears like a jewel worn by a woman at the parting line of her hair.

⁴ The name appears here as *Kōkalla* due to the exigency of metre.

⁵ *I.e.*, the name was *Prasiddhadhavala*.

⁶ There is a play on the verb *karadī-śakāra*. Prasiddhadhavala made kings pay taxes for carrying on the government of the earth, as he would have taken their help to bear a heavy yoke.

character by having intercourse with Ahalya in season. This king (*on the other hand*) became the resort of proper conduct, adorable in all the three worlds.

(V. 12) Why say (*anything*) else?

'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their greatness in this world'—Thinking so, he took possession of (*the country of*) Pālī.¹

(V. 13) His high-souled son, Bālāharsha of noble birth, whose deeds are well-known, and whose arms resembling the trunks of the quarter-elephants stretched to (*his*) knees, became the lord of the earth, having destroyed all hostile kings. By resorting to him, who followed the practices of the Kṛita age out of his love for good conduct, the three (*puruṣārthas*),² giving up their mutual hostility and doing away with the host of their enemies (*i.e.*, passions), found a stable resting place.

(V. 14) 'Blessed was here the son of Daśaratha (*i.e.*, Rāma) alone, who had—what else?—an enemy in the ten-faced (Rāvaṇa) for (*enjoying*) the festivity of fighting. Fie on us, who have routed all (*our*) enemies by a (*mere*) frown!—Thus did he blame himself out of love for fighting.

(V. 15) Of him, who was Yudhishthira, being solely devoted to truth, there was a younger brother (*named*) Yuvarājadēva (I), endowed with well-known might of arms, a second Arjuna in the Kali age, the pre-eminent bow-man in exterminating warriors in the army of his invincible foes as Arjuna was in slaughtering those in the army of Duryōdhana.³

(V. 16) Having (*acquired*) knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of the earth, having a mind (*lit.*, body) fond of the Vēdas, sending⁴ his advancing foes along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes, he, through his devotion to Siva, became actually an Emperor (or Siva⁵ incarnate, who is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth, who sends his foes along the path of heaven and bears on high the river Gaṅgā that flows in several streams⁶).

(V. 17) From him was (*born*) Lakṣmīnarājadēva (II) through the religious merit of the people,—(*he*) who established order (*in this world*), and in whom the people, having obtained a (*righteous*) king like Dharma,⁷ became happy for a long time.

(V. 18) He was a treasure of truth, the path for fortune (*won*) by conciliation and prowess,—who, liberal and kind as he was, obtained fame and political wisdom. Meritorious as he was by compassion, he had this slight blemish that he did not discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy even when he was giving away all his property.

(V. 19) From him was born the illustrious Śaṅkaragapadēva (III), the ornament of the expanse of the whole world. While he was ruling over the earth, even Kali fled away, one does not know where.

(V. 20) (*Under his rule*) (*only*) the sword was *nistṛiṃśa* (measuring more than thirty fingers) (*none else being nistṛiṃśa or devoid of compassion*), (*only*) grey hair was curly (*none else*

¹ This verse is in Prākṛit and is probably intended to represent what the people said about Prasiddha-dhavalā.

² These are *dharma* 'religious merit,' *artha* 'wealth' and *kāma* 'enjoyment of pleasures'.

³ There is a play on the word *duryōdhana* here.

⁴ The other meaning of *Paramīśvara*, *vij.*, 'Siva' is also intended; for, as shown below the adjectival expressions are so worded as to describe both an Emperor and Siva. In the former alternative *bhā-bhāra-kṣama-dṛiṣṭi* is to be separated from *bhā-bhāra-kṣama* and construed with *Paramīśvara*; in the latter *dṛiṣṭi* means a serpent. There is also a play on the word *śaṅka* which means here (1) an army and (2) a river.

⁵ The Gaṅgā is called *trī-pāthā* because it flows in heaven, on the earth and in the nether regions.

⁶ *i.e.*, Yudhishthira who was noted for his benevolent rule.

being crooked'), and (*only*) the wheels of the chariot had *aritra* (*i.e.*, had spokes) (*there being aritra or hostility nowhere else*), (*and*) (*only*) wind blew where it liked (*but none else acted in a self-willed manner*¹).

(V. 21) His younger brother was Yuvarājadēva (II) the lord of the earth, born of a warlike race; being bathed with the water of the sharp edge² of whose sword, even the fickle goddess of fortune became steady.

(V. 22) His charity was limited (*only*) by the multitude of his suppliants, and his prowess (*only*) by the victory over (*his*) brave (adversary); but to that king's fame and accumulation of religious merit there was no limit.

(V. 23) From that famous (*king*) was born the illustrious Kōkalladēva (II) the sole lord of the earth. His *maṇḍalāgra*³ (sword) was rightly called so since it kept (*in check*) the *maṇḍalas* (multitudes of enemies) in front of it.

(V. 24) That foremost of kings made the entire host of his adversaries submissive even as he bent his bow, held it in check in the rear as he tied his quiver on (*his*) back, routed it in all directions the moment he cast an (*angry*) glance at it even as he whirled his arms whose revolutions in the different directions were noticed (*only*) for a moment, and depriving it completely of its possessions, made it pay tribute even as he completely unsheathed his sword and grasped it with the hand.⁴

(V. 25) Then there was the (*illustrious*) Gāṅgēyadēva who obtained the kingdom of the whole earth from the illustrious king Kōkalladēva (II), who was the abode of virtue as stainless as a pearl-necklace washed with milk; who was preceded in the forefront of the battlefield only by his sword,⁵ and whose beautiful face became crooked (*only*) when it was reflected in that very (*sword*).

(V. 26) By resorting to his divine person, the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the scandal that she does not appreciate merit (*and*) is fickle.

(V. 27) That (*well-known*) son of Dharma (*i.e.*, Yudhisṭhira) was known for his truthfulness, the son of Virōchana (*i.e.*, Bali) for his liberality, (*and*) the son of Indra (*i.e.*, Arjuna) for his valour—this was not believed by the minds of the good. Seeing (*however*) that all the three (*virtues*) were present in (*even*) a greater measure in the king Gāṅgēyadēva, they concluded that the aforesaid kings were truly as described.

(V. 28) His son is Karna of well-known valour, who is as it were Karna⁶ descended on the earth. Hearing of his coronation, his enemies disappeared, (*while*) hosts of Brāhmaṇas and friends rejoiced.

(V. 29) Extending far and wide, the creeper of his fame, day by day, reduces the empty space inside the pavillion of Brahmā's egg.⁷

(V. 30) Granting personally inconceivable objects to multitudes of supplicants, he is some strange moving wish-fulfilling tree, decorating the earth.

¹ There are puns on several words here *nistṛimśa* (1) 'a sword' (*lit.*, 'measuring more than thirty fingers') and (2) 'devoid of compassion'; *aritra* is to be understood as derived from (1) *ari*, 'a wheel' (containing spokes) and (2) *ari* 'an enemy'.

² *Dhāra* (a sharp edge) also means 'a shower.'

³ *Maṇḍalāgra* means (1) 'a sword' and (2) 'that which has a host (*maṇḍala*) (of enemies) in front of it.'

⁴ The description is so worded as to be applicable to the host of enemies on the one hand and to the king's bow, arms and sword on the other. As before, *kars* means (1) 'a tax' and (2) 'the hand'.

⁵ *I.e.*, he needed none else to help him.

⁶ The well-known hero of the Bhārata war.

⁷ *I.e.*, the universe.

(V. 31) Is there any (*adequate*) word of praise for him, the righteous-minded one, who is the sole abode of the three royal powers,¹ (*and*) a mine of virtues? This is, however, prayed for by wise persons—'May the earth have always a good king only because of you!'

(Line 32) From his glorious and victorious camp fixed at Prayāga,—the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramīśvara*, the illustrious *Karṇadēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikalīnga, whose person is adorned by the multitude of such qualities,² who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramīśvara*, the illustrious, *Vāmadēva*, being in good health, duly honours, informs and commands the following and other (*officers*) whether named or not, (*viz.*) the *Mahādēvi*,³ the *Mahārājaputra*,⁴ the *Mahāmantrin*,⁵ the *Mahāmātya*,⁶ the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*,⁷ the *Mahādharmaśālikarāyika*,⁸ the *Mahākṣapatalika*,⁹ the *Mahākarāyika*,¹⁰ the *Mahāpratihāra*,¹¹ the *Mahāsāmanta*,¹² the *Mahāpramātri*,¹³ the *Mahāśvasādhani*,¹⁴ the *Mahābhāṇḍāgarika*,¹⁵ (*and*) the *Mahādhyakṣa*—¹⁶

(L. 36) "Be it known to you that on Saturday, the second (*tithi*) of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, on the occasion of the first annual *śrāddha*¹⁷ of our father, the illustrious Gāṅgēyadēva at this very place. We, having bathed in the Vēṇī, having worshipped with great devotion and with the five kinds of offerings made with a collection of food and having performed the *śrāddha* with unequalled faith, have given as a grant with a libation of water, the village *Srusī* included in the *bhūmi* of Kāśī,—together with mango and *madhūka* trees,¹⁸ inclusive of pits, (*cultivable*) land, water and waste land, together with the produce of mines, quarries and so forth, extending to the four boundaries and limits,—to the illustrious Paṇḍita Viśvarūpa, the son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmana, (*and*) great-grandson of Āmaha,¹⁹ of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā*, the Kausika *gōtra* (*and*) the three *pravara*s Audāla, Dēvarāta and Viśvāmītra,²⁰ who has emigrated from the village Vaiśālī."

(L. 41) Wherefore, the illustrious and revered *Karṇadēva* commands all people living in the village *Srusī*—"Be it known to you. Knowing that this village has been

¹ See above, p. 42, n. 9.

² *Viz.*, those which are described in verses 28-31.

³ The Great Queen, the Queen-consort.

⁴ The Great Prince, the heir-apparent to the throne.

⁵ The Chief counsellors. The word appears in the singular in other Kalachuri records.

⁶ The Chief Executive Officer.

⁷ The Chief Minister for Peace and War.

⁸ The Head of the Department of Religion.

⁹ The Chief Keeper of Records.

¹⁰ The Chief Secretary.

¹¹ The Chief Usher.

¹² The Chief Feudatory.

¹³ The Chief Surveyor. He was probably the Chief Revenue Officer.

¹⁴ The Great Equerry. For his duties, see the *Arthasāstra* of Kāuṭilya (II, 30). There the officer is called *Aśvādhyakṣa*.

¹⁵ The Chancellor of the Exchequer, called *Samiddhātri* in the *Arthasāstra* (II, 4).

¹⁶ The Great Superintendent, who probably exercised supervision over all departments. He is, however, omitted in the Goharwa plates. The Khairā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (No. 55, l. 26) mention him.

¹⁷ See above, p. 239 n. 5.

¹⁸ *Bastia Luffia* from the blossoms and seeds of which liquor was distilled.

¹⁹ Kielhorn read this name as *Maha*, see above p. 244, n. 14.

²⁰ Kielhorn proposed to read the names of the *pravara*s as Audāla, Dēvarāta and Vaiśvāmītra, but the *Gōtrapravaraśākhāśāstra* gives the *pravara*s as above.

given by us as a grant, (*you*) should pay all dues such as *bhāga*,¹ *bhāga*,² taxes, levy in gold, the produce of mines and so forth to this (*grantor*). Not even wind should blow in (*the village*) with a view to harm him!"

(*The following is*) the solicitation (*of the grantor*):—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(In) the year 793, on the 9th (lunar) day of the dark (fortnight) of Phālguna, on Monday.

NO. 49; PLATE XXXIX

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr. Nagendranath Basu, and a transcript of it made by him and M. M. Haraprasād Sāstri was first published without any facsimile in the *Bīrbhūmabibaraṇa*, Vol. II, p. 10. Its transcript was subsequently given together with a description and a photograph of the pillar on which it is engraved by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1921-22, pp. 78 ff. and pl. XXVIII (a). The inscription is edited here from a set of impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

'Paikore'³ is about three miles to the east of the Murarai Station on the Loop Line of the E.I. Railway. The name is supposed to be a corrupted form of *Prāchikōṭa* or the 'Eastern Citadel' The most important antiquities of Paikore are the two inscribed pillars at Nārāyaṇa-chatvara, lying on a masonry platform by the side of a tank, along with an image of Narasimha and several others. The inscriptions refer to the Chēdi King Karṇa and King Vijayasēna. Both the pillars seem to have been crowned with images and the inscriptions engraved on them must have referred to the dedication of the images. The Vijayasēna pillar clearly exhibits the headless figure of the goddess Mānasā, while the Karṇadēva pillar being broken off just at the commencement of the inscription shows no trace of the image. The pillars must have been sunk into the floor, as we see from the rough-hewn surface of the lowermost portion of the Karṇadēva pillar, the square and octagonal sections of the shaft above being highly polished and decorated with beautiful tracery. The design on each side of the square is that of a vase (*maṅgala-kalasa*), the top and bottom of which are covered with full-blown lotuses and foliage, while at the centre appears a *kīrtimukha*, the necklaces of pearls issuing from which are held by bearded attendants.

'The inscription begins on the tapering circular portion of the shaft and is continued over the octagonal section.'⁴ It consists of six lines of unequal length, the first measuring only 1.5" and the last 9". It has suffered by exposure to weather especially in the first four lines. The characters belong to the proto-Bengali variety of the North Indian alphabets. The average size of the letters is .2". The forms of *j*, *t*, *p* and *s* are specially noteworthy. The letters were written in a hurried cursive hand and were incised very shallow. The reading is, therefore, doubtful in many cases. At the top of some letters such as *d*, *p* and *y* there appears a hook such as is noticeable in some places in the Bēlāva copper-plates of Bhōjavarman⁵ and the Deopārā stone inscription of Vijayasēna.⁶ R,

¹ *Bhāga* is a share of produce.

² *Bhāga* probably refers to some petty taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the *Manuśrīti*, Adhyaya VII, vv. 130-132.

³ Properly, *Pāikōṭa*, a corrupt form of *Prāchikōṭa*.

⁴ *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1921-22, p. 79

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 303 ff.

which has the same form as *ch*, seems to be distinguished from it in some places by a dot in its triangle. As the first member of a conjunct, the letter appears generally above the line, but in *Karnadivasya* in line 5 it is written on the line as in the Deopārā stone inscription.¹ The ligature *nn* has two different forms in *Karna* and *dān-a(ā)nnava*, both in line 5. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose throughout. The only orthographical peculiarity it presents is the doubling of a consonant after *r*.

The inscription is one of the Kālachuri king Karna² who is styled here *Mahārāja* and the King of Chēdi. It is not dated. The object of it is evidently to record the dedication, by the king Karna, of the image of a goddess whose name has not been specified.

TEXT³

- 1 श्री⁴ श्रीगणपति [1*]
- 2 [तत्प्र]ति[पालित ?]⁵
- 3 तिष्ठिः⁶[1*] दे⁷वद्विज्जुर(रु)[न*] [बव ?]स्ता(ता) [श्री च] [दि*] दव(देव)न भ[क्ति]नात्र⁸
- 4 नेहयन्⁹ [बव]या [स्म ?]न[1*]¹⁰कर्मका राजकीक[र्म्म]देव[स्म]¹¹
- 5 तिष्ठिः¹²[1*] स्वस्ति [श्री¹³]म[हा]राज¹⁴श्रीचोदि[रा][न*]स्व श्रीकर्णदेवस्य दान(ना)-
र्म्मका(व ?)¹⁵कीर्तिप्र[ता]प¹⁶न्याये¹⁷—
- 6 वृ(?) तन्मय¹⁷ विस्व(वव)कर्म¹⁸र(च)रणप्रसादात्(त्) देवीमूर्तिनृन्मिता¹⁹[स्ती]य-
(य) श्री[की²⁰]तिः ॥

¹ *Law. etc.*, p. 305.

² The name of the king occurs in two places at the end of line 4 and in the middle of line 5.

³ From linked estampages.

⁴ The superscript *i* is imperfectly formed.

⁵ No transcript of this line is given by Haraprasād Śāstrī and Dikshit. Almost all the *aksharas* except *ti* are doubtful.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Haraprasād Śāstrī read the line as देवद्विज्जुरकर्मका देवनादयः स्व भिजति दू * *, while Dikshit gave the transcript *dēva-dvi-ja-guru[karmaka]nāri . . .* The *aksharas* between *जुर(रु)* and *व(वे)व(वे)न* are extremely doubtful.

⁸ Read *वक्तव्य*. There is space for two more *aksharas* at the end of this line if it was of the same length as the following one. But there are no clear traces of letters. Perhaps *किञ्चित्* is intended.

⁹ Haraprasād Śāstrī read *निवेदयन्*, but the impression shows only four, not five *aksharas*. I follow Dikshit's reading here.

¹⁰ Both Haraprasād Śāstrī and Dikshit read *बवयास्मिन् कर्मणि*, but I fail to see any trace of the superscript *i* of *smi* and *ni*. I therefore propose the reading given above, though with diffidence.

¹¹ The sense requires a form in the instrumental. Read *नेहयता . . . कर्मदेवेन*.

¹² Expressed by a symbol.

¹³ The superscript *i* is imperfectly formed as in the case of the first *ni* in l. 1.

¹⁴ Haraprasād Śāstrī read *समृद्धात्* and Dikshit *समृद्धराज*. The first *akshara* appears like that in the beginning of l. 1, which both of them read as *श्री*, while the last *akshara* appears to be clearly *ja*. It has a flourish at the bottom as in *राजेन* in the inscription of Vijayasena on another pillar at Paikore. I therefore propose to read *श्रीमहाराज*, though I must confess that the *akshara* *ha* is very doubtful.

¹⁵ Haraprasād Śāstrī reads *समस्ति वा* and Dikshit *समसरा*, neither of which is satisfactory.

¹⁶ This word is read as *प्रसति* by Haraprasād Śāstrī and as *प्रसति (?)* by Dikshit. The last *akshara* is clearly *ti*; in any case it shows no sign of the superscript *i*. The middle *akshara* is probably *ta*; see *प्रसादात्* in line 6. The left curve here is irregularly broken in two parts.

¹⁷ These four *aksharas* are omitted by Dikshit. Haraprasād Śāstrī read *समृद्धित्व* which makes no sense. The sense seems to require a reading like *समृद्धेन*.

¹⁸ Read *विषयकर्म*—

¹⁹ Read *मूर्तिनिर्मिता*—

²⁰ This *akshara* was read as *का*, but in view of the *si* which follows *ति* I think it is probably *की*, the superscript *i* being imperfectly formed. See *श्री* in lines 1 and 5.

TRANSLATION

The holy Gaṇapati. Being protected(?) by him

(Line 3) Success ! (*This image has been set up*) by the illustrious king Karṇadēva, the glorious lord of Chēdi, who honours gods, Brāhmaṇas and preceptors with devotion, desiring no (*reward*) for his faith and doings (?)¹

(L. 5) Success ! Hail ! This is a famous glorious work,—the image of the goddess made, by the grace of the feet of Viśvakarman, (*by an artist*) who is absorbed in the glory (*springing from*) the ocean of liberality, prowess (*and*) justice of the Mahārāja, the glorious lord of Chēdi, the illustrious Karṇa.

No. 50; PLATE XL

GOHARWA PLATES OF KARṇA

THESE plates were turned up by the plough of a Kewat in an old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur *tahsil* of the Allahabad District. They were edited, with collotype plates, but without a translation, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff. They are edited here from the same plates.

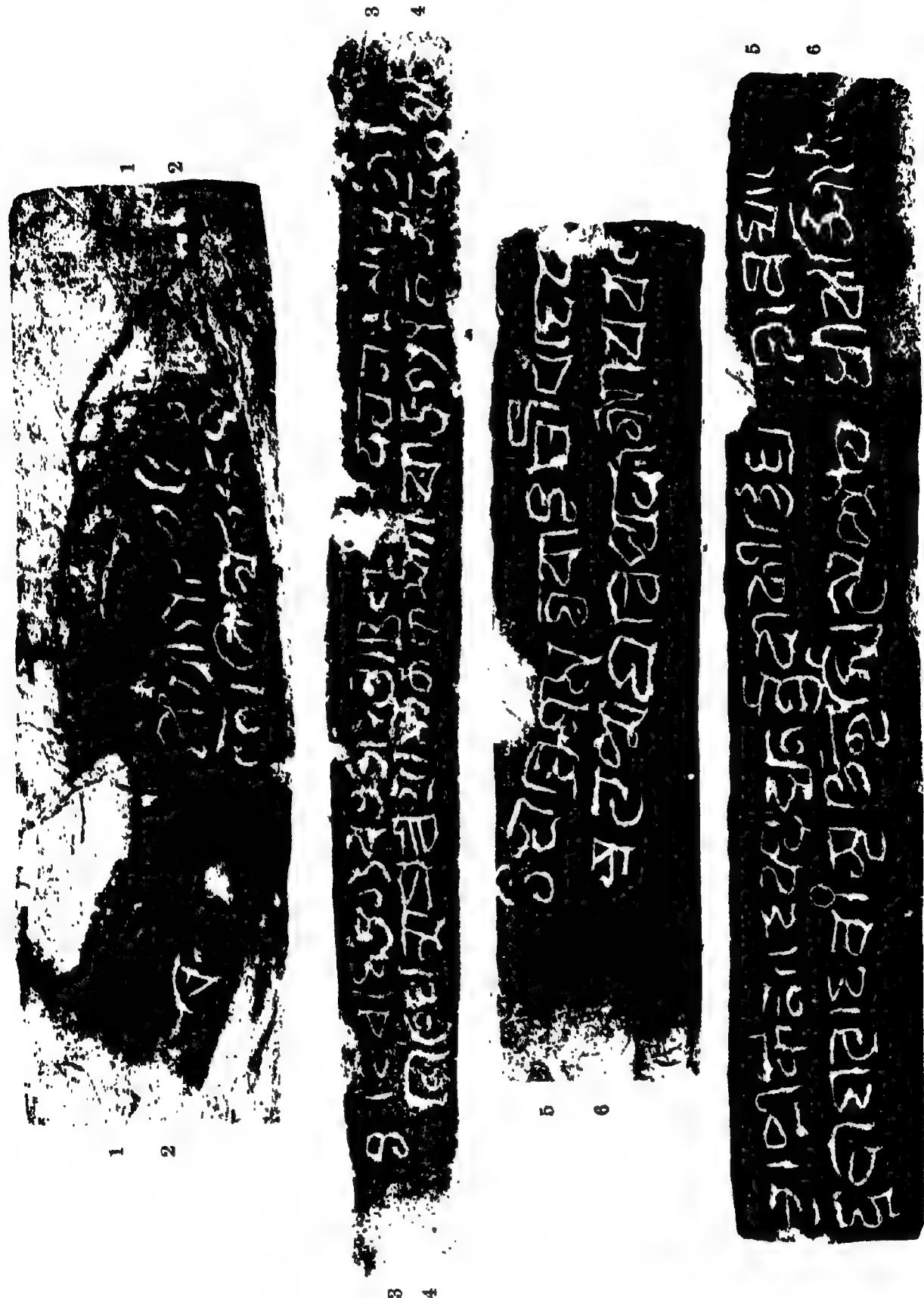
'These are two copper-plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the inscription was inside. The box measures nearly 15½ inches in length and about 11½ inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about ¼ inch.' The plough in turning up the plates broke the ring. The seal was thus detached from the plates. 'It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures 3 inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears in relief a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmi, facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right between two indistinct symbols (drums?). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates—*Śrīmat-Karṇadēvaḥ*.² The inscription is throughout in a state of excellent preservation.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and resemble those of the Banaras plates of the same king. There are, however, some minor differences. The letter *ṣ*, for instance, is everywhere without a dot; similarly the upper loop of *ṣh* is closed in all cases. But in the case of the initial *i*, *ṣh*, *ph*, *bh* and *ś*, the present record invariably shows an advanced stage. The older form of the initial *i*, consisting of a comma below two dots, which is seen to continue even in the Banaras plates, is here replaced by a sign approximating to the modern form of the vowel, see *iti*, l. 3; *ṣh* appears here for the first time with a vertical stroke over the loop, see *-pāda-pīṭhas*, l. 8; the tailed curve to the right of the vertical of *ph* has now sunk lower down, see *phalanī*, l. 46; the wedge on the left of *bh* has given place to a vertical which is joined to the right limb by means of a horizontal stroke, see *alabhata* and *-bhāṣhaṇam*, both in l. 4; *ś* has everywhere the modern Nāgarī form, see, e.g., *krama-vaśāt*, l. 14; the peculiar form of the ligature *śr* is also approximated in this record, see *śrīkaṇṭha*, l. 6. Besides these, we may note that *n* is in many cases written without a loop,

¹ As the readings in this and the following lines are in many cases doubtful, I am not quite sure of the intended sense.

² From the account given by Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 139-40. I take the symbols near the bull to be incense-pots, see above, p. 236, n. 1.

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA



B. CH. CHHABRA.
Res. No. 3977 E' 98 - 778 '51.

(From photographs)

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

see *-ratnam* 1.3, *-vaidha*, ll. 5-6 etc.; the forms of *r* and *sk* have in some cases been confused, see, e.g., *-abhiṣṭan*, 1.7, *van-āṣṭraja*, 1.30 and *-charitani*, 1.28; similarly those of *p* and *y*, see *nityasi*, 1.2, *-madhya*, 1.5 and *ripa*, 1.20. The vertical dash is introduced here for the first time at the end of the lines 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47. The *akṣara chh* with two upright strokes on either side is used to mark the end of a section in ll. 33, 35 and 44.

The language is Sanskrit. The first thirty-three lines which contain the eulogistic portion are in verse with the exception of the opening *Svasti, om Vra(Bra)hmaṇe namah*. There are thirty verses in this portion of which three (viz., 1, 12 and 18) are common to the earlier Banaras inscription. It is noteworthy that one of them (viz., v. 12) occurs there in a different context. It praises there not Yuvarājādēva II as in the present record, but his grandfather of the same name, i.e., Yuvarājādēva I. The formal part of the grant which is in prose begins in line 33. Then come six benedictive and imprecatory verses, and finally the mention of the writer's and engraver's names and the customary *maṅgalam mahā-trīp*. The record is carelessly written. Final consonants are not so indicated in many cases, which has resulted in the neglect of *sandhi* in *-pranītyata vītālō*, ll. 26-27, *-vaśāta bhāikṣhāch=cha*, 1.30 etc. Cases of wrong *sandhi* are seen in *-vandyō Chūd-īndra=*, 1.11, *-āśram-īka=*, 1.30 etc. The *visarga* is incorrectly omitted in some places (see *-grāmaṇi*, 1.6, *ākrāmata*, 1.25) and added in others (see *-vīhitaśīrīkaṇṭha*, 1.6). In a few cases, consonants are seen wrongly omitted, added or substituted by others, see, e.g., *-samārambhē* for *-saṅgam-ārambhē*, 1.14, *svam=īndrajāl-ōpamanī* for *svapn-īndrajāl-ōpamanī*, 1.6. As regards orthography, we may notice that the sign for *v* is employed to denote *b*, see *vrāhmī* 1.2, *Vudhap*, 1.3 etc.; *ś* is used for *s* in *-śrūta*, 1.26 and *vice versa* in *bhrisam* and *āśā*, both in 1.15; the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in *tri-bhuvana*, 1.4, *p* for *ph* in *pāṭhara*, ll. 15 and 24, *j* for *y* in *iyāja*, 1.33, and *sk* for *kh* in *-mayāśka*, 1.3; the *anuvāra* before *s* is incorrectly changed to *n* in *yaśānsi*, 1.32, while in *-tāmura*-1.32, and *ś-āmura*-1.39, a superfluous *v* is inserted after *m*.

After two verses in praise of Brahman, begins the eulogy of Karṇa of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty and his ancestors. Karṇa's pedigree is here traced back to the moon. The first historical personage, mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūṣavas, Bharata and Haihaya, is Lakṣmanarāja (II), who is said to have won victories over the kings of Baṅgālā Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kāśmīra. His son was Yuvarājādēva (II). The name of Yuvarājādēva's elder brother Śaṅkaragaṇa (III) is here omitted, probably because he was a collateral. Verse 12 states that he attained an Imperial position, but, as already pointed out, the verse was originally composed for his grandfather Yuvarājādēva I. Yuvarājādēva II was succeeded by his son Kōkalla (II), whose description given here is purely conventional. About his son and successor Gāṅgēyādēva, however, the record gives more information. He is said to have thrown the king of Kīra into prison, exacted a heavy tribute from the lord of Aṅga, vanquished the ruler of Kuntala, and raised his arm like a pillar of victory after defeating the prince of Utkala. He was followed by his son Karṇa who granted the present plates. Though the poet has devoted as many as eleven stanzas to his glorification, the description is entirely conventional and altogether devoid of historical interest.

The prose portion, which follows v. 30, gives the same description and mentions the same Imperial titles of Karṇa as the corresponding part of his Banaras plates. Besides these, there is one more title of Karṇa mentioned here, which is not noticed in the earlier record. He is said to have, by his arm, attained overlordship over the three kings, the lords of horses, elephants and men.

The present plates were granted by Karṇa at his victorious camp fixed at the Karpatīrtha which was probably a *ghāt* built by him at Allahabad.¹ The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Chandapahā, situated in the Kauṣāmbapattalā, which was made by Karṇa after bathing in the Gaṅgā at the Arghatīrtha and worshipping the god Siva. The donee was the learned Śāntīśarma, the son of the Āvasathika Mālhū and grandson of the Upādhyāya Silū of the Vājasaneyā śākhā and the Vidarbhi-Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*,² with the three *pravara*s Āngirasa, Ambarīsha and Yauvanāśva. The grant was made on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika, in the seventh year of the administration renowned by the illustrious Karṇa.

Unlike the Banaras plates, the present inscription does not mention any year of the Kalachuri era. It gives however 'full titles of paramountcy' to Karṇa, which makes it plain that the seventh year mentioned here is of his own reign. We have seen above³ that the *saṃvatsara-śrāddha* mentioned in the Banaras plates was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death. Gāṅgēyadēva must have, therefore, died on Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792 corresponding to 22nd January 1041 A.C. As the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karṇa's reign fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793. The same month in his seventh year must, therefore, have fallen in the expired Kalachuri year 799 (1047-48 A.C.) The full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika in this year ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise⁴ on Thursday, and was, therefore, civilly connected with that day. Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C. is thus the date of the present grant.

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the *śrāddha* mentioned in the Banaras plates dated K. 793 was performed not on the first, but on some subsequent anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death, Karṇa's accession will have to be dated before 1041 A.C. and his seventh regnal year will fall in some year before 1047 A.C. We know that Gāṅgēyadēva was reigning in 1030 A.C.⁵ We have, therefore, to see in which of the years between 1036 A.C. and 1047 A.C. the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika was connected with Thursday. The only year which satisfies these requirements is 1044 A.C. In that year, the full moon *tithi* of Kārttika ended 20 h. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 8th November 1044 A.C. This would place Karṇa's accession in 1038 A.C. The date of Gāṅgēya's death which occurred on Phālguna va. di. 2 will, on this supposition, be the 25th January 1038 A.C. This would suit somewhat better the Tibetan tradition, according to which Atiśa intervened during an invasion of Nayapāla's territory by king Karṇa of the west before he started for Tibet in *circa* 1040 A.C. as shown by Prof. Levi.⁶ But it would make the coupling of Saturday with Phālguna va. di. 2 in the Kalachuri year 793 quite inexplicable.⁷ The selection of Prayāga for the performance of the *śrāddha* would, again, appear specially appropriate only on the supposition

¹ The grant was made after bathing in the Gaṅgā and worshipping Siva, and the village was situated not very far from Allahabad. The *ghāt* was, therefore, probably built at the holy place of Prayāga.

² Hultzsch took the expression to mean 'of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* residing at Vidabhi.' But it may be noted that a Brāhmaṇa Vidarbhi-Kauṇḍinya is mentioned in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad*, II, 6,3, and IV, 6,3.

³ See above, pp. 239 f.

⁴ According to Fleet's calculations it ended 11 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 146.

⁵ Albēṛūnī, writing in 1030 A. C. mentions Gāṅgēyadēva as the king of Dāhala.

⁶ *Le Nepal*, Vol. II p. 189.

⁷ The apparent irregularity can be explained if the *śrāddha* was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death, see above, p. 240.

that it was performed on the first anniversary of his death which, as already stated, is known to have occurred at that holy place. The only way to reconcile the dates of the Banaras and Goharwa plates is, therefore, to place Gāṅgēya's death and Karṇa's accession in 1041 A.C.¹ As stated before, this makes the date of the present grant regularly correspond to Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Baṅgāla, Kāśmīra and Gurjara are too well-known to need identification. Lāṭa has already been identified. Aṅga comprised the country round modern Bhāgalpur and Kīra that near Baijnath in the Kangra valley.² Kuntala was the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas and comprised parts of the Southern Maratha Country and the adjoining Kanarese districts.³ Utkala included much of the territory now comprised in the State of Orissa. Prof. Hultzsch has correctly identified Kōśambā with the modern Kōsam, 36 miles west of Allahabad. The donated village Chandapahā, which has remained unidentified, is Chanpahā, about three miles N. N. W. of Kōsam. The close similarity of its name to Chandapahā and its proximity to Kōsam (ancient Kauśāmbī), leave little doubt about the correctness of the proposed identification.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः⁵ [१*] स्वस्ति ॥ ओं ब्रह्मणे⁶ नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणं (गम्) ।
मावग्राह्यं परं द्यो (ज्यो) तिस्रस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे⁷ नमः ॥⁸ [१॥*] शुद्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे बल्लोमिव
रोपयन्ति
- 2 यां मुनयः ॥ (१) मोक्षमहाफलजननी वा (वा) ह्रीं सु[स्मा]पि सा जयति ॥⁹ [२॥*] क्षीरो-
दशेशपरिमेयसुखानिधानमाविर्ब (बं) भूव भवभूषणमिन्दुरेवः ।
- 3 जस्मादजायत बु (बु) बः स किञ्चित् क्षितीशमाद्य (क्षं) पुरुषसमाप तनूजर [ली] (लम्) ॥¹⁰ [३॥*]
इति महति सुखामभूष (भु) बंशे नृपतिरजायत मोक्षिकायमानः ॥ (१)
- 4 अलमत भरतस्त चक्रवर्ती त् (त्रि) भुवनभूषणं (ग) भूयमेकमेव ॥¹¹ [४॥*] जत्रे (त्रो) दितोदितकुले
जगतीपतीनामीशः क्रमावजनि हृदयचक्रवर्ती [१] य-
- 5 स्य प्रचण्डभूजपंजरमध्यवर्ती काराग्र (गु) हे भूत इव प्रसन्नं दशास्वः ॥¹² [५॥*] वैरिष्वास्तमिवः
सहस्रकरता (तो) भूपालबृहामध्येस्मादभूतवा (वा) ह्रस्व (व) -
- 6 न्यविधुरो नक्तं चरमास (म) णी [१*] हि (हे) लोत्कासितवा (वा) ह्रस्वद्विहितः श्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धतिः¹³
प्राग्विक्रान्तममू (म) न्यत स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमं (मम्)¹⁴ ॥ [६॥*] यज्ञान्नि-

¹ Tibetan tradition does not give a certain date for Atiśa's departure to Nepal. If the event occurred before 1040 A. C., Karṇa may have invaded Magadha during his father's lifetime.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 97.

³ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 309 f.

⁴ From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read ब्रह्मणे.

⁷ Read सद्ब्रह्मणे.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Varanatilakā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Puṣpitaṅga*.

¹² Metre: *Varanatilakā*.

¹³ Read -विहितश्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धतिः.

¹⁴ Read स्वयमेवजालोपमम् as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, 1. 6). Metre: *Śardūlavikrīḍita*.

- 7 धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्व(न्व)हवो नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम वृष्टिर्निपका-
नारीनयनान्वु(म्बु)वाहः ॥¹[७॥*] व(व)ङ्गालमङ्गलिपुणः परि-
- 8 भूतपाण्यो(ण्यो) लाटेशलुण्ठनपटुज्जितगुणवरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाञ्जितपादपीठस्तेषु
क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥²[८॥*] आसीद्वि-
- 9 जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामस्वेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिद्धरक्षिरःसिद्धरपूला(रा)स्मः त्वङ्गु-
(त्तु)ङ्गुतु(त्तु)रङ्गुताहितमहाक्षोणीम्-
- 10 दाम्भोनिधिः⁴ पूष्णो वैरिकठोरकचदलनास्वसिद्धवपूरैरिव⁵ ॥⁶[९॥*] साहित्यविज्ञान(ल)-
लनाभुजङ्गो निःशेषवा(धा)त्रीधरणाय शेषः । ततः स
- 11 जज्ञे जगदेकवन्द्यो⁷ चेदीन्द्रचन्द्रो(न्द्रो) युवराजदेवः ॥⁸[१०॥*] यौवनेन तनौ यस्य प्रतापेनारि-
म(म्)द्वंस्तु । कुलाद्रिकु[ञ्जे]ध्वरिभिस्त्रि(स्त्रि)भिस्तुल्यं पदं ।⁹
- 12 दधे ॥¹⁰[११॥*] भूभारक्षमभूकभृति¹¹प्रणयिनीमालम्ब्य(व)मानस्तनुं ।¹² कुर्वन्निः समरेषि
नाकपयगानागच्छतो विद्विषा(वः) । विख्यातां भुवि भूरिमागीर्णं(ग)-
- 13 मनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहिनीं यः साक्षात्परमेस्वरः समभवत्सम्यक्शिवाराधनात् ॥¹³[१२॥*] दिक्प-
र्यन्तनिखान(त)यूपनिचयः इमापालबूडामणेस्त-
- 14 स्मादद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रे यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्व[र्गा]ङ्गनास-
[ङ्ग*]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्यकार्यमहितक्षोणीप-
- 15 तीनां भूतं(शम्)¹⁴ ॥[१३॥*] आसा(शा)जये समर्पसिद्धुरगंघरोषास्योद्यदायतकराः ककुभां
करीन्द्राः । पू(फू)स्कारमासंमिव खेचरनायकस्य चक्रः
- 16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिनिराशाः ॥¹⁵[१४॥*] यस्मिन्सुखैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिधौ चेतसि वर्तमाने ।
तत्त्वे(त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगमाज्ञां निता-
- 17 न्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनां¹⁶ ॥¹⁷[१५॥*] आक्रमद्वन्द्वं(द्वन्द्वं) व(व)ह्याण्डसंघट्टस्फुटित यशः ।
मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराकाशकारतां गतं(तम्) ॥¹⁸[१६॥*] कारापञ्जरव(व)द्वकी-
- 18 रनूपतिवी(वीं)प्तोङ्गलक्ष्मीचयैः¹⁹ तस्मात्कुन्तलमङ्गमङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत् । येनाकारि
करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना

¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

³ Read -त्रेवोदयात्यूर्जसैनिकगन्धसिद्धुर- as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, l. 9).

⁴ Read -दम्भोनिधिः.

⁵ Read -कठोरकण्ठदलनासृक्सिन्धुपूरैरिव as in the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, l. 7) and the British Museum plate (No. 54, ll. 9-10).

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Read जगदेक-वन्द्यचेदीन्द्र-.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Read -भृकभृति-.

¹² This *danḍa* is superfluous.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁴ The Rewa stone inscription and the British Museum plate read रसन्.

¹⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁶ Hultzsch proposes to read प्रलीनाः, but as the impersonal construction is intended here, प्रलीनम् is required.

¹⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁹ Read -चयैस्तस्मा-.

- 19 निर्दिश्योक्तमन्त्रिणीम् विप्रस्तम्भः स्वकीयो बुधः ॥¹ [१७॥*] जमुषतेति लोलेति स्यात्
यदिह पुनस्तः । लक्ष्म्यस्तम्भपुत्रा² कीर्ति विप्रस्तम्भ-
20 पुत्रः ॥³ [१८॥*] अतिमहोत्सवमिच्छते क्व विप्रति यत्तत्⁴ कल्पतस्तत्⁵ । रिपुयशःकुसुदाकर-
मास्करः सुतयसुतः सः कर्णनराधि-
21 यम् ॥⁶ [१९॥*] अक्षयकामुत्तमस्तम्भस्तम्भस्तम्भस्तम्भः । वरणी रजशोष्ठस्य सोष्माणो यस्य
रेवतुः ॥⁷ [२०॥*] स्फुरन्मया वक्ष्यकाम्यामेक [म्या]ने[म] ह-
22 क्तोः । व(व)यस् वः विप्र सा[का]मिन्द्रोद्यमविप्र(व)विनी(नीम्) ॥ [२१॥*] सूर्योदत्⁸-
वराशोविप्रकुम्भस्तम्भो[ती] । जानकता⁹ मुषो यस्य हेमोदत्¹⁰ वसु-
23 म्वरी ॥ [२२॥*] त्याग[व]सनिमो यस्म निपुलं वात्सयोर्ध्व(व) । निधानं विधिना मन्ये
द्विगुणीकृतमपितं(तम्) ॥ [२३॥*] उद्वलसुम्भविमि[सि]ते-
24 य¹¹ पू(व)त्कारवृष्णीकृतसीकरेण । युक्तातपकामितमम्भ(म्भ)राष्ट्रं यस्य प्रमाणे पृतनागजा-
नाम् ॥¹² [२४॥*] नाहं नाव विपक्षगोत्रवत-

Second Plate

- 25 तिर्न [त्वा]स्तपूम्भस्वितिर्यस्यास्यातुमितीव चेदिदिनपतेर्दिकक्रमाक्रमत¹⁴ ॥ (1) भ्रान्तः भ्रान्त-¹⁵
वक्ष्यिनीकरिकरास्फाला-
26 बहेलोत्तासितकल्कोलावलिम्बाहु¹⁶ व(व)ष्टमुदविप्रकम्भं सान्द्रस्वनेः ॥¹⁷ [२५॥*] यत्कुन्त-
प्रोतशत्रुमुत्¹⁸ धिरसुरापानमस्तम्भस्तम्भवेता-
27 कोत्ताल¹⁹ तालारवभरितककु[व]कमर्यान्तसीम्नि²⁰ । अन्योन्यालस²¹ बाधां समिति सु(स)रभसं
वतहस्ताविसन्नाध्यापारेणामराणां वररम-
28 जविधिः कृत्²² मासीम्भुदत्तं (तम्) ॥²³ [२६॥*] जानन्दमन्त्रसुमनस्तुमनोवकीर्णः²⁴ संग्रामरङ्गभुवि
भूमिभृतां पुरस्तात्(व) । वीरस्य वीरचरितं ननुवे(ते) कवं(व)-

¹ Read -स्वममन्त्रिणीम् विप्रस्तम्भः as in the Rewa stone inscription.

² Metre: *Sardhlanikridita*.

³ Read लक्ष्म्या तपपुत्रा.

⁴ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

⁵ Read यव व.

⁶ Read रिपुयशःकुसुदाकर-.

⁷ Metre: *Drdavilambita*.

⁸ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushtubh*.

⁹ Read सूर्योदत्-.

¹⁰ Hultsch proposes to read जानकता, but the sense requires a form like जानदता.

¹¹ Read हेमोदत्-.

¹² Read -सुम्भविमिःसुतेन.

¹³ Metre: *Indravajra*.

¹⁴ Read चेदिदिनपतेर्दिकक्रमाक्रमतः.

¹⁵ Read भ्रान्तभ्रान्त-.

¹⁶ Read -स्वासावहेलोत्तासितकल्कोलावलिम्बाहु-.

¹⁷ Metre: *Sardhlanikridita*.

¹⁸ Read -मुत्- . The *visarga* after शत्रु is struck out.

¹⁹ Read -प्रत्युद्वेलासीताम्-.

²⁰ Read -पदम्-.

²¹ Read अन्योन्यालस-.

²² Read कर्तव्यसी- as in the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below), verse 20.

²³ Metre: *Trugdhvā*.

²⁴ The engraver at first incised -सुमनो, but afterwards cancelled the second vertical stroke of मा.
Read -सुमनोवकीर्णस्तम्भ-

- 29 घेलंस्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥¹ [२७॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदाविशेषविधिना प्राप्नु(म्)ह्यनारि-
व्रतं² सार्धं³ व(व)न्वृतया गृहस्थपदवीं कारामृहस्थापनात् [१*] वा—
- 30 नप्रस्थपदं [व]नामयवशात्(द्) नैषाञ्च ति(त्रि)शोः स्थितिः।⁴ येनेब्बं⁵ चतुराश्रमेकगुक्ता⁶
स्पष्टा कृता शत्रुषु ॥⁶ [२८॥*] यस्याधिपञ्चवाङ्मिताधिककल—
- 31 प्राप्त्वं निसन्धूः⁷ प्राकप्रत्यग्रणीवरान्तरस्य परतस्फुरद्वोषणाः⁸ । एते⁹ निर्मितयाः पुरा
परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन्¹⁰ कच(चं) सम्मास्य—
- 32 न्ति यशान्ति चेदिदिनपतेराकुलो¹¹ मूण्वरं(रम्) ॥¹² [२९॥*] किं तस्य कर्णनृपतेर्ब(ब्बं)त
वर्णयामो मस्य द्विजातिजनसासनता[म्ब] (म्ब)पट्टैः । उत्कीर्णमाणनिधि(त्रि)।—
- 33 डाक्षरषकवालवचालितैर्ब(ब्बं)धिरमावामियाज(य) विश्वं(द्वम्) ॥¹³ [३०॥*] छ ॥ स
प(ए)ष परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु¹⁴—
- 34 ध्यात ।¹⁵ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेस्वरपतिभिलिङ्गाधिपति श्रीमत्कर्णदेव¹⁶
निजमुजांपाजितास्व(स्व)पतिगजप—
- 35 तिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिः¹⁷ श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः कुशली ॥छ ॥ जयस्कन्धावारः¹⁸ श्रीमत्कर्णतीर्थाधि-
वासिते महादेवी महाराजपुत्रो महाम—
- 36 न्नी महासाध्विब्रह्महिको महामात्यो महाधर्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो महालपटलिको महा-
भाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाम—
- 37 मन्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिकः¹⁹ एतानन्याश्च(श्च)कीर्तितान(न्) यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरुषा-
(षा)न्यथा प्रतिस्थान²⁰ कोशम्बपत्तलायं²¹ ॥ चन्दपहामाम—
- 38 निवासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथाहं मानयति बोधयति²² समाजा(जा)पयति [१*] विदितमस्तु
भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्मामिश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धः सजल—
- 39 स्थलः साम्भू²³मधूक[ः*] सगर्तोषरः सलोहलवणाकरः स्वसीर्मा(मा)पर्यन्त[ः*] सवनतुण्यूति-
गोचरपर्यन्तः ।²⁴ विदमी(भी)कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्ब(म्ब)।—

¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

² The Rewa stone inscription (No. 45, below) has द्राष्ट(म्)ह्यनारिव्रतं.

³ Read स्थितिः. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁴ Read येनैव.

⁵ Read चतुराश्रमेकगुक्ता.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Read निशम्यात्मभूः.

⁸ Hultzsch proposed to emend this as —वरणीवरान्तररसापारात्, but the correct reading is प्राकप्रत्यग्रणीवरान्तरवरस्फुरद्वोषणाः. See the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below), verse 51.

⁹ Read एतन्.

¹⁰ Read परिमितं ब्रह्माण्डमस्मिन्.

¹¹ Read यशान्ति चेदिनपतेरित्याकुलो—.

¹² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*. This verse with a slight change occurs in the Chandrāvatī plates dated V. 1050 of the Gāhaḍavāla Chandradēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 195.

¹⁴ There is a vertical dash at the end of ll. 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47.

¹⁵ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹⁶ The *akṣaras* श्रीमत्कर्णदेव are superfluous here.

¹⁷ Read —राजत्रयाधिपत्यः.

¹⁸ Read जयस्कन्धावारे.

¹⁹ Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

²⁰ Read यथास्थान.

²¹ Read कौशाम्बीपत्तलायां. The following *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

²² Read बोधयति.

²³ Read साम्भू—.

²⁴ Read —पर्यन्तो. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

- 40 दीव्यवीर्यमात्मनिप्रबराय¹ वाचसवेयसा(वा)सिने उपाध्यामसीकूपीनाय आवश्यकमात्तू-
पुत्राय पण्डितकीशान्तिसर्जने² वा(वा)सुनाय
- 41 शमीय एतेषां प(ए)न कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सरे कार्तिके मासि सु(शु)-
कल्पककार्तिकीपौर्णमास्यां तिथौ बुधदि-
- 42 नै एव सप्तसरमासपयसिचिचारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमत अर्चनीये³ गंगायां स्नात्वा भगवन्तं सिव-
महादेवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापिबोरा-
- 43 स्मनस्य पुण्यवसोमिबुद्धये चन्द्रावर्कसितिपर्वन्तं शासनत्वेन प्रवत्त इति मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोग-
हिरण्यादिसमस्तराजप्र-
- 44 स्मावायाः एतस्वाकाशमणविधेयीभूय दातव्याः । तदपचिकीर्षया न केनापि न⁴ मन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥
भवन्ति वाच पुण्यवसोकाः ।
- 45 सज्जनितान्वायिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रात्⁵ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [१*] सामान्यो[यं] अर्चसेतुनु(नं)-
पाणां काले काले वाल्मीयो भवद्भिः ॥⁶ [३१॥*] व(व)-
- 46 दृमिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजति(नि)ः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य भवा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥⁷
[३२॥*] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यच्च भूमि प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति ।
- 47 उभौ तौ पुण्यक(क)र्माभौ नियतां स्वर्गमातिनौ⁸ ॥ [३३॥*] अष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति
भूमिवः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्मेव नरके व-
- 48 सेत(त्)॥ [३४॥*] अस्मिन्वसे(से) द्विजज्जोपि यद्वान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत(त्) । तस्यापि
करलानोहं शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत्(त्) ॥ [३५॥*] सुवर्णमेकं गामेका भूमेरप्ये-
- 49 कमङ्गुलं(लम्) । हस्तरकमाप्नोति यावदाहू(हू)तसंस्त्रवं(वम्)॥ [३६॥*] लिखितं
चेदं करजिकर्षी(र्षी)सज्जनित्वेन । उत्कीर्णितं⁹ च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Ōm! Adoration to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe), (and) supreme light conceivable by the mind!

(V. 2) Glorious is that Brāhmi,¹⁰ which sages plant like a creeper in the pure field of their heart, and which, though subtle, bears the great fruit of final emancipation.

(V. 3) From the milk-ocean there came out this moon, the store of immeasurable nectar, (who is) an ornament of Siva. From him was born Budha. He, they say, obtained a jewel-like son, (namely) the primeval king Purūṣa.

(V. 4) In that great family of the nectar-rayed (moon), there was born a king

¹ Read —दीव्यवीर्यमात्मनिप्रबराय.

² Read —वाचसवे.

³ Read श्रीमद्वर्चनीये.

⁴ This word is superfluous. The Banaras plates (No. 48, l. 43) read तदपचिकीर्षया नप्ये वातेनापि न मन्तव्यम् ।

⁵ Read पार्थिवेन्द्रात्.

⁶ Metre: *Śālika*.

⁷ Metre of this and all the following verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ Read स्वर्गमातिनौ.

⁹ Read उत्कीर्णितं.

¹⁰ I. e., the knowledge of Brahman, the ultimate reality.

who appeared (*bright*) like a pearl. He, the universal sovereign Bhārata, obtained (*the distinction of*) being¹ the sole ornament of the three worlds.

(V. 5) In this very illustrious family of kings there was born, in course of time, the lord Haihaya, the universal sovereign; being caught in the midst of whose cage-like mighty arms, the ten-faced (Rāvaṇa) was, as it were, confined in a prison.

(V. 6) Finding himself (*quite*) helpless in the bondage of the marvellous arms of (*that*) crest-jewel of kings (*i.e.*, Haihaya), who being thousand-armed routed his enemies even as the thousand-rayed (sun) dispels darkness, the leader of demons (*i.e.*, Rāvaṇa), who had lifted up the mountain of Śrīkaṇṭha (Kailasa) with his sportfully waved arms, himself thought that his previous valiant deed was like a dream and an illusion.

(V. 7) From him were descended many kings who pleased Indra with the smoke of their sacrificial fires; in whose kingdom there never ceased showers from the clouds which were the eyes of their enemies' wives.

(V. 8) Among them was born in course of time Lakṣmaṇarājadēva (II) who was clever in routing the king of Baṅgāla; who defeated the Pāṇḍya (king); who was adept in plundering the king of Lāṭa; who vanquished the Gurjara king; and whose footstool was honoured by the crowns of the heroes of Kāśmīra.

(V. 9) The ocean, which became red, being flooded with (*the streams of*) vermillion from the heads of the huge scent-elephants in (*his*) army through exertion caused by his victorious marches, and which dashed against huge mountains with its dancing high waves, appeared to be filled as it were with the flooding streams of blood from the cut-off stiff necks of his enemies.

(V. 10) From him was born that Yuvarājadēva (II), the moon-like lord of Chōḍi, the sole object of veneration to the (*whole*) world, who was fond of literature as a lover is of his beloved, and who, like the serpent Śēsha, supported the whole world.

(V. 11) Three things found a footing simultaneously, (*viz.*) youth in his body, (*his*) valour on the heads of (*his*) enemies, and (*his*) enemies in the thickets on the principal mountains.²

(V. 12) Through his devotion to Śiva he became actually an Emperor (or, Śiva incarnate), having acquired knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of (*i.e.*, governing) the earth, being fond of the Vēdas (*as Śiva is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth*), sending (*like Śiva*) his adversaries along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes (*as Śiva bears on high the river Gaṅgā flowing in several streams*).

(V. 13) From that crest-jewel of kings, there was (*born*) in course of time, (*a king*) named Kōkalla (II), possessed of marvellous prowess, who planted a number of sacrificial posts in the farthest regions, and the drum, (*beaten*) at whose victorious march, served exceedingly well as an auspicious musical instrument at the commencement of the union of hostile kings with celestial damsels.

(V. 14) On the occasion of his conquest of the quarters, the lordly elephants (*stationed*) in the quarters, which raised their long trunks in rage on (*smelling*) the fragrance of his rutting elephants, despaired (*of defeating them*), (*and*) gave out, as it were, a distressing cry to the lord of celestial beings (*i.e.*, of Indra) through the hum of bees (*hovering*) over their temples.

¹ For the form *bhāya* used in the sense of *bhāva*, see Pāṇini, III, 1, 107.

² *I. e.*, when he attained youth, his power was felt by his enemies, who leaving their kingdoms sought shelter in the thickets on mountains.

(V. 13) While he, who was a store of valour and the sole source of *(their)* happiness, dwelt in the mind of *(his)* subjects, their inward distress completely disappeared even as the ignorance of the *right* does when the highest principle (Brahman), which is the repository of lustre and the unique source of bliss, shines in their minds.

(V. 14) His glory, rising high and breaking *(to pieces)* owing to its collision with *(the upper shell of)* Brahmā's egg, has, I fancy, taken the forms of the moon, constellations, stars and so forth.

(V. 15) From him was *(born)* Gāṅgāyādēva, who threw into the cage of a prison the king of Kīra,¹ who looked radiant with the mass of wealth of *(the king of)* Aṅga who was fond of defeating *(the king of)* Kuntala in a *(clever)* manner, and who, strong as he was in the action of splitting open the temples of lordly elephants, made his *(own)* arm a pillar of victory on the shore of the *(eastern)* ocean, after vanquishing *(the king of)* Utkala.

(V. 16) By resorting to his divine person the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the infamy that she does not appreciate merit and is fickle.

(V. 17) Where he bestowed more wealth on suppliants than they desired, the wish-fulfilling tree was *(no better than)* an ordinary tree.² He, who was to the enemies' fame what the sun is to an assemblage of night-lotuses,³ begat the king Karṇa.

(V. 18) The feet of him *(i.e., Karṇa)* who was skilled in war, appeared lovely, being warm as if because they had trampled over the spreading valour⁴ of the neighbouring haughty princes.

(V. 19) Under the sole guise of *(the symbols of)* the thunderbolt and the discus on his hands, he bore *(with himself)* the goddess of fortune herself, who *(usually)* shines with Indra and Upēndra.

(V. 20) His arms, which were long like the trunks of the elephants of the quarters, which have lifted up the earth with their heads, were delighted to rescue the earth with ease.

(V. 21) The two large *(symbols of)* conches on *(his)* hands were, I imagine, the treasure *(of Kūṭāra)* which the Creator offered after doubling⁵ to him who was intently attached to charity.

(V. 22) At his march, the spray of water, which issued from the tips of the formidable trunks of the elephants in *(his army)* and which was turned to particles by their puffing, appeared like an umbrella in the sky.

(V. 23) 'I do not harbour, O Lord! the families of *(your)* enemies; nor have I transgressed the past limits.'⁶—In order as it were, to say this to the King of Chēdi, who was over-running the circuit of regions, the ocean roared in a deep sound, throwing about his arms of waves to scoff at the movements of the trunks of elephants in the army which, being fatigued, *(had encamped)* in its vicinity.

(V. 24) In his war, when the farthest confines of the circuit of regions were filled with the noise of the loud clapping of the goblins who were dancing in intoxication caused by drinking the liquor-like blood flowing from *(the bodies of his)* enemies wounded by his

¹ There is a play on the word *kīra*, meaning (i) a country of that name and (ii) a parrot. The king was thrown into prison as a parrot is caged.

² For the celestial tree yielded only what was desired by the suppliants.

³ *I.e.,* the enemies' fame contracted like night-lotuses during day-time.

⁴ There is a play on the word *prāṇa* which means (i) valour and (ii) heat.

⁵ *Śaṅkha* is one of the treasures of Kūṭāra. As Karṇa had the symbol of *śaṅkha* (conch) on both the hands, the poet imagines that he had double the treasure of Kūṭāra.

⁶ This is supposed to be said by the ocean.

arrows, the ceremony of choosing (*their*) husbands in an assembly was, for a short time, performed with difficulty by the immortal (*i.e.*, celestial) damsels, who could not hear one another's words, by means of the hasty signs such as those of their hands.

(V. 27) On the stage of battle-field which was strewn with flowers scattered by the gods who were stupefied with joy, the heroic deeds of the valiant (*Karṇa*), whose arms were merciless in forcibly dragging the (*enemy's*) fortune, were represented in dancing by headless trunks in the presence of kings.

(V. 28) He thus showed himself to be a unique teacher of the four *āśramas* to his enemies,—who were, first, taught the vow of the *Brahmachārin*¹ by being separated from (*their*) wives, (*then*) the order of the house-holder by being imprisoned together with their kinsmen, (*then*) that of the forest-dwelling hermit by (*being forced to seek*) shelter in the woods, and that of the religious mendicant by (*being made to live on*) alms.

(V. 29) Having heard the loud proclamations, resounding in the land extending from the eastern to the western mountain, that the hosts of suppliants (*coming*) to him would obtain gifts exceeding their desires, the self-existent (*Brahmā*) was long perplexed with the thought, 'Alas! this *brahmāṇḍa* has already been created so limited in expanse! How will the glory of the King of Chēdi be contained in it?'

(V. 30) What can we describe of that king *Karṇa* by whose copper-charters, (*given*) to Brāhmaṇas,—which made a loud noise as multitudes of closely packed letters were being incised on them,—the (*whole*) universe is deafened.

(Line 33) This *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Karṇadēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of *Trikaliṅga*,—who has by his arm acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (*and*) the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*,—being in good health duly honours, informs and issues the (*following*) command at his victorious camp fixed at the famous *Karṇatīrtha*, to the following, (*viz.*) the *Mahādēvi*, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmantrin*, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, the *Mahāmātya*, the *Mahādharmaadhikarāṇika*, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Mahākshapaṭalika*, the *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahāpramattavāra*,² the *Mahāśvasādhānika* and other unnamed officers appointed to their respective posts as well as all people residing in their respective places the village *Chandapahā* in the *pattalā*³ of *Kauśāmbī*:—

(L. 38) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) parents and Ourselves, We, having bathed at the glorious *Arghatīrtha* here and having worshipped the divine (god) *Śiva* today, **Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārtika in the seventh year of administration** rendered glorious by (*us*) the illustrious *Karṇa*,—in the aforesaid year, month, fortnight, *tithi* and day respectively, have given as a grant, with the words 'this village is his,' this village,—with its four boundaries well-determined, inclusive of water and land, the mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with mines of iron and salt, extending to its boundaries and together with woods, meadows and pasture-lands, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa the illustrious *Paṇḍita Śāntīśarmaṇ*, the son of *Āvasathika Mālhū* and grandson of the *Upādhyāya* *Silū*, of the *Vājasanēya śākhā*, the *Vidarbhī-Kauṇḍinya gōtra*⁴ and the three *pravaras* *Āṅgīrasa*, *Ambarīsha*, and *Yauvanāśva*. Knowing this

¹ *Viṣ.*, celibacy. Compare *Manumṛiti*, II, 177.

² This is a technical official title meaning probably 'the Chief Commander of the elephant force'. Compare *Āśvavāra*, a horseman.

³ *Pattalā* is a territorial division corresponding to the modern *taluk*.

⁴ The sage *Vidarbhī-Kauṇḍinya* is mentioned in *Br. Up.* II, 63; and IV, 6, 3.

and submitting to him by listening to his commands, you should pay all royal dues such as *bhāga*, *bhāga*, gold and others to him as you paid them (*to us in the past*). None should trespass with a view to harm him." In this matter there occur the (*following*) holy verses:—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 49) This has been written by the *Karāṇika*, the illustrious Sarvānanda and engraved by Vidyānanda. (*May there be*) bliss and good fortune!

NO. 31; PLATE XLI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 800

This inscription was discovered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, at Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh in 1936. The slab, on which it is inscribed, is now lying in the guard hall of the old palace at Rewa. It is said to have been previously built into a wall of the Zenānī Mahāl of the same palace, from where it was removed a few years back and preserved in its present place. The inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff. It is edited here from two excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a large slab. The inscribed surface measures 7' 2" broad and 3' 1½" high. As shown below, the inscription was originally put up at a temple of Śiva and seems to have been brought over to Rewa from somewhere else.¹ The record has suffered considerably on the right and left hand sides and especially in the lower portion comprising lines 25-31, in which, in some places, only a word here and there can be read with confidence. Even in other parts, where it is better preserved, the *mātrās*, the *anusvāra*, the sign for the superscript *r* on the top of letters and the horizontal stroke in the body of *ś* have, in many cases, disappeared. The inscription consists of thirty-one lines and falls into two parts which are separated by an ornamental figure in line 19. Except for the obeisance to Śiva with which it seems to have opened, and a few words recording the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse. The first part of it, which eulogizes the reigning Kalachuri king Karṇa and his ancestors, comprises thirty-three verses. As many as twenty-two² of these occur in the Goharwa plates of that king.³ In many cases, therefore, the damaged letters of the present inscription can be easily supplied from the latter record. The second part, comprising verses 34-59, contained a legendary account of the origin of the Kāyastha caste as well as the genealogy of the minister of Karṇa, who founded the temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was set up. The mutilation of a considerable portion of the record in this part is very much to be regretted, as none of the damaged verses are known to occur anywhere else. We have, consequently, lost not only an account of the achievements of the minister and his ancestors, but, except in one case, even the names of all of them. Besides, the present record, had it not been so badly mutilated, would have thrown much welcome light on the notions current in the eleventh century A.C. about the caste of the Kāyasthas. As shown below, the mutilated condition of the present record makes its evidence doubtful.

¹ In his report for 1935-36 the Government Epigraphist has conjectured that 'the slab might have been brought from Gurgū like so many other inscriptions and statues which are now lying in the State Treasury or in the compound of the Prince's Palace.' *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, p. 89.

² *I. I. G.*, verses 4, 6-18, 20-22, 24, 26, 30-31.

³ Above, No. 30.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The size of the letters varies from .8" to 1". Medial diphthongs have generally been indicated by *prishthumātrās*. *Kā* has attained its fully developed Nāgarī form, see *-nikhāta-*, 1.8, but *ṣ* is still without its dot, see *Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga-*, 1.6; *ṭh* has developed a vertical at the top, see *luṭhanta* 1.3 and *-piṭha-*, 1.6; the upper loop of *th* is closed, see *-pāthō-mashī-*, 1.16; its subscript form, however, is not now laid on its side, see *-sthalē-*, 1.15; the left portion of *dh* is still undeveloped; the letter is, therefore, distinguished from *ṣ* which it closely resembles by the absence of the horizontal line at the top, and in the case of *dhā* by a horizontal stroke joining the two verticals, see *-avaidhavya-vidhūna-*, 1.15; the right-hand curve of *ph* is open and is added at the top of its vertical as in *-phala-*, 1.3, or a little lower down as in *-āsphāl-*, 1.13, the curve of *ś* is joined to its vertical on the right, see *-śāsana-*, 1.18; the letter can in many cases be distinguished from *s* only by its round top. Finally, *h* shows no tail, see *mahatī*, 1.4.

The language is Sanskrit. As stated above, except for a few words in the beginning and at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are fifty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. Of these, thirty-three fall in the first, and the remaining twenty-six in the second part of the record. In its first part the present inscription has as many as twenty-two verses in common with the Goharwa plates of Karna, there being only slight variations in their readings here and here as pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. In two cases (verses 20 and 26), the order of verses in this inscription differs from that in the Goharwa plates. The verses consequently refer to different kings in these two records;¹ but as they contain mere conventional praise, the change does not affect the historical information. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases; see, e.g., *Sambhōr-jjātā-*, 1.2; *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *-vaddh-ō-*, 1.1; *mvra* is used for *mra* in *-tūmvra-paṭṭaiḥ*, 1.18; similarly *n* is wrongly substituted for *anusvāra* in *-pānsu-*, 1.21. In *surā-pāṇa*, 1.11, we have the change of *n* to *ṇ* in accordance with Pāṇini's rule VIII, 4, 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Karna of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. The object of it appears to have been to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by a minister of Karna, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste.² The record is dated, at the end, in the year 800 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, the cyclic year being Khara.³ The date must obviously be referred to the Kalachuri era. As an expired year, it corresponds to 1048-49 A.C. The corresponding cyclic year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. This is the only date in the records of the Kalachuris, in which a cyclic year has been mentioned.⁴ In the absence of the necessary details the date does not admit of further verification.

The record seems to have opened with an obeisance to Śiva. This is followed by three *maṅgala-sloka*s in praise of Śiva, the last of which describes his *Ardha-nārīśvara* form.

¹ An analogous instance is furnished by the Goharwa plates. The verse *Bhū-bhāra-kṣama-drik*, etc., employed to describe Yuvarājādēva II in the present plates occurs in the eulogy of his grandfather Yuvarājādēva I in the Banaras plates of Karna. See above, p. 242.

² His name is lost in the lower mutilated portion. He was mentioned in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājallādēva I (No. 77, below, l. 30), but there too, his name is lost.

³ This name of the cyclic year had escaped my notice when I edited this inscription in the *Ep. Ind.* After *Kāchararya* in 1.31 there is room for only two *akṣaras*, of which one is clearly *ra*. There is, therefore, no doubt that the intended name of the year is *Khara*. This corroborates my reading of the figures of the date, one of which was somewhat doubtful.

⁴ Another instance in which a cyclic year is coupled with a Kalachuri date occurs in the Tahankāpāra plate of Pamparāja (K. 966), No. 117, below.

After two more verses,—one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of poets' speech,—begins a description of the ancestors of the reigning king Karma. As in the Goharwa plates, his pedigree is traced to the moon, but the first historical personage mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūras, Bharata and Haihaya is Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa who is evidently identical with the homonymous prince mentioned as the son and successor of Yuvārjyādēva I in the Bīhārī stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karma. The description of this king and of his successors down to Gāṅgēyādēva is, in the main, given as in the Goharwa plates. In connection with Gāṅgēyādēva, however, the draft used here slightly differs from that of the Goharwa plates. Of the four verses devoted to his description, three (viz., vv. 18, 20 and 21) occur in the latter record, but one of them (v. 20) is employed there to describe his son Karma. Verse 19, which is not known to occur anywhere else, describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēyādēva's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse (18).

Gāṅgēyādēva's son and successor Karma is next eulogized in as many as twelve verses. Of these, six (viz., 22, 24, 26, 30, 31 and 32) occur in the Goharwa plates. Of the remaining six, three contain a description of his achievements. Verse 23 states that 'the ship of the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (*i.e.*, Karma's) forces, its joints being rent by (dashing against) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants.' Stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that Karma achieved a victory over the king of the Eastern Country, who lost his life in the encounter. This probably refers to the overthrow of the contemporary Chandra king,¹ after which Karma seems to have placed Vajravarmaṇ in charge of the newly acquired territory.

Verse 25 refers to Karma's conquests in the south. It states that 'overrunning the district of Kāñchi, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman, he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing.' The description here is evidently dictated by the poet's penchant for *double entendre*. The earliest verse of this type is traditionally ascribed to Mayūra and is taken by some scholars to contain references to Harsha's expedition in the south. In later times, poets composed such verses containing puns on names of countries to flatter their patrons in utter disregard of historical facts. For instance, three such verses, besides the aforementioned one ascribed to Mayūra, have been collected in the *Saṁskṛtīkarmāmṛita* of Śrīdharaḍāsa. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the description in verse 25 of the present inscription can be taken to be historically true. But Karma's conflicts with the contemporary Chōla king, who is probably meant here as the ruler of Kāñchi, and the Chālukya king of Kuntala at least are substantiated by other evidence.²

Verse 27 states that 'when Karma approached (the Gurjara country), tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and

¹ It may be noted in this connection that verse 12 of the Bhāratī inscription mentions that when Karma gave full play to his heroism the Vaṅga trembled with the Kalinga. The contemporary Chandra king is evidently referred to as the Vaṅga here; for the Chandras were ruling over Vaṅga, or Eastern Bengal.

² See verse 21 of the Karmabī inscription of Jayasīmaḍāya, below, Appendix, No. 3 and VDC. Canto I, sl. 102-3.

colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads.' This is, of course, too vague a description to indicate an actual conflict with the Gurjara king, but unless it is altogether meaningless, it suggests that Karna's relations with the contemporary Gurjara king were already strained as early as 1048-49 A.C.

The second part of the record commences with verse 34, which states that the twice-born caste undertook the work of a minister to augment the *mantra-sakti* (power of good counsel) of kings who were possessed of the other two powers, *viz.*, the *utsāha-sakti* (personal energy) and *prabhā-sakti* (power derived from their royal position). We next get an account of the Kāyastha caste. There was a great sage (*muni-Indra*) named Kāchāra who derived his holy birth from the three-eyed god Siva. He made the town Kulāñchā an ornament of the three worlds. A person of the fourth caste (*turiya-janman*) respectfully propitiated him on the bank of the heavenly river (*i.e.*, Gaṅgā). The next verse, which is partly mutilated, seems to describe the boon granted by the sage, apparently to the Sūdra who had been serving him, that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds, who, having his head sanctified by the dust of earthly gods (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas), would become almost like the councillor of the lord of heaven (*i.e.*, Bṛihaspati). The sage next declared that his caste would thereafter be known by the name of *Kāyastha*, since he had innumerable merits in his *kāya* (body). Verse 39, which is only partially preserved, refers to the birth of a son (apparently to the Sūdra), from whom sprang the caste of the Kāyasthas. We are next told that in his race were born wise, grateful, virtuous and meritorious diplomats who gave security from fear to all beings. Verse 41 describes a personage of matchless prowess, who was distinguished among the rest as the Kaustubha is among all the gems produced from the milky ocean, but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged portion.¹ Verse 43 also mentions a person whose name, again, is illegible, but who was apparently an object of veneration to the illustrious king Lakshmaparāja as Vishṇu is to the three worlds. This personage seems to have been eulogized in the next two verses (44 and 45). The preserved portion of verse 46 states that Sōmēśvara who dedicated himself to the welfare of the people was born from the aforementioned personage. The next verse seems to have described some achievements of his through intelligence and personal prowess. From line 26 the record has unfortunately been too much mutilated to yield any useful information. We have, consequently, lost even the names of the descendants of Sōmēśvara, of whom the last one mentioned in the present inscription seems to have been a minister of Karna. From the description of the white splendour of a temple in verse 54, that it was, as it were, due to the laughter of Siva, who rejoiced to have such an excellent abode, it seems that it was a temple of Siva, at which the present inscription was put up. This surmise receives confirmation from the opening verses which eulogize Siva, as well as from the statement in v. 58 that the person who caused the temple of the enemy of Smara (*i.e.*, Siva) to be constructed himself composed the present *prastuti*.

As already observed, the present inscription, if it had been in a state of good preservation, would have proved valuable for the history of the Kāyastha caste. Even as it is, it clearly shows that the Kāyasthas had crystallized into a caste in the beginning of the eleventh century A.C.; but we have still earlier records which unmistakably prove the existence of the caste two centuries earlier.² The fanciful derivation of the caste-name *Kāyastha* given

¹ His name ended in *kara* and may have been *Prabhākara*.

² In his article 'The Nāgar Brāhmaṇas and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 48) D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Sanjān plates of Amoghavaraha I (871 A. C.) and the Gurmā plates of Jayādityādēva II (870 A. C.) as the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste.

here occurs also in the *Naishadhyacharita* (Canto XIV, v. 66). The present inscription seems to connect the caste with a sage named Kāchara.

The tendency to trace the origin of royal families to well-known legendary heroes or sages was widely prevalent in the middle ages; but the name of Kāchara as an eponymous hero occurs nowhere in ancient mythological or legendary literature.¹ It would seem, therefore, that an attempt has been made here to give a legendary explanation of the name of the caste which had become current in the eleventh century A.C.² From the introductory verse of the second part of the present record, viz., v. 34, the poet's intention seems to have been to show that the Kāyasthas belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. It looks strange, therefore, that he should refer in verse 36 to a Sūdra (*turjya-janman*) as a Kāyastha and the progenitor of that caste, and describe his son as having his head purified by the dust from the feet of earthly gods (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas). Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the lower part of the inscription, it is now impossible to say how the Sūdra origin of the caste referred to in vv. 36-38 was reconciled with the claim to Brāhmaṇhood which seems to have been made in verse 34.³

The names of the distinguished members of this Kāyastha family, who seem to have served Kalachuri kings as their ministers, have been lost with the single exception of Sōmēśvara. This latter is eulogised in vv. 46 and 47, as one who had dedicated himself to the welfare of the people and distinguished himself by his prowess as well as by intelligence. The mention of Lakshmaṇarāja's name in one of the preceding verses suggests the identification of this Sōmēśvara with the homonymous son of Bhākamiśra, who was a minister of Lakshmaṇarāja as stated in the Kāṭīalāi stone inscription.⁴ A careful comparison of the descriptions in the two records would show, however, that the identification cannot be upheld. For, Sōmēśvara of the Kāṭīalāi inscription was undoubtedly a Brāhmaṇa, as he is called Bhaṭṭa therein⁵ and is said to have belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*.⁶ From the lengthy description of his accomplishments in that record we learn that he was proficient in various arts, but we do not find therein a single reference to his skill in the use of arms.⁷ Sōmēśvara of the present inscription, however, was a Kāyastha, distinguished as much for personal valour as for intelligence. Besides, he does not seem to have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja himself, but of his successor; for, from verses 43-46 we learn that he was the son of a person who was honoured by Lakshmaṇarāja. He is not, therefore, likely to have been identical with Sōmēśvara of the Kāṭīalāi inscription.

Most of the geographical names occurring in the present record find mention

¹ In the Ajaygaḍh inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandēlla Bhōjavarman, the origin of the Kāyasthas is traced to the sage Kāśyapa (see *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, p. 882).

² Is *kāchara*, like *kuchara* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 31), identical with *Khaṇḍi*?

³ It is, of course, possible to take *turjya-janman* in the sense of a Brāhmaṇa by dissolving the compound as *turjyārthan* (*yajñārthan*) *janma janya sap*, *i.e.*, one who is born for (the performance of) a sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa. Both the *St. Petersburg Lexicon* and the *Vedavijayam* give this sense of *turjya*, citing the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IX, 2, 3, 11 *etc.*, in support of it. But such an explanation would appear forced, since the word does not bear that sense in classical Sanskrit. Halāyudha gives *turjya-varṇa* in the sense of a Sūdra. Note also *agrayanman* (first-born) which means a Brāhmaṇa. Besides, the expression *yā bhāmi-dāna-pada-pānu-pavitra-mantri* in l. 21 suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of the earthly gods or Brāhmaṇas.

⁴ See verses 7-17 of No. 42, above.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 2.

⁷ It must, however, be stated that verse 16 of the inscription mentions that Sōmēśvara's deeds were praised by bards in the fore-front of the battlefield.

- इति बह्वि सुभाषम्[भ]र्षे नृपतिरकावत [भौ]कितकाम्यतनः । अलमत भरतः स चकवर्ती
विभुवन[भू]वभूमयेक एव¹॥७॥* त[भौ]कितोदितकुले अयसीपतीमा[मी]शः [क्रमा]दजनि
[हे]यम[भ]र्षी²॥ वत्स प्रचण्डबुधपञ्जर³॥
- 3 [मध्यवर्ती] कारागृहे वृत एव प्र⁴स[भ] वसास्यः⁵ ॥८॥* वैरिष्णान्तमिवः सहस्रकरतो
मूढालपूडामने[र्ध]स्मादद्भुतवा[वा]हव[व]म्भविपुरो न[क्तं]वरणमनीः । हेलेस्लासितवा[वा]-
हव[व]किहितधीकण्ठसीकोट[ट]ति⁶॥ प्रग्विष्णान्तममम्यत स्वय[मपि] स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमम्⁷॥
[९॥* यमा[मि][पू]मैः पक्षितोचितेन्द्रास्तस्मा⁸॥
- 6 [वभू]व[व]हवो नरेन्द्राः⁹ रा[ज्ये] न मे[र्षा] विरराम वृ[ष्टि]विपक्षनारीमयनाम्बु[म्बु]-
वा[हे]¹⁰॥१०॥* व[व]ह्वालमङ्गमिपुणः परिभूतपाण्डवा[ण्डवो] लाटेमलुष्टनपटुजित-
मूर्ध्वरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरधीरमुकुटाभिष्यतपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मण[राजदेवः]¹¹ ॥ [११॥*
जासीवद्विजयप्रयाण[जमित][म्या]ममक्षेदोदयोन्मज्ज¹²॥
- 7 [तृ]निकगानसिन्धुराशिः¹³[सिन्धूरपू]रः । त्वङ्गसुङ्गतरङ्गतावितमहाक्षोणीभूदम्भोनिधिः
पूष्णो [वै]रिकठोरकण्ठवलनासुस्तिम्बुपूरैरिव¹⁴ ॥ [१२॥* साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गो निःशेष-
वाग्नीशरणाय शेषः । ततः स ज[ज्ञे] जगदेकवन्द्यरवेदी[न्द्र]व[न्द्रो] दुबराजदेवः¹⁵ ॥ [१३॥*
[गौ]वनेन त[नौ] म[स्य] प्र-
8 [तापे]नारिमूर्धेसु । कूला¹⁶[द्रिकृ]ञ्चे[ञ्च]परिमित्विमिस्तु[त्वं] प[दं] दवे¹⁷ ॥ [१४॥*
दिव्यपर्वतनिष्ठातयूपनिचयः क्षमापालपूडामभि¹⁸स्तस्मादद्भुतचक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकलनामाभवत् ।
चक्रे म[द्विजय]प्रयाणपणवः स्वभाज्जनासङ्गमारम्भे मङ्गलतु[ये]का[ये]महितक्षोणीपती[नां]
रतन्¹⁹ ॥ [१५॥* म[स्तिम्बु]सकप्र-
9 [मवे]प्रजाना²⁰[तेजो]निधौ] केतसि व[र्त्त]माने । तत्वे[त्वे] परस्मिन्निय योगभा[जां] नितान्त-
मन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्²¹ ॥ [१६॥* आक्रमाद्[दु]र्ध्वं व[व]ह्वालसंचट्टस्फुटितं] यशः । धत्ते
यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारमम्ब[म्ब]रे²² ॥ [१७॥* कारावञ्जररुद्धकीरुपति[र्दी]तोङ्गलक्ष्मी-
चयेस्तस्मात्कुन्तलमङ्गमङ्गिरा[सि]को गा[ज्ञे]म-
10 [वे²³][भौ]भवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकृन्धलमम्यापारकारात्मता नि[जि]त्योत्कलमवि[वि]-
क्षीमि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो युज[ः]²⁴॥ [१८॥* वत्सेनाचरचक्रालदलितक्षमापालदन्तावल-
क्षोणीक्षोणित[पं]किले[पु] परितः प्रान्ते[पु] पाशोनिधेः । वृष्यद्वारणदारणोद्धतम[वैर्लीनं] सल-
[वजै]रिव [प्राले]याचलक-
[वजै]रिव [प्राले]याचलक-

¹ Metre: Pushpitāgry.

² Metre: Vasantatilakā.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The Goharwa plates also have the same reading as here, but the metre is defective. Read —स्वप्नेममजालोपमम् as in line 6 of the British Museum plate of Karṇa, below, No. 54.

⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Metre: Upajāti.

⁸ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁹ The Goharwa plates read वसास्यमपूडामने. The akṣaras here are quite clear.

¹⁰ The Goharwa plates have वृह[व]ह्व. Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹² The Goharwa plates read the second half of the verse as मन्थे यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतम्. Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verses: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 11 न्वरोदरवरी[छिद्रेषु कण्ठीरवैः] ॥[१९॥*]¹ यत्कुन्तप्रोतषा[बुक्]तरुधिरसुरापाणमसप्रनु-
त्यहेतालोसालतालारवभरितककुप्यकपर्यन्तसीमि । अन्धोन्यालक(ह्य)वाषां समि[ति] सरमसं
दसहस्तादि[सं]शाव्यापारेणामरी[णां] वरवरमविधिः क[ष्ट]²भासीन्वह[सं]म(म्)³ ॥[२०॥*]
अतिमनो[रथ]म[धि]जने
- 12 [धनं विशति] यत्र स कल्पतस्तथः । रिपुयशःकुमुदाकरभास्करः सुतमसूत स क[र्ण]नराधिप-
म्⁴ ॥[२१॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमेनःसुमनोवकीर्ण[सं]शामरज्जुमुचि भूमिभू[तां] पुरस्तात् ।
वीरस्य वीरचरितं ननुते कव(व)न्मैलक्ष्मीहृदग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य⁵ ॥ [२२॥*] दर्पकदु-
[र्वा]तरयेण नुन्नो गजाद्वि-
- 13 -- ७⁶[वि]दीर्णसन्धिः । अन्त[र्य]दीयस्य व(व)लाम्बु(म्बु)राशे[र्म]मज्ज पूर्वावनिराज-
पोतः⁷ ॥[२३॥*] ना[हं] नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसति[र्न] त्यक्तपूर्वस्थितिर्वस्याख्यातुमितीव
चेदिनृपतेदिक्कक्रमाक्रमतः । प्रान्तश्चान्त⁸वरुथिनीकरिकरास्फालावहेलोल्लसत्फलोलावलिवा(वा)-
हुदण्डमुदधिश्च-
- 14 [नन्द सान्द्रस्वनैः ॥*]⁹ [२४॥*] हृदग्रहान्दोलितकुन्तलश्री[वि]खण्डधमनाक्षरपल्लवा च ।
आभ्रान्तकाञ्चीविषयेण येन दिग्दक्षिणा संवु(वु)भुजे प्रकामम्¹⁰ ॥[२५॥*] आशाजये समद-
सिन्धुरगन्धरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकरा[ः] ककु[भां] करीन्द्राः । पूत्कारमार्तमिव खेचरनायकस्य
च[कुः] कपोल-
- 15 [मधुपध्वनिभिर्नि]राशा[ः]¹¹ ॥ [२६॥*] यस्मिन्समासीदति गूजर्जरी[णां] गण्डस्थले
साञ्जनवा(वा)प्लेशाः । आलादवैधव्यविधानवर्णाः पर्यन्तभाजां स्खलिता इवासन्¹² ॥
[२७॥*] हरिभिरनधिग[म्यं] यत्सटालीजटालै[र्य]दप[रिमि]तल[ङ्गं] बारणैर्द्वाक्षं यत् ।
विपिनमिव यदीयो दावव[ल्लिस्तदुच्चं]रदह-
- 16 ७७७---कमेक[ः] प्रताप[ः]¹³ ॥[२८॥*] भूर्जत्वचः सङ्कलितेभदानपाद्योमधीव[र्णं]-
विशेषभाजः । हिमाचले येन वशीकृतानां भुजिष्यपत्राण्यभवन्मृपा[णां](णाम्)¹⁴ ॥[२९॥*]
नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना द्राम्न(म्न)ह्यचारित्र[तं] सा[र्द्धं] व(व)न्धुतया गृहस्थपद[वीं]
कारागृह[स्यापनात्] । वानप्रस्थपदं
- 17 [वनाश्रयवशाद्भूषाच्च*] भिक्षो[ः] स्थि[ति] येनैवं चतुराश्रमैकगुक्ता स्पष्टीकृता शत्रुषु¹⁵ ॥
[३०॥*] यस्याधिपन्नजवाञ्छिताधिकफलप्राप्त्यै निशम्यात्मभूः प्राक्प्रत्यग्धरणीधरास्तरवरस्कार-

¹ In the Goharwa plates this verse occurs after नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसतिः (v. 24 below), and therefore describes Karpa.

² The Goharwa plates have कुप्तासीत्- which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to change to कल्पत आसीत्-. Here the *aksbaras* are clear except that the horizontal stroke in the square of the superscript *sb* has been obliterated.

³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁴ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ The missing *aksbaras* were probably कूटेषु.

⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁸ The Goharwa plates have आन्त.

⁹ Metre: *Sārdhālavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹¹ In the Goharwa plates this verse is placed after यस्मिन्मुक्तप्रदश्च *etc.*, (verse 16 above) and is therefore intended to describe Kōkalladēva (II). Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹² Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdhālavikrīḍita*.

- स्फुरद्बोधनाः । एतन्निमित्तमाः। पुरा तद्विनिर्गतं च(व)ह्मण्यम[स्मिन्कथं संमात्यन्ति] य-
थान्ति¹ [ये]—
- 18 [विनय]ते[रित्ताम]को[भूजि]रं(रह) ॥ [३१॥*] [किं] तस्य क[र्ण]नूपत(ते)ब्बं(ब्बं)त व-
र्णसामो वस्य द्विजातिजनसासनतन्मपट्टे² । ज्ञकीर्णमाननिवि(वि)ज्जकरचकमालवाचालितेब्बं
(ब्बं)विरभाचमिदाम विस्वम्³ ॥[३२॥*] मावदूचक कन्धो [रि]पुतिमिरमिदा [श]र
पुरोस्ति वाच[धाव]—⁴ [रिचकक]प्रवहन बहु]नो मा[व]—
- 19 —-०—- । —-— यावद्वि(वि)र्ण[स]द्विपदमस्कन्व यावन्मह[त्वा]स्तावत्त्रायस्व धात्री-
मिति पदमवनि व(व)ह्मणामाधि[वा] यः⁵ ॥[३३॥*] ॐ ॥ उत्साहवन्तिप्रभुसक्तिमा[जा]
प्रवर्धेनावाविलमन्मश[क्तेः] । द्विजातिरे[वा] पृथि[वीपदी]नाममात्यधर्मस्य व(व)भूव
हेतुः⁷ ॥[३४॥*] रा—
- 20 —०—- [विमलविनेत्रात्पवित्र]जन्मा किल काचराक्षः । बोधो त्रिलोकीतिककायमा[ना] पु[रं]
कुलाब्धमकरोन्मुनीन्द्रः ॥[३५॥*] तमादरावात्मवि[वा] वरिष्ठमाराधयामास तुरीयजन्मा [।*]
स्व[ः]सिन्धुकुले किल विश्वव[न्द्ये] ०—०—-००—०—- ॥[३६॥*] —०—००
- 21 ०—००— [अयस्य कृत्वा] भविष्यति दिवस्पतिमन्त्रिकल्पः । यो भूमिदेवपदपान्मु⁸पवित्र[मी]लि-
[स्तं] स्वातपुण्यवरितं सुतमानुहीति⁹ ॥ [३७॥*] संख्यामतीत्य काय[स्व]स्ताव यस्माद्गुणो-
[त्क]रः । अतः[ः] काय[स्व] इत्या[स्वा] जाति[मात्मानि]— ० ०¹⁰ ॥[३८॥*] ०—० — ००—
०—-कुले ०—-प्रथि—
- 22 त ०—- । [म]जीवनत्पुत्रमनन्तकी[र्ति] कायस्ववंशः प्रसार तस्मात्¹¹ ॥[३९॥*] तस्यान्वये
नयविद्यः सुविद्यः कुतज्ञाः सत्यवताः सुकृतिनी गुणिनः कमेण । प्राप्नु[र्व]र्(र्वं)भुवुरसमाधिर[भी]-
तसत्त्वदत्ताभयाः कमल ०—२—०—-¹² ॥[४०॥*] —०—०००—००—कुलेस्मिन्नेक
- 23 ०—[कर¹³ इति प्रथितो] व(व)भूव । [सर्वेषु] दुग्धजलरा[शि]समुद्भवे[षु] रत्नेषु कौस्तुभ
इवानुपमप्रभावाः ॥[४१॥*] पुरः पुरो विशदभुगान्विशेषतः सिसृक्षतः[ः] पुरुषवरा[निहान्व]ये ।
चकार यः [प्रथितगुणान्पु] ¹⁴ ०—०—०—००००—०—०—¹⁵ ॥[४२॥*].....
- 24 —[त्रिभुवनस्य] । भीवत्स[भूव]य इव धीलक्ष्मणराजवेवस्य¹⁶ ॥ [४३॥*] [नत्वा] सूतक-
वीन्द्रा[र्जा] वन्दमिन्द्रपति [सदा?] । समास्कन्दति अत्कीर्तिः कार्त्तिकी [च]द्र[च]द्रि
[का]काय¹⁷ ॥[४४॥*] [कमल?] कितकया जनामुरा[ने] कृतमू[ल?]—¹⁸ । मा—०—-

¹ Read वसांसि.

² Read तावपट्टे.

³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴ The missing *aksharas* may have been ह्मण्य—.

⁵ This *akshara* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre: *Sragdhara*.

⁷ Metre of verses 34-36: *Upajitī*.

⁸ Read पृथु.

⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ The missing *aksharas* may have been —यावद्वि. Metre: *Anushtubb*.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajitī*.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹³ The name lost here may have been त्रिभाकर.

¹⁴ Restore पुरस्तराम्.

¹⁵ Metre: *Rachitā*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Anushtubb*.

¹⁸ Perhaps कृतमूलकम्.

- 16 Read -नाम्नि.**

TRANSLATION

[Om! Adoration to Siva.]

(Verse 1) May the beauty of the digit of the moon, which, rising straight as it were on the orient mount, namely the high coil of the twisted hair of Siva, overspread with the dark colour of his throat, is reddened by the mass of the rays of jewels (*in the hoods*) of serpents which coil (*themselves*) like a turban (*round his head*). . . . remove your ignorance for long!

(V. 2) Glorious is the coil of Sambhu's matted hair, which,—being overspread with the flames of the wild fire (*issuing*) from his (*third*) eye (*fanned*) by that fierce wind, (*and*) surrounded by serpents...hissing and moving inside the Mandara (*mountain*), (*namely*), the mass of hair....,—appears akin to (Mēru) the golden mountain!

(V. 3) [May] the body (*of Siva*), one half of which is covered over with serpents, (*while*) the other half has a gracefully shining eye!

(For a translation of v. 4, see that of v. 2, above, p. 259.)

(V. 5) May the sweet words of poets, full of the nectar of sentiments, which are the resort of virtues, roll in the throats of learned men and their far-spread fame in (*their*) ears!

(For a translation of vv. 6-18, see that of vv. 3-11, 15, 13, 16 and 17 on pp. 259-61.)

(V. 19) When the regions round the ocean became full of mud through the blood of the arrays of elephants of (*hostile*) kings killed by hosts of his soldiers, the lions, proud as they had become by the destruction of infuriated elephants, crouched, as if through shame, in the clefts of caves in the interior of the defiles of the snow-mountain.

(For a translation of vv. 20-22, see that of vv. 26, 19 and 27 on pp. 261-2.)

(V. 23) In the ocean of his forces there was submerged the ship, (*namely*) the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, its joints being rent by (*dashing against*) the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants.

(For a translation of v. 24, see that of v. 25 on p. 261.)

(V. 25) Over-running the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed (*as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure, and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing*).¹

(For a translation of v. 26, see that of v. 14 on p. 260.)

(V. 27) When he approached, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood, and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from (*their*) foreheads.²

(V. 28) His unique valour consumed [the hostile army]³ which was inaccessible on account of horses with twisted manes, which contained an unlimited number of swords (*and*) appeared dreadful through elephants, even as wild fire consumes a forest which is impenetrable on account of lions with twisted manes, which contains an unlimited number of rhinoceroses and is dreadful through elephants.

¹ There is a play on the words *Kāñchī*, *Kuntala*, *nithara* and *pallava*, in consequence of which the verse conveys a double meaning.

² This foreboded the destruction of their husbands in the impending war with Karpa.

³ The word denoting this is lost in the original, but there can be no doubt about the intended meaning.

(V. 29) In the Himālayas the birch-barks, with beautiful letters (*written on them*) with the ink of the collected rutting juice of elephants, were (*used as*) documents of homage by the kings whom he had subdued.

(For a translation of vv. 30-32, see that of vv. 28-30, above, p. 262.)

(V. 33) 'As long as the moon, O moon on the earth! endures, destroying the foes of darkness, as long as the sun, O brave one! exists, as long as fire, O consumer of the hostile army! continues, as long as the ocean . . . lasts, as long as Indra, O Indra's equal in strength!¹ exists—even so long may you protect the earth!'—Of such blessings of Brāhmaṇas did he become an object!

* * *

(V. 34) In order to augment the entire power of counsel of the lords of the earth who are possessed of the power of personal energy and the power of lordship, this caste of the twice-born became the cause of (*the performance of*) ministerial duty.

(V. 35) (*There was*) verily (*a person*) of holy birth, named Kāchāra, (*born*) from the blameless three-eyed (Śiva)—who, the best one among sages, made the city of Kulāñchā an ornament of the three worlds.

(V. 36) Him (*who was*) the foremost among the knowers of the self, a man born of the fourth (*caste*) propitiated on the bank of the heavenly river (*which is*) venerable to the (*whole*) world

(V. 37) 'Mayst thou obtain a son of well-known and pious deeds, who, having his head sanctified by the dust of the feet of earthly gods (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas) will become almost like (Bṛihaspati) the councillor of the lord of heaven!'²

(V. 38) 'Since thou hast in thy body (*kāya*) an innumerable assemblage of merits, so thy self shall attain the caste known as Kēyastha.'

(V. 39) begot³ a son of infinite fame, from whom spread the race of the Kāyasthas.

(V. 40) In his family there were born, in course of time, matchless, wise, grateful, truthful, meritorious (*and*) virtuous diplomats, who afforded security from fear to creatures who had long been terrified.

(V. 41) In this family there was one of matchless prowess who became famous by the name of [Prabhā]kara⁴ even as there was the Kaustubha among all the jewels produced from the milk-ocean.

(V. 42) He made famous the merits of the best men in this family, who were desirous of producing especially more and more spotless qualities

(V. 43) Like (Vishṇu) who has the ornament of Śrīvatsa, he was venerable to the illustrious Lakshmanarājadēva of the three worlds.

(V. 44) Having always bowed to the lord Indra (?) adorable to the foremost bards and poets, his glory assails the light of the moon in (*the month of*) Kārttika.

(V. 45) tender shoots of lotuses which struck roots in the affections of the people

(V. 46) From him, the honoured Sōmēśvara, who devoted himself to the welfare of the people, had his noble birth

¹ *Lit.*, one whose shoulders are like those of the lord of gods.

² This and the following verse are apparently addressed by the sage to the man of the fourth caste (*turīya-janman*) who was serving him.

³ The subject is evidently the same man of the fourth caste.

⁴ Only the last two *akṣaras* of this name are now legible, see above, p. 271, n. 13.

- (V. 47) through the strength of intellect (*and*) the might of arms
the lotuses of the foremost learned people
- (V. 48) the king
- (V. 49) and of kings; who with (*his*) hosts of meritorious men became a friend of the headmen of villages.
- (V. 50) From him was born who was as if unknown
(*and*) who, as a minister, was a personification of piety.
- (V. 51) having resorted to the staff-like arm of him of uninterrupted fame as from the deadly poison.
- (V. 52) drank completely the blood from the necks of prosperous foes
- (V. 53) of (Siva) who has on (*his*) crest the moon resembling an elephant's temple.
- (V. 54) [the temple which appears white] as if through the embraces freely given by the Beauty of the crystal mountain since it is not inferior (to it), (*and*) as if through the laughter of Siva who rejoiced to get such an (*excellent*) abode
- (V. 55) As long as (*the necklace*) Vaijayanti looks beautiful on the neck (of Vishnu) [and the Gaṅgā flows] from the high mass of brownish twisted hair (of Siva) [so long may this temple endure]
- (V. 56) The wise one caused to be constructed a monastery by expending gold . . .
- (V. 57)
- (V. 58) Having caused this habitation of (Siva), the enemy of Smara, to be constructed, he himself composed this great *prastuti* by the great favour of the high-souled
- (V. 59) of Trivikrama
- This [*prastuti*] is of . . . , a servant of great poets.
- In the very auspicious year 800, Khara by name.

No. 32; PLATE XLII

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 810

THE fragments of the stone which bore this inscription were found in the trench to the north of the Jain enclosure, west of Dhamēkh,¹ 'the Hospital', at Sarnāth, four miles to the north of Banaras. The impressions of the fragments were sent to Dr. Kielhorn, who conjecturally supplied the missing words in l. 6 referring to the date, and calculated it. The text and translation of the record were published, without a lithograph, in the account of the excavations at Sarnāth by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Sten Konow.² The fragments are now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription is edited here from excellent impressions which I owe to the kindness of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the Curator of the Museum.

There are, in all, six inscribed fragments. The record, when complete, must have occupied a space measuring 1' 9" in breadth and about 1' in height. Several letters on the right side of each line and a few more in the middle of the last five lines have been lost, as all the fragments of the original stone have not been recovered.³

¹ *Dhamēkh* is a corrupt form of Sanskrit *Dharmākhya* 'pondering over the Law'.

² *A. R. A. S. I.*, (1906-07), pp. 100 ff.

³ The previous editors also mention six fragments, but in their transcript they have omitted the *stanzas* on one of them. Compare ll. 1-5 in the two transcripts.

The record consists of fourteen lines. The average size of the letters is .7". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. They resemble, in a general way, those of the other inscriptions of the Kalachuri king Karna. As regards individual letters we may notice that *ṇ* is written without a dot see *-saṅghasya*, 1.7, *-gaṇ-ālanikṣit-*, 1.11; *ṭh* has no vertical or even a horizontal line at the top, see *pāṭha-*, 1.12; the upper loop of *ṭh* is closed in *-Manōratha-*, 1.8; the left limb of *dh* is seen fully developed in two cases, see *Dhamśva[raḥ*]*, 1.9 and *vādhakamī* 1.13, but in others the old form is met with; the letters *r* and *g* are not clearly distinguished, see *-pār-aika-gantāḥ*, 1.2; so also *m* and *a* or *ā*; see *-mahā-*, 1.7; and *Asvina*, 1.6; finally, the medial diphthongs are indicated by fully drawn *prishṭhamātrās*.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit. Notice, for instance, the wrong forms *gupa-rāsi* for *guṇa-rāṣiḥ* and *pār-aika-gantāḥ* for *pār-aika-gantā*, both in 1.2, *Mahājānāmujāina* for *Mahājā(yā)nāmujā(yā)ṇi*, 1.10 and the incorrect *sandhi* in *-bhāto pitribhiḥ*, 1.14. Except for the opening verse in praise of the Buddha and the usual imprecation at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of *ṛi* for *ri* in *Triga(ka)[līṅgā*]*, 1.4, the repetition of a consonant after *r* as in *-sarva-āndhakā-rah*, 1.1, the substitution of *j* for *y* in *Mahājānāmujāina* and, *bhārjā*, both in 1.10 and the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b*, see *-Vuddha-*, 1.11, *-nivandhamā-*, 1.12 etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Karna, of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is mentioned here with the same titles as in the Goharwa plates, and is said to have meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva who is also named with Imperial titles. The object of the inscription is to record that a female devout worshipper named Māmakā who was a follower of the Mahāyāna and the wife of Dhamśvara¹ (Dharmśvara) who also was a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñā* to be written and made some donation to the Order of Venerable Monks dwelling in the monastery called *Srī-sad-dharma-chakra-pravartana-Mahābōdhi-Mahāvihāra*, for the recitation of the book. Two monks who were evidently heads of the institution are named in the present record. One of them was Manōrathagupta. The name of the other, which is partially lost, ended in *pāṭṭika*.

The inscription is dated on Sunday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright half of Āśvina in the year [8]10.² No era is specified, but there can be little doubt that the date is in the Kalachuri era. It is quite regular; for, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the *current*³ Kalachuri year 810 ended 13 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the corresponding Christian date being the 4th October, 1038 A.C. This is one of the few Kalachuri dates in current years.

As pointed out by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Konow, the *Saddharmachakrapravartana-Mahābōdhi-Mahāvihāra* was the Great Monastery at Sarnāth which was erected at the place where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

¹ See below, p. 278, n.1.

² The first figure of the year is lost, but that it could not have been anything but 8 is shown by the known dates of Karna, which range from K. 793 to K. 812.

³ The date would be in the expired year according to Kielhorn's view that the Kalachuri year was *Āśvinādi*. The dates of Nos. 63 and 94 however clearly show that the year began in some month later than Āśvina. I have given elsewhere reasons which make it probable that it began on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धिः² [1*] जयत् स(स्व)गतमा[सा] [ध्व*]³स्तसर्वान्विकारः[.] । ००० ०००---०
---५--- [1*]
2 निष्पन्नगुणरासी ज्ञे⁴[अ*]पारैक्यन्ताः भुवन[म?] ००---०---०--- [11१11*]⁵
3 परममष्टाक्षरमहासाक्षा[धि]राजवरनेस्व(स्व)रत्नी(धी)वाम[देवपादानुभ्यातपरममष्टा*]-
4 रक्तमहारा[जा]धिराजप[र]मेस्व(स्व)रपरममाहेस्व(स्व)रत्तु(त्रि)ग(क) [लिगाधिपतिनिजभुजो*] -
5 पार्जितास्व(स्व)पतिगजपति[न*]रपतिराजमयाधिपति⁶ली(श्री)मत्क[र्ण]⁷[देवप्रवर्धमानकल्या*]-⁸
6 भविजयराज्ये सम्ब[त्सरे*]⁹ [८*]१०॥ [अ]स्तिन [सु] दि¹⁰१५ रवी ॥ अ[द्येह श्रीसद्वर्ग*]-
7 चक्रप्रवर्त्तनमहाबो(बो)[धि*]महाविहारे¹¹ [आ]र्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य स्व[धिर....*]-
8 वातुकमनोरमधु[पत*]¹² आसी(शी)वा(र्षा)[दि*][प]द(दं) समादापितौ [1*] महाजा(या)-
[भामुजा(या)वी*]
9 परमोपासकः धमेस्व[र*]¹³ दमनेम(न) [संज(य)]मेन रागादिम[ल]प्रक्या(क्षा)[लनपर*]
10 तस्य आर्जा(र्षा) महाजा(या)ना[नु]जा(या)इन (यिनी) पर[मो][पा*]सिका मा[मका]
या जने[कगुण*]-
11 गणाल[ङ्क]त्सरीरा¹⁴ तया लिखापिवा¹⁵र्ध[मि]क्षुद्वयाय द*][त्ता?] सर्व्ववु(वु)द्वज[न][पूजार्थ*]-
12 मष्टस(सा)हसिकाप्रज्ञा [1*] पाठनिब(बे)न्वना[र्षे]....[द*]त्त(त्त) आचन्द्रार्क[मे][दि*]-
13 नी¹⁶ यावत् आर्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य समर्पितः [1*] ५५५५५---०, ५५५ वा(ना)धकं ०¹⁷
14 ० [1*] स पि(वि)ष्टायां कुमिन्(र्भू)तो(तः) पि[तु]भिः सह प[च्यते] ॥२॥*¹⁸

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May [the Buddha], who has dispelled all darkness by his splendour, who has a multitude of matchless virtues, (and) who alone has thoroughly understood (all) knowable (things).... of the world, become victorious !

¹ From inked estampages kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator, Lucknow Museum.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The starred *aksaras* in rectangular brackets are supplied conjecturally and in some cases with the help of other Kalachuri records.

⁴ Read -गुणराशिर्ध्वपारैक्यन्ता.

⁵ Metre: *Māhāt.*

⁶ Read -मयाधिपत्यः.

⁷ Only the *ripha* of this *aksara* is lost.

⁸ Marshall and Konow supply देवकल्या-, but the spacing shows that eight or nine *aksaras* have been lost.

⁹ Read -संवत्सरे.

¹⁰ Read आश्विन शु दि.

¹¹ Read महाविहार आर्य्य-. In some places below also, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

¹² Read -गुप्तावासीवाय-.

¹³ Marshall and Konow read जनेस्वरः, but the second letter is clearly जे.

¹⁴ Read -गणालङ्कृतशरीरा.

¹⁵ Read लेखिता-.

¹⁶ Read आनन्दाकमेदिनि omitting यावत् or चन्द्रार्कमेदिनीर्वावत् omitting वा.

¹⁷ Marshall and Konow read करे after this, but I fail to see the *aksaras* in the estampages supplied to me. The usual first half of this verse is ह्यवर्त्ता परवर्त्ता वा यो हरेत् बहुचराम् । It seems to be different here.

¹⁸ Metre: *Anushtubh.*

(Line 3) During the [increasingly victorious and beneficent] reign of the [*Paramabhāṭṭāraka*], *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Karṇadēva*, [the lord of *Trikaṭiṅga*, who by his own arm] has acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, [who meditates on the feet of] the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* the illustrious *Vāmadēva*; in the year [8]10, on Sunday, the fifteenth (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of *Āśvina*, today here in the Great Monastery (called) the famous *Saddharmachakrapravartana-Mahābōdhi*, the monks ...*pāṭṭika* and *Manōrathagupta* of the Order of Venerable Monks were caused to give their blessings.

(L. 8) (*There is*) *Dhamēśvara*,¹ a devout worshipper and follower of the *Mahāyāna*, who is intent on washing off the stains of passions and so forth, by the control of sense-organs and self-restraint. His wife *Māmakā*, a devout worshipper and follower of the *Mahāyāna*, whose self is adorned with a multitude of several [virtues], has caused (*a copy of*) the *Ashṭasāhasrikā-prajñā* to be written, (*and*) [has made it over] to the Order of Venerable Monks. She has donated.....(*and*) [has made it over] to the Order of Venerable Monks for the worship of all Buddhas (*and*) for the recitation (*of the aforementioned*) *Ashṭasāhasrikā-prajñā* for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure.

(L. 13) [He who will cause] obstruction [in the enjoyment of the gift] will become a worm in excrement (*and*) will rot (*there*) together with his ancestors.

NO. 53; PLATE XLIII A

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 812

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. R.D. Banerji, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who found it in the Secretary's office in Rewa town.² It is not known where it was first discovered. Mr. Banerji first gave an account of its contents in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, p. 53, and subsequently published its text with a translation, but without a facsimile, in his *Haḥayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*,³ pp. 130 ff. The inscription is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a smooth plain slab of sand-stone, the left half of which is missing.⁴ There are in all twenty-three lines. The lost portion must have contained twenty-three or twenty-four *akṣharas* in each of the lines 1-21. Even in the extant portion, some letters here and there, especially on the left side, have been damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some of the letters contain a wedge or an inverted triangle at the top as in the Makundpur stone inscription of *Gāṅgēyadēva*.⁵ The *mātrās* on the letters in the first line have ornamental additions. The letters are not well-formed, the record being, on the whole, carelessly written. As regards

¹ This is how the name is written in the text. It may correspond to Sanskrit *Dharmēśvara*. Marshall and Konow read *Dhanēśvara* evidently taking the *akṣhara* which clearly appears like *m* to be a mistake for *n*.

² P. R. A. S. W. I. for 1920-21, p. 53.

³ M. A. S. I., No. 23.

⁴ *Loc cit.*

⁵ Above, No. 47.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 810



individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of initial *i* used in *iti*, 1.16 and *isānā*, 1.14; # without dot in *lingam*, 1.13; the tailless left member of *kh* in *vikhyātā*, 1.19; and # without a loop which is met with in several places. The letters *ṇ*, *bh* and *r* occur each in two forms; compare *ṇ* in *-varāṇam*-, 1.4 and *karmmaṇi*, 1.17; *bh* in *bhavāt*-, 1.17 and *bhaktiyā*, 1.18 and *r* in *Vapullīvara*, 1.16 and *-vyavaharāṇyā*, 1.20.

The language is Sanskrit. The first nineteen lines are in verse and the remaining four in prose. The *prāśasti*, as the composition is called in verse 18, has been carelessly composed. Notice, for instance, the curious mixture of *Indravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā* metres in verse 24. The name *Vappulla*, required by the metres of verses 5 and 8, is written as *Vapulla*. Verse 4 contains a clumsy metaphor describing Karṇa as a lion. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of the consonant after *r*, the substitution of *v* for *b* and of *s* for *ś* as well as the use of *m* for an *anusvāra* before *v* (see *-sammattara*, 1.20).

As nearly half the portion of the *prāśasti* is lost, it is not possible to give a complete account of its contents. As usual, the record opens with a verse invoking the blessings of some deity, probably Śiva.¹ It then refers to a king whose name is lost, but who, we are told, was born from Kōkalla. From him was the illustrious Karṇadēva who is described as an impending universal destruction and as one who had planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of eminent kings. This Karṇa is evidently the well-known Kalachuri Emperor of that name who was a terror to contemporary rulers. The first two princes mentioned in verse 2 were plainly his father Gāṅgēyadēva and grandfather Kōkalla II. Verse 3 introduces Vappulla² who is described as devoted to Karṇa's lotus-like feet. The following verses give his pedigree. From some distinguished person whose name is lost, was born Vijjalarāṇaka.³ His younger brother was Vighraharāja who, it seems, was the father of Vappulla (v. 8). The next two verses (9 and 10) are devoted to the description of the battles fought by Vappulla. Two of these are named in the extant portion viz., the *ghōṣaka-vigraha* or the Battle of Horses (v.9) and the Battle of the Yellow Mountain in which Vappulla, having defeated the forces of Trilōchana, equalled in glory Arjuna, who had overcome the prowess of the three-eyed god Śiva (v.10). We are next told that Vappulla erected a temple of Śiva in the village Kādambārī in which he caused a *linga* under the name of Vappulēśvara to be installed by sages. Another temple dedicated to Śrīvatsa (Viṣṇu) was surrounded by four small shrines of other deities, the name of one of whom, Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, occurs in the preserved portion. The temple had in front of it a large orchard of mango and other trees. The *prāśasti* was composed by Vijhūka⁴, the son of Hṛishikēśa (v. 18).

The scribe seems to have discovered after writing v. 13 that he had omitted two verses. These he added below. The first of them is almost completely broken away; the

¹ No deity is named in the extant portion, but v. 11, which speaks of a temple of Śaṅkara erected by Vappulla, suggests that the inscription was originally put up at it. It, therefore, probably opened with a verse in praise of Śiva.

² Banerji read this name as *Vapullaka*, but in two places (vv. 5 and 8) where it occurs in the extant portion, the metre requires the readings *Vappulla* and *Vappullaka* respectively. The deity named after him was called Vappulēśvara. I have, therefore, taken the name to be *Vappulla*.

³ Banerji at first mentioned this person's name as *Lakshmana*, but that was plainly due to a mislection in 1.7 (*viṣṇu*, *Lakshmana* for *lakshmaṇa*). He has given the correct reading in *H. T. M.*, p. 130.

⁴ Banerji read the name as Virūka. For the form of *ṣh* used here, see *nirjibara* in line 9 of the Kairā plates (K. 380) of Dadda II (above, No. 16). See also the form of the letter in the Chandēlla grants of the age, *I. P.*, Table V, 18, XIV.

second mentions that the wife of some person (perhaps of Vappulla himself) named Nayanāvalī¹ caused an image of Umā-Mahēśvara to be made.

The inscription is dated on Thursday, the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 812 which was the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karṇa.² The tithi and the year of the date are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era and regularly corresponds, for the expired year 812, to Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A.C. The tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on that day. As the expired year 812 is here said to be the ninth regnal year, Karṇa seems to have been crowned in the expired Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.).

This was evidently his second coronation. For, we have already seen from the Banaras plates that his father Gāṅgēyadēva died in the month of Phālguna in the expired Kalachuri year 792. The month of Māgha in Karṇa's first regnal year, therefore, fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793.³ The same month in this ninth regnal year should fall in the expired Kalachuri year 801 and not in 812 as stated in the present record.⁴ Even supposing that the mistake lies in the numerical figures denoting the year, we find that the tithi in the expired Kalachuri year 801 fell on Friday, the 5th January 1050 A.C., and not on Thursday as required. The date would, therefore, appear to be irregular. On the other hand, if we suppose that Karṇa was crowned a second time in the expired Kalachuri year 804, the date would be quite regular as shown above. This second coronation in 1052-53 A.C. must have been celebrated when he was at the height of his power after annexing the Chandēlla and Pratihāra kingdoms.

The present inscription mentions two battles fought by Vappulla. The first of these, called the Battle of Horses, cannot be definitely located. The second was fought with a prince named Trilōchana at the foot of the Yellow Mountain. Mr. Banerji⁵ identified this prince with Trilōchanapāla, a descendant of Bārappa of the Chālukya dynasty who was ruling over Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) in 1051 A.C.⁶ I do not know, however, of any Yellow Mountain in Gujoeat. Two other references to this mountain are known to occur in inscriptions found at Ajayagadh. One of them which is incised on a rock near the Tihawan gate of the fort describes the Chandēlla Kirtivarman as the crest-jewel of kings in the districts of the Yellow Mountain.⁷ The other inscription which is also engraved on a rock near a gate of the same fort mentions the Yellow Mountain as the place of residence of Kirtivarman.⁸ As the mountain was thus situated in Bundelkhand, Trilōchana whose forces Vappulla is said to have defeated may be identified with the prince Trilōchanapāla who belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.⁹ We know

¹ Banerji took *Pravarā* to be her proper name and *Nayanāvalī* as her second name. But *pravara* is only an adjective meaning, 'distinguished' or 'excellent'.

² A similar expression '*śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśa-vyavahāra*' occurs in the Goharwa plates I.41. In the present record in the introduction Karṇa appears to have been described as meditating on the feet of Vāmadēva.

³ Because, as shown also, the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*.

⁴ D.R. Bhandarkar thinks that the ninth year is a mistake for the nineteenth year (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 164, n. 7). But the regnal year is given in words (not figures) where such a mistake is unlikely.

⁵ *H.T.M.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 333.

⁸ *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, p. 92.

⁹ Banerji makes the novel suggestion that Kirtivarman may have gone to Sindh in the train of Karṇa! See *H.T.M.*, p. 24, n. 1.

that the Kalachuris wrested the Doab from the Pratihāras, but we do not know how long Trilōchanapāla continued to rule after 1027 A.C., the date of his Jhūsī plates.¹ If the *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśahpāla who made the grant of a village in the Kausāmba-maṇḍala in 1037, A.C.² belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, Trilōchanapāla could not have been a contemporary of Karṇa. It is not, however, unlikely that Yaśahpāla was a prince of the Pāla dynasty who, taking advantage of the chaotic conditions in the Pratihāra kingdom due to Muhammadan invasions, established himself for a short while in the country round Allahabad. In that case Trilōchanapāla may have continued to rule at Bāri for a few years after 1027, and may have therefore suffered a defeat at the hands of Karṇa's general Vappulla.

The village Kādambārī, where the temple of Śiva was erected, I am unable to identify.³

TEXT⁴

- 1⁵ [1*]-----0-----000000-----0----- [सदाना]शब्दद्वयापि स्ववेद्यं
सु[म]तिषु नृनयोपीकते⁶ नोपवेष्टुं (ष्टुम्) । मैसा (का)त्यज्ञा
- 2 0-----0000000-----0-----0-----,-----0-----तः [स]क[क]सुकृतिना स्वस्तये नस्तदस्तु⁷
॥[१॥*] आलेख्यलसामरान्तरवराकुत्वा व(व)लाख्येव(व)लान् ॥⁸ कारागार-
- 3 0-----0-----00-----0-----0-----[1]-----00----- प्रमेय⁹परितात्कोकलदेवादभूतस्माद्वा-
रिषिवारितामनिपतिः श्रीकर्णदेवोमवत् ॥¹⁰[२॥*] श्री [स]ति-
[स]ति
- 4 0000-0 0-0-----,-----0-00 0-000-0- [सु?]: ॥(1) आसन्नसर्व्व[वि]ल[य]:
सितिभूदराजायत्युज्ज्वलस्तककुतात्मपदप्रतिष्ठः ॥¹¹[३॥*] वस्म(र्म)जेज¹²नक्तः पुराणवरणः
- 5 -----0-----,-----00-0-0000----- [स*]वभासुरः ॥ (1) वेदव्यासमुखः
सुनीतिनयनो होमस्फुरत्केसरो जीया[ह]: कलिकुञ्जरञ्जरकरः श्री(श्री)कर्ण-
- 6 -----¹³[॥४॥*]¹⁴-----000-0-0000-----0-----,-----0-----सता प्रसा(सा)-
सति महीं वेदीव(व)भूदायणी [1*] सत्पादावु(व)जपूजने स्थिरमतिर्बपु(वु)स्लनामा कुती
तपू(तू)र्वाप्रशितानपि त्रिभुवने जित्वा
- 7 0-----0-[॥५॥*]-----000-0-0 00-----0----- बलकम्पा लसितलक्षणः सिति[त]-
ले लखे (खै)कनामाभवत् ॥(1) तस्माद्विज्जलराणकोरियहनप्रोद्गमदावान-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 34 f.

² *J. R. A. S.*, (1927), pp. 693 ff.

³ Banerji's statements (*P. R. A. S. W. C.* 1920-21, p. 53) that line 12 mentions a village named Tarmma which is said to be well-known in the Kādambārī and that the scribe was an inhabitant of the village of Tarmma (l. 18) are clearly due to mislections of *tarmma*[18*] in l. 12 and *tarmma* (for *tasmin*) in l. 18.

⁴ From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

⁵ As the temple where the inscription was put up was dedicated to Śiva, the present record may have opened with श्री नमः शिवाय.

⁶ Read -पीकते.

⁷ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁸ These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

⁹ The sense requires a reading like अप्रमेय-

¹⁰ Metre: *Sārdulavikṛtita*.

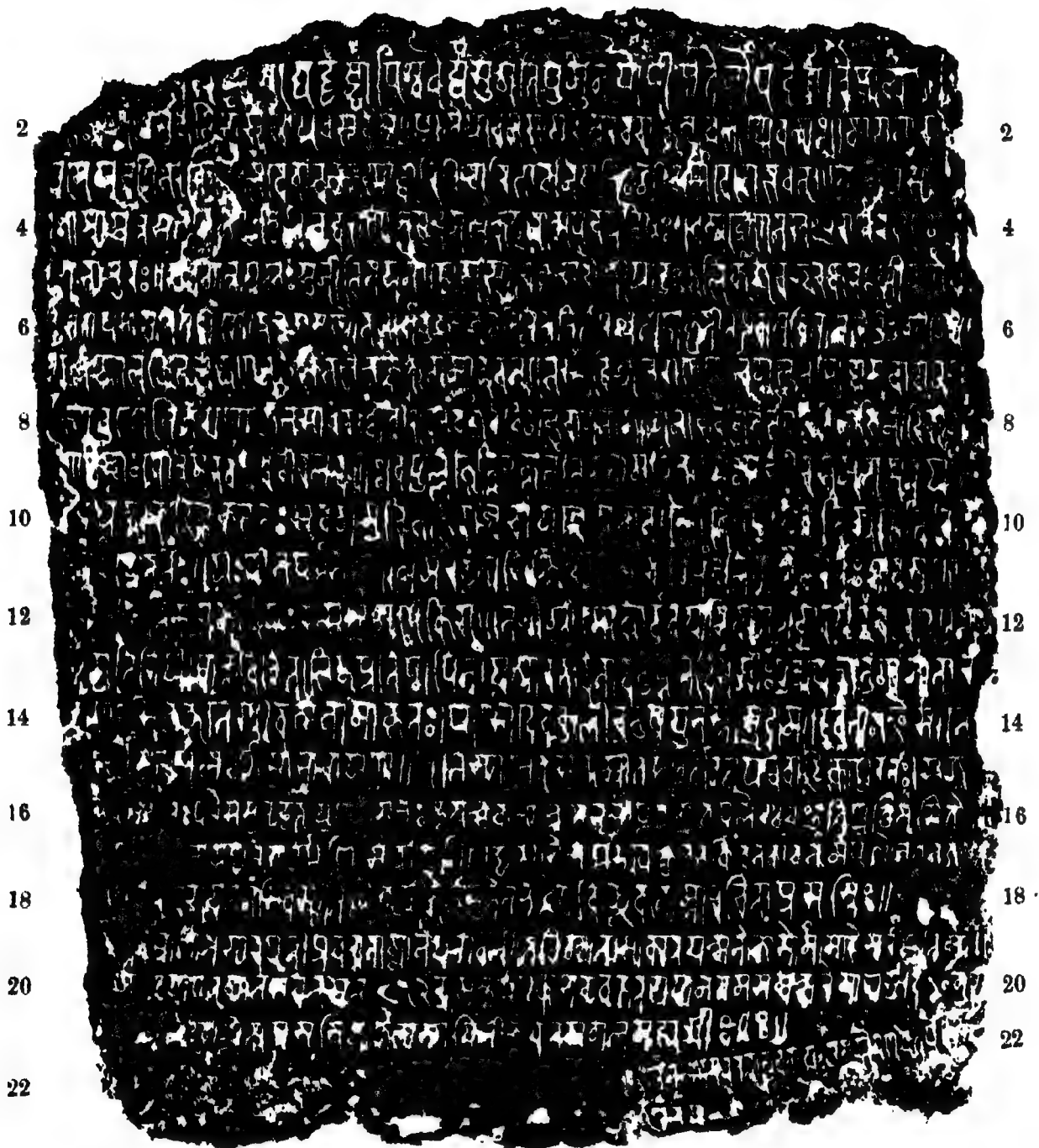
¹¹ Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

¹² Read -जाय-

¹³ These four *akṣaras* may be conjecturally restored as -सिहो नमः.

¹⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Sārdulavikṛtita*.

A.—REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 812



२
 ४
 ६
 ८
 १०
 १२
 १४
 १६
 १८
 २०

- स्य पंचायतनं सि(शि)कस्य । तस्मिन्¹भीकेशसुतेन कस्य विष्णुकनाम्ना रचिता प्रस(श)-
स्तिः ॥² [१८॥*]
- 19 विप्राणां (णाम्)
[॥१९॥*]³ तस्य च पत्नी प्रवरा नाम्ना नवनाभक्रीति विख्याता [१*] साकारयन्मनोज्ञा (ज्ञां)
सोमा माहेश्वरी प्रतिमां (णाम्) ॥⁴ [२०॥*]
- 20 [वाम ?]⁵ [दे]वपादा [नु]ध्यात⁶—
संवत्सत (२) ८१२ श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाश (श) व्यवहारजवा नवमसम्बत्सरे⁷ मावसुधि १० गु[री]
21⁸ लिखापिता⁹ प्रस(श)—
स्तिः ॥ कल्पस्थायिनी अवत(तु) [१*] मंगल¹⁰ महाश्रीः ॥०॥
- 22 ओं नमो भगवते वासु—
देवाय । ओ(ओं) नमो गणपतये ॥¹¹
- 23 ओं नमः [१*]

TRANSLATION

[Ōm ! Adoration to Siva.]

(Verse 1) May that [form of Siva], which, an object of their knowledge, even the sages who know what happens in the three times (*i.e.*, in the past, present and future) are unable to describe, though they have seen it, to (*persons of*) good minds of all virtuous persons, lead to your well-being.

(V. 2) There was (*born*) from Kōkalladēva (II) of incomprehensible actions, [Gāṅgēyadēva] who, having with his might rendered powerless the lords of the earth extending from the snow-mountain to the ocean, [threw them] into prison. From him was (*born*) the illustrious Kārṇadēva, the lord of the earth surrounded by the ocean.

(V. 3) Who [made over] to his friends. . . . ; (*who was*) the impending universal destruction; (*and*) who planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of the foremost among kings.¹²

(V. 4) May the king, [a lion in the form of] the illustrious Kārṇa, be triumphant!—(*he*) whose nails are the knowledge of the sacred law; whose legs are the Purāṇas; who appears dreadful with his mane of. . . . ; whose open mouth is the Vēdas; whose eyes are good policy; whose shining hair is the sacrifice; (*and*) who causes fever to the elephant that is the Kali age.

(V. 5) While (Kārṇa), the foremost (*lit.*, crest-jewel) of the kings of Chēdi, is ruling the earth, the wise (*man*) named Vappulla, who is firmly attached to the worship of his lotus-like feet, having subdued those who had previously attained fame in three worlds,

¹ Read तस्मिन्भीकेश—.

² Metre: *Upajit*.

³ One verse in *Ārya* or *Gīti* is almost completely lost here.

⁴ Metre: *Ārya*.

⁵ The words in the beginning of l. 20 may be conjecturally supplied as श्रीपरममहाराजमहाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वरश्री—.

⁶ This expression should precede श्रीमत्कर्ण—.

⁷ Read —सम्बत्सरे.

⁸ I am unable to suggest any restoration of the *skthas* lost in the beginning of this line.

⁹ Read मेधिता.

¹⁰ Read मंगल.

¹¹ This and the following line are incised in the right-hand corner.

¹² There may be a play on the word *akṣibhrit*. The description in that case would equally apply to the sun at the time of world-destruction.

(V. 6) was born—(he) whose good qualities were marked by the goddess of fortune, (and) whose name alone was noteworthy on the surface of the earth. From him (was born) Vijjalarāpaka, the raging wild fire to the forests which were his enemies.

(V. 7) His younger brother Vigharāja, a warrior, who earned praise by his excellences, was (born) on the earth; the wives of the enemies killed by whom, having remembered.

(V. 8) In battle he became the resting place of the goddess of heroism,—(he) who made his name Vappullaka, given to him by his father equal (in fame) to (those of) the heroes of old.

(V. 9) Having mounted the two mighty. . . and exhibiting deeds worthy of a god. [fought the battle known] as the Battle of Horses.

(V. 10) He, sword in hand, having defeated at the foot of the Yellow Mountain, the army of Trilōchana equalled the glory of Arjuna¹ (who overpowered the might of the three-eyed god Śiva).

(V. 11) Gracing the earth like the moon, he, being stainless with his excellences, as the moon is with her rays, caused a temple of Śaṅkara to be constructed in the village called Kādambārī.

(V. 12) [Where] (this) *linga* was installed by sages according to the rite laid down (in the sacred texts); since the day of whose installation the goddess of fortune has day after day attended the sons and grandsons.

(V. 13) [In the temple]. was installed (the image?) named Śrīvatsa, being surrounded by four small shrines; in them (were installed) the (following) deities in order—on the north-eastern (side). (and) Lakshmi together with Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 14) In front of it (i. e., the temple) [he planted] a garden containing hundreds of mango trees and various (other) kinds of trees. [with a well full of] water.

(V. 15) May Śiva who is known as the holy Vappulēśvara receive (here) abundant worship to the end of the world and be gracious to [Vappulla] together with (the inmates of) his inner apartment, his sons and servants.

(V. 16) together with

(V. 17) By the religious merit [which I may have acquired] by what gold of mine has been spent on this work which is dedicated to Śiva.

(V. 18) [He built] a five-shrined temple of Śiva. In it the son of Hṛishikēśa named Vijhūka has, with devotion, composed this *prafasti*.

(V. 19) of the Brāhmaṇas

(V. 20) His distinguished wife is known by the name of Nayanāvalī. She caused a beautiful image of Mahēśvara together with Umā to be made.

(Line 20) (This) *Prafasti* [was caused to be written] on Thursday, the 10th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha in the year 812 in the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrations Karṇa who meditates on the feet of [the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious] Vāmadēva. May it last to the end of the world! May there be bliss and great prosperity! Ōm! Obeisance to the divine Vāsudēva! Ōm! Obeisance to Gaṇapati. Ōm! Obeisance!

¹ There is a play on the word *Trilōchana* meaning (1) a king of that name and (2) the god Śiva. For Arjuna's fight with Śiva see the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan, adhyāya 167, vv. 9 ff.

No. 54; PLATE XLIII B.

BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA

THIS is a single copper-plate which, together with its ring and seal, was presented by Sir A. W. Franks to the British Museum, London, and is now preserved in that Museum. It seems to have been discovered somewhere in the Uttar Pradesh, but its exact find-spot is not known. It is edited here for the first time from excellent photostat copies kindly supplied by the Director of the Museum.

This is the first of the two copper-plates forming a set, which recorded the grant of some Kalachuri king of Tripuri, probably Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. It measures 1' 5½" broad and 12½" high. It has a ring and a large seal 3½" in diameter. The weight of the plate is 10 lbs. and that of the ring and seal 6 lbs. and 1 oz. The writing on it is in a state of excellent preservation.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It has a hole 1" in diameter at the bottom of the inscribed side for the ring which must have originally held together the two plates of the set. The plate contains twenty-one lines of writing. The average size of the letters is .4". The seal, though it resembles that of the Goharwa plates in the disposition of the figures, symbols and legend on it, was evidently cast from a different mould. The figures of Lakshmi and the elephants are much better executed here than on the seal of the Goharwa plates.¹

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet, and generally resemble those of the Goharwa plates. Some of the individual letters like *ś* and *bh* are, however, shaped as in the Banaras plates; the upper loop of *ś* is slightly open in -*pathagān*-, l. 12 and the sign of *avagraha* occurs once only in l. 13. The record is very carelessly written. The writer has confused *y*, *ś* and *bh*, as well as *ś* and *bh*. In one case he has not even incised an *akshara* completely. See *ś* in -*śrīya*-, l. 14. In a few places the record is so corrupt, that it would have been well-nigh impossible to restore the correct text without the help of the Goharwa plates. But strange as it might appear, the present record has helped in the restoration of verse 9 which though it occurs in both the Goharwa plates and the Rewa stone inscription² is incorrectly written in the former and is partly mutilated in the latter.

The language is Sanskrit and except for the word *siddhiḥ* in the beginning, the extant portion is wholly in verse. There are, in all, twenty-one verses, of which the first twenty are completely written. The record breaks off after the first two *aksharas* of the second half of the twenty-first verse. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the substitution of *v* for *b* and *ś* for *ś*, the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and so forth.

The record, so far as it goes, is identical with the Goharwa plates. The genealogy of the donor is traced from the moon down to Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. On the present plate the inscription ends abruptly in the middle of the description of Karṇa and before the commencement of the formal part of the grant. It is not, therefore, possible to say definitely who actually made the grant. But, as the draft of the eulogistic portion of the Goharwa plates, which is used here, is not known to have been adopted by any successors of Karṇa, the present grant was probably made by Karṇa himself. As the second plate is not forthcoming, all details such as the object, occasion and date of the grant are lost.

¹ Above, No. 50.

² Above, No. 31.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धिः[.]॥ निर्गु(र्गु)णं व्यापकं नि[स्व] सि(स्ति)र्षं परमकारणं(णम्) । ता(भा)वप्र(भा)-
[ह्यं] परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्गुरुस्वणे² नमः(मः) ॥³[१॥*] सु(सु)दे हृदयकोशे बल्लीमिव -
रोव(प)यन्ति यां मुनयः । सो(मो)-
- 2 क्षस(म)हाफलजननी वा(वा)ह्मी सूक्ष्मापि सा ज[य]ति ॥⁴[२॥*] क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेस(य)स-
(सु)धानिधानसा(मा)विर्ब(ब्बं)भूव भवभ(भू)षणमिन्दुरेवः । अस्मा[व]जाव⁵ वृ(वृ)धः स ।
- 3 किल क्षी(क्षि)तीस(क्ष)या(मा)द्यं पुरुषसमाप तनूजस्मस(म्) ॥⁶[३॥*] इति [महति] सुषामयू-
खवन्ते⁷ नृपतिरजायत मो(मौ)क्षिकायमानः । अल[भ]त [म]व(र)तः स व(व)क-
- 4 वत्ती(र्त्ती) त्रिभुवत(न)भूषणभूयमेक एव ॥⁸[४॥*] तत्रोदितोदितकू(कु)ले जगतीपतीनासी-
(मौ)सः(शः) क्रमादजनि हृदयचक्रवत्ता(र्त्ती) । यस(स्य) प्रचण्डमुजप[ठ]ज[र]स(म)-
- 5 ध्यवत्ती(र्त्ती) कारागृहे वृ(वृ)ध इव व(व)समं दसा(शा)स्यः ॥⁹[५॥*] [वै]¹⁰रे(रि)वा-
(द्वा)[न्तमिदः] सहस्रकरतो सु(सू)पालबूढाग(म)पि(णे)र्यस्माद्वमुत्¹¹वा(वा)हुव(व)न्ध-
विधुरो नक्त(क्तं)र(च)रपामी(म)णीः ॥*
- 6 हेलोत्सासितवा(वा)हृदण्डविहितश्रीक(कं)ठसे(क्षे)लोषु(दु)ति[ः]* प्राग्वि(वि)क्रान्तस(म)-
मता(न्य)त स्वयमपि स्वप्नेन्द्रजाला(लो)प[म]*म् ॥¹²[६॥*] स(य)ज्ञान्म(मि)धूमैः
परितोषिवेद्रा¹³-
- 7 [त]स्मादभूवन्व(न्व)[ह]वो नरे(रें)द्राः । राष्ट्रे न येषां चि(चि)रराम यू(यू)ष्टिर्विपक्षनारा(री)-
नयनास्तु(म्बु)वाहैः ॥¹⁴[७॥*] पं(वं)गाल[भ]ङ्ग[नि]पु(पु)पः(णः) परिभू[त]पाण्डयो
लाटेस(श)लुण्टनपटु-
- 8 जिजतगूज(ज्जं)रेन्द्रः । कस्मीरवीरमुकुटार्चित¹⁵पाव(द)पीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदे-
[व]ः ॥¹⁶[८॥*] आस(सी)धन्व(द्धि)जयप्रयाणजनितव्यापामसे¹⁷दो-
- 9 दयात्यूज्ज्वलैर्निकगन्धसिन्धुरसि(सि)रसिदूरपूरारुणः । त्वंगतुंगतरंगताडे(दि)तमहाक्षोणीभू-
दंभोनिधिः पूर्णो वैरिक्ठोरकंठदलमासु-
- 10 किसिन्धुपूरे(रै)रिव¹⁸॥[९॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गा(ङ्गो) निःसे(क्षे)षवाग्नीधरणाय से(क्षे)-

¹ From photostats kindly supplied by the Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London.

² Read -द्वयगुणे.

³ Metre: *Anushpūbb*.

⁴ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁵ Read -जायत.

⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ Read -वसे.

⁸ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ The engraver first incised वै and afterwards changed it to वै.

¹¹ त, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

¹² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹³ Read परितोषितेन्द्रा-

¹⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ Read काश्मीरवीरमुकुटार्चित-

¹⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁷ सि, which was first incised, is altered to से.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- यः । सतः स जनेः जगदेकव[स्व]स्वे(स्वे)रा(वी)प्रचंडो बु(बु)वराजदेवः ॥¹ [१०॥*] यीव-
 11 वे(ने)न सनी यस्य प्रतापे[मा]विमूढं(ढं)शु । कुलाग्रिकु(कु)जेष्वा(ज्वा)रिति(मि)स्त्रिति-
 (मि)स्तु[स्त्रं] पदं वरे(जे) ॥² [११॥*] ब्रूमा[र]मदुक्कु(वकु) तिप्रणयिनीमालम्ब(म्ब)मा-
 नस्तनुं कृष्णा(र्ष्वा)णः समरे-
 12 पि नाकपवणानाग[च्छ]तो वे(वि)द्विषः । ब्रूमावा³ म(भु)मि भूरिमार्गगमनामु⁴चैदंघडाहि-
 ना(नी) यः साक्षात्परम(मे)स्व(स्व)रः समत(म)वत्सम्यक्सि(मि)वा(वा)रावसा(ना)-
 त(तु) ॥⁵ [१२॥*] दि-
 13 व्यद्वस्त⁶निष्ठातयूपविजयः क्मापाकरु(कु)रामणि यस्मा⁷द्वदु(दुमु)तद्विक्रम[ः]* क्रमवसा(शा)त्को-
 कलनामाऽभवता(तु) । अक(के) यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गागना-
 14 संगता(मा)रंमे नं(मं)गल[कु]र्यंकार्यमहित[को]जीपतीनां रसन⁸ ॥ [१३॥*] वासा(शा)-
 जये समर⁹सिधुरगंघरोवाद्यस्योद्यदाय[त]कराः ककु[क](मा) क-
 15 रा(री)द्राः । तु(फू)त्कारमममि¹⁰सेचरतायकस्य ककुः कपे(पो)लमचुपध्वनिभिर्निरासाः(शाः)
 ॥¹¹ [१४॥*] यस्म(स्मि)न्सुखैकप्रसवे प्रजाना(ना) चेतोसिके¹²
 16 वसत¹³म(?)वर्तमाने । तत्वे(स्वे)परस्म(स्मि)सि(मि)व योमसा(मा)जा(जा) नि¹⁴तन्तम-
 स्तप्तससा मूलीच[म्] ॥¹⁵ [१५॥*] मा[क्राम]द्वदं(द्वर्ष) वा(व)हा(हा)व[स]सट्टसातेतं
 यगः¹⁶
 17 वा(म)न्ये यस्य(स्ये)दुनकप्रतापकाकरिता गतम¹⁷ ॥¹⁸ [१६॥*] हा(का)रापंजरकटकीरनुप-
 सेदीराङ्गलक्ष्मीवारे¹⁹स्तस्मात्कुम्भ(न्त)लज(मं)गमंगिर[सि]का(को) मा(मा)-
 18 मेयदेवोमव[तु] ॥ (।) वेनाकारि करीद्रकु(कु)मदलनव्यापारं(र)सारात्मना निज्जे(ज्जि)-
 त्योःकलममि(मि)सीमि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुजः ॥²⁰ [१७॥*] अमुज-
 19 ज्ञेति लोलेति स्यात् यद्विह दुज्जे(ज्ज्यं)सः(शः) । लक्ष्मा(क्ष्मा)स्तधुना धी(धी)र्तं द(दि)[व्य]मादाय
 तद्वपुः ॥²¹ [१८॥*] अति[म]नोरममर्बिजने वनं विस(श)ति मत्र स कल्पत-
 20 [द]स्तवः । रिमु(पु)यसः(सः)कुसु(मु)वाकरता(मा)स्करः सुतमवृत स क[र्ण][व]रा-
 धिप[म्] ॥²² [१९॥*] जाग(जग)न्तद्वृत्तसात(म)न्तप्रतापप्रसराद(दि)व । [वर*]-

¹ Metre: *Upajñi*.

² Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Read विष्वाता.

⁴ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdālanikrīḍita*.

⁵ Read विजयस्त-

⁶ Read ब्रूमामेवेस्मा-

⁷ The curve on the left of the vertical of this *akṣara* has not been incised.

⁸ The Goharwa plates read वृत्तं(वृम्) here. The Rewa stone inscription has the same reading as here.

⁹ The Goharwa plates read समर-

¹⁰ Read -मार्ग-

¹¹ Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

¹² Read तेजोविधौ.

¹³ Read चेतसि.

¹⁴ Read निताप्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्.

¹⁵ Metre: *Upajñi*.

¹⁶ Read -संघट्टकुटितं यथा.

¹⁷ Read -सारावाकारतां वसम्.

¹⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁹ Read -कीरनपतिर्विप्तोक्तलक्ष्मीवरी- as in the Goharwa plates.

²⁰ Metre: *Sārdālanikrīḍita*.

²¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

²² Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

21 ने(नी) रनसे(सी) षड(स्व) सोष्माणा(नी) यस्य रेवतुः ॥¹ [२०११*] [स्फु]र[रु]षा
[वज्रचक्राभ्या]² सङ्गव्याजेन हस्तयोः १. व(व)सा(मा)[र] यः १⁴ सय⁵

(The second plate is not forthcoming.)

Seal

श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः ॥

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of vv. 1-21, see above, pp. 259-61.)

Seal

The illustrious Karnaḍēva.

No. 55; PLATE XLIV

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

THE stone bearing this inscription is fixed upside down into the plinth of a pavilion at Simrā, a village about 10 miles north-west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. It was first referred to by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Jubbulpore District Gazetteer*, p. 185, and subsequently in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.⁶ It is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription which is in a state of good preservation, contains four lines. The writing covers a space measuring 3' 5" broad by 11" high. The average size of the letters is 1.8". The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 11th century A.C. The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is very carelessly written. As regards orthography the vowel *i* is used for *yī* in *vijai*, l. 1, *naya* is written several times for the conjunct *nya*, *ri* for the vowel *ri* in *krīṣṇam*, l. 4, and *l* for *r* in *Lānti* in l. 3.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign⁷ of the *Bhaṭṭāṛakaprabha*, the illustrious Karna, who, judging by the characters and provenance of the present inscription, seems to be identical with the well-known Kalachuri king of that name. The object of the inscription appears to be to record the death of some persons who are said to have gone to the holy world. It is not stated on what occasion they lost their lives.⁸ The record ends with the statement that the commemorative stone was put up by Janāda (Janārdana?).

As stated above, the stone is built upside down into the plinth of a pavilion, which shows that it is not in its original position.

¹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² The letters in the brackets are not clear.

³ Perhaps —लिङ्गव्याजेन is intended. The Goharwa plates have एकव्याजेन which is not quite satisfactory.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ Read यः शिवः. The Goharwa plates complete the verse as—साक्षाद्विजयोपेन्द्रविजयं (जं) विनीं (नीम्) ॥

⁶ First ed., p. 40; second ed. p., 43. Cunningham, who visited Simrā in 1883-84, does not appear to have noticed this inscription.

⁷ Instead of the usual expression *pravarḍhamāna-vijaya-rājyā*, we have here *vijai(य)bhava[ri]*.

⁸ Since the name of Karna is mentioned in the beginning, it may be conjectured that they met with death in some battle of that king.

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

Left Half



Right Half



TEXT¹

- 1 स्वस्त (स्ति) [१] श्रीमदा (द्वा) एकप (३) मलिनीय (त्री) मत् [क] ण्णदेव बीजः भव²
- 2 हेमदोपली गोपी पुनयलोके³ । मलोपा [मा] वा [जः ?] पुनयलोके⁴ ।
- 3 तदपमालोकी⁵ वृ (?) विष्णुना (कः) । [पु] नयलोके⁶ । [क] वेही पुनयलो-
- 4 की⁷ [१] [की] त⁸ जनायेन⁹ ।

TRANSLATION

Hail! During the victorious reign of the *Bhottārūkaprabhā*, the illustrious Karna, Hēmadōpālī Gōpī (*has gone*) to the holy world, Malōnigraja (*has gone*) to the holy world, the Rāt Taipa Suvashthala (*has gone*) to the holy world, (and) Kaidehi (*has gone*) to the holy world. (*This record*) was put up by Janāda (Janārdana?).

No. 36; PLATE XLV

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAKARNA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 823

THESE plates were found enclosed in a large stone chest at Khairhā,¹⁰ a village in Vindhya Pradesh, about eight miles south-west of the Burhar railway station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. They were published, with a lithograph and a translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff. They are edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

They are two copper-plates, each measuring 1' 6.8" in breadth and 1' 1.5" in height. They were held together by a stout ring, passing through a hole about .8" in diameter at the top of each plate. Its ends were not originally soldered. To the ring is attached a bell-shaped seal, on the counter-sunk circular surface of which appears in relief a rudely executed figure of Lakshmi attended by an elephant on either side, pouring water on her head. Below this is the legend *Srīmad-Yasakarpapadāvah* in a single line across the diameter. At the bottom of all is the figure of the couchant Nandi facing proper right, with an incense-pot on either side. The total weight of the plates and the seal is 14 seers and 25 tolas.

The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. There are forty-four lines in all, of which twenty-one are written on the inner side of the first plate, and the remaining twenty-three on that of the second. The average size of the letters is .5". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of the initial *i*—the older one in *Chhitapāṭ*, l. 30 and the later one in *iva*, l. 6, the sign of the rare *ḥi* which appears as a subscript letter in *ḥiṣṭa*, l. 16, and the medial *ṣ* which is added to the left limb of *j* in *jagupāṭ*, l. 8 and to the right side of the vertical of *y* in *nā many=udgamāṇi*, l. 16. The sign of *avagraha* occurs in ll. 11, 15 and 39, and a vertical dash at the end of l. 27. In other respects the characters resemble those of the Goharwa plates of Karna.

¹ From inked stampages.

² This *abhiṣat* is superfluous.

³ Read *गोपीये विष्णुदेवता*.

⁴ Read *पुनयलोके*.

⁵ Perhaps *तदपमालो* was intended.

⁶ Read *वृ*.

⁷ Perhaps *वृ* was intended.

⁸ The place is named Khairā in the Degree Map 64 B.

The language is Sanskrit. The first twenty-two lines contain twenty-four verses composed in the *kāvya* style, eulogising the donor and his ancestors. They are followed by a prose portion (ll.22-31), containing the formal part of the grant and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses (ll.31-44). The record ends with the mention of the writer's name and the customary blessing, *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ*. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noticed:—the palatal *ś* is generally written as the dental *s* (see, e.g., *-rāsi-* and *-sat-ōpabhōgyā-*, both in l.3), while the reverse also occurs in two places, *-bhāśi*, l.19 and *śalīla-*, l.38; the sign for *v* is everywhere employed to denote *b*, see *Vrahmaṇē*, l.1 and *-avdhi-*, l.2; the consonant following *r* is often reduplicated, see *chandr-ārkeka-*, l.14, *svarggē*, l.36; finally, the *anusvara* before the dental *s* is wrongly changed to *n* in *-vansa-*, l.6.

The plates were issued by Yaśaḥkarṇa of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. His pedigree is traced to Viṣṇu. After the mythological and legendary ancestors Brahmā, Atri, the moon, Purūravas, Bharata and Kārtavīrya, the first historical personage mentioned here is Yuvarājadēva, who is identical with the second prince of that name mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karṇa. His son Kōkalla (II) is said to have been placed on the throne by the chief ministers of the realm. Kōkalla's son was Gāṅgēyadēva who became famous as Vikramāditya. In the course of his description we are told that wishing to run away from him the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear.¹ Gāṅgēya died with his hundred wives at the foot of the banyan tree at Prayāga. His son and successor was Karṇadēva who constructed at Banaras a high temple which he named *Karṇamēru*² after himself. He also established a settlement of the Brāhmaṇas called *Karṇavati*. He married a Hūṇa princess named Āvalladēvi. From her he had a son named Yaśaḥkarṇa whom he himself crowned king. Yaśaḥkarṇa routed the Andhra king and worshipped the god Bhīmēśvara near the Gōdāvarī.

The present plates were granted at Banaras³ by Yaśaḥkarṇa who is described in the formal portion exactly like his father Karṇa in the Goharwa plates. They record the royal donation of the village Deulā-Paśchēla situated in the *pattalā* of Dēvagrāma in the *uddēśa* (district?) of Vāsudēva. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Gaṅgādhara, the son of Chhitapaī and grandson of Siā, who belonged to the Kāṇva *gōtra* with three *pravaras*,⁴ and was a student of the Rīgvēda. The grant was made on the occasion of a saṅkrānti on Sunday, the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era. The record was written by Vāchchhūka, the writer of religious documents.

The date of the present grant must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out correctly. The fourteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 823, if we take it to be expired as usual, fell on the 6th March 1072 A.C., when the week-day was Tuesday, not Sunday as required. Besides, the Mīna-saṅkrānti did not fall on that day but had taken place on the 22nd of February of that year, which was a Wednesday. Taking the year as current, we find that the aforementioned *tithi* fell on Wednesday (the 16th February 1071 A.C.), and not on Sunday,

¹ Hiralal took the sentence *yasmād va(ba)bhāra* to mean that Gāṅgēyadēva restored Kuntala to its king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 207). But this interpretation is wrong, see below p. 297, n. 4. The king of Kuntala defeated by Gāṅgēyadēva was probably Jayasinha-Jagadēkamalla, who ruled from about 1015 to 1042 A. C. and was thus a contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva.

² See below, p. 297, n. 5.

³ See the words 'here in Kāśī' in verse 13 of the text.

⁴ Only two of these are named in ll.29-30, *viṣ.*, Āpla(na)va(vā)na and Jāmadagni(goya). The third was probably Aurva. See below, p. 295, n. 6.

while the Mina-saṅkrānti took place five days later on Monday, the 21st February. In 1073 A.C., though it would not suit the epoch of the era (*viz.*, 247-48 A.C.) as finally determined by Dr. Kielhorn, the *tithi* according to Mr. Sewell's calculations¹ fell on Sunday (the 24th February 1073 A.C.), but the Mina-saṅkrānti had taken place three days earlier, on the 21st February. None of these dates would, therefore, suit; but Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first edited the present plates, preferred the last of them on the ground that in that case, the *tithi* at least is found to agree with the week-day. As for the discrepancy of the saṅkrānti, he conjectured that 'the record was possibly dated on the day on which it was actually handed over to the donor, though the grant was made on the auspicious saṅkrānti day'. The statement in the original plates is, however, quite clear. It couples the saṅkrānti with the *tithi* and the week-day. Besides, the date in 1073 A.C. would not, as already remarked, suit Kielhorn's epoch of the Kalachuri era, the reliability of which in regard to the later dates of the era is now beyond question. The mistake, therefore, must lie somewhere else.

The only year in the period from 1060 A.C. to 1100 A.C., in which the Mina-saṅkrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day came close together is 1076 A.C. In that year the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguna ended 17 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 21st February and, therefore, gave its number to that day. The Mina-saṅkrānti also took place 1 h. 25 m. after sunrise on the following day². The year 1076 A.C. would not, however, correspond to the Kalachuri year 823. There appears to be some mistake in the last numeral of the date. The Kalachuri year, if expired, must have been 827. The date of the Christian era, corresponding to the saṅkrānti, is, therefore, Monday, the 22nd February 1076 A.C.

The present grant refers to Yaśahkarṇa's victory over an Andhra king. The latter was probably Vijayāditya VII who ruled from *circa* 1061 to 1076 A.C.³ After vanquishing him, Yaśahkarṇa is said to have worshipped Bhimēśvara with jewellery. From the description given here, this temple of Bhimēśvara seems to have been situated near the Gōdāvarī. There are several temples of Bhimēśvara in the Gōdāvarī District, but from the description given here, the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram *tāluka* seems to be intended. 'The real centre of religious interest at Drākshārām is the temple of Bhimēśvarasvāmī. It contains a particularly big *lingam*, some fourteen or fifteen feet high. This is supposed to be a part of a *lingam*, which broke into five pieces and fell at five holy places, namely at Bhīmavaram or Bhīmarāma in Coçanada, Pālakollu or Kshīrarāma in Krishna, Amaravati or Amaraṁma in the Guñtur District, and Kumārārāma which is not identified. It is supposed to have been erected by the sun and worshipped by the seven sages who made the seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī. The seven sages are supposed to have each brought water from their respective rivers under-ground to the tank at Drākshārāmam which is called the *Sapta-Gōdāvarī*, seven Gōdāvaris. There is a sacred bathing ghat, which confers in a condensed form all the sanctity which is to be obtained by separate baths in each of the seven rivers.... The temple is a rather handsome two-storied building. Its erection is ascribed by popular tradition to an unknown Chōla

¹ According to S.K. Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy*, the *tithi* current at sunrise on Sunday was the *paṇṇimā*.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 206.

³ There is thus a discrepancy of one day. For a somewhat analogous case, see the date of the Basāhi plates of Gōvīndachandradēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 363. The saṅkrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day occurred together on the 22nd February 1103 A.C., but it is very doubtful if Yaśahkarṇa had retained his hold over Banāras at that time, as implied in verse 13 of the present inscription.

⁴ Several inscriptions of the reign of this prince are found at Drākshārāma. See *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, p. 724.

king.¹ The earliest inscription at Drākshārām is that of the time of Rājārāja, dated 1035 A.C. The foregoing account will show that the temple is not on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as intimated in the present inscription; for the river flows about fourteen miles away from it, but the description given here can be understood, as has already been suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, to refer to the tank at Drākshārām, which is popularly believed to contain the seven streams of the Gōdāvarī.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Tripurī has already been shown to be Tewar, a village about 6 miles from Jabalpur. Karpāvatī has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with the deserted village Karānbēl which lies about a mile from Tripurī². The name has 'a double signification, retaining the memory of the founder in the first half and giving the distinguishing mark of the site in the second, there being a jungle of *bēl* trees to supply leaves to the numerous *Śiva lingas* once enshrined there'³. Kuntala has been already shown to be the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. As regards Deulā-Pāñchēla it appears to be a joint place-name. The first part of it is probably represented by Deorī, now a deserted village 10 miles north by west of Khairhā, and the second by Pāchri which lies only two miles to the north of Deorī. Dēvagrāma, the headquarters of the sub-division (*pattalā*) in which the donated village was situated, was identified by R.B. Hiralal with Deogavān close to Khairhā 'where there are a number of very old wells and water-reservoirs together with the remains of old buildings'⁴. The word *Vāsudēv-ōddāśī*, which precedes *Dēvagrāma-pattalāyām* in lines 27-28 of the present grant was taken by R.B. Hiralal to mean 'in honour of Vāsudēva'. From the context, however, it seems to denote a territorial division. Besides Yaśahkarṇa was a devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva), not of Vāsudēva. If the grant was made in honour of any deity it must have been Śiva. I am, therefore, inclined to take *Vāsudēv-ōddāśī* of the text to mean 'in the district of Vāsudēva'. An analogous expression *Vāsudēva-khaṇḍa-vishayē*, which undoubtedly denotes a territorial division, occurs in the Ganjām plates of Raṇabhañjadēva,⁵ edited by R.B. Hiralal himself. There are several places⁶ named after Viṣṇu in the surrounding territory of Vindhya Pradesh.

TEXT 7

- 1 ओं नमो ब्र(ह्म)ह्मणेः⁸ ॥ जयति बलजमा(ना)मस्तस्य नामोत्तरोजं जयति जयति तस्याग्जा-
तवानब्ज(ब्ज)सूतिः । अय जयति स तस्यापत्यममिस्तदक्षयस्त(स्त)दनु जयति जन्म प्रा-
2 प्तवानब्ज(ब्ज)व(ब)न्धुः ॥⁹[१॥*] अय वो(वो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृह्णामातरमब्ज(ब्ज)-
वा(वा)[व]वस्य । तनय(यं) जनयावमूव¹⁰ राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥¹¹[१२॥*] पुत्रं
पुरु(रु)रवस-

¹ The *Godavari District Gazetteer*, pp. 250 ff.

² It may be noted in this connection that *Karpāpura* is also the name of a ridge near Kāritālāi.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 209. The expression 'the crown of the heavenly river' used in describing the settlement in v. 14 seems, however to suggest that the settlement was on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Hall supposed that the epithet, though usually appropriated to the Gaṅgā was here applied to the Narmadā, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 115, n. 4.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 293.

⁶ One place named *Rāmpur*, for instance, lies only about 16 miles north by east of Khairhā.

⁷ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

⁸ This *visarga* is superfluous.

⁹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁰ Read जनयाम्बधुव.

¹¹ Metre: *Aspachchbandasika*.

3. बीरसमाय सुमुर्धे¹कम्पेः अश्वमकरासि (वि) रत्नायनस्य । वासीकन्यस्यवभामा (व्य) स (श) तोप-
मोव्यः कस्योर्ध्वती (वी) च सुफलमभिहोर्ध्व (वे) रा च ॥²[३११*] अश (वा) न्वये
4. किल स (श) ताधिकस्यितने (मे) वयूपोप [स] इयमुनोक्तविबिक्तकीर्तिः । सप्तारिषि (वि) रत्नर-
स (स) ताशरणा (वा) विराजविभवं (कम्) वराह (ह) चरतो भरतो च (व) भूव ॥³[४११*] हेलागृही-
5. [स]⁴ पुनकस्तकस्तस्यो⁵ गोमे वरस्यधिकमस्य स कार्ले (सं) वीर्यः । अश्वेव हेहयनृपान्वयपूर्व-
पुंवि राजेति नाय [स] सलज्जनि चक्षमे यः ॥⁶[१५११*] स हिमाच-
6. स इव स (क) लम्बु (च) रिदन्स⁷ असूत समान्द (मु) तां मर्ता । मुक्तामणिमिरिवामलवृत्तः पूतं
महीपतिभिः ॥⁸[६११*] तत्रान्वये नयवता (तां) प्रवरो न (नु) पेन्त्रः [ः] [पी] रं वरीणि (मि) व
पुरी
7. विपुरा (री) पुनामः ॥ (१) मासीसातन्व⁹ नृपगन्धगज (जा) विराजनिमा (मि) च (वि) केसरियुवा युव-
राजदेवः ॥¹⁰[७११*] सिद्धान्ते नृपतिर्तिष्ठममुष्य सुनुमाकपञ्चदनिमर्तुर [वा] त्यमुष्याः ॥ (१)
8. कोकलमर्णवचमु (तु) ष्टयवीचिरा (स) वस (सं) बहुस्यचतुरंगचमूपचारम् ॥¹¹[८११*] इंदुप्रभा नि-
दति हारगुच्छं कुमुत्सते चवनमाक्षिपन्ती । र (य) च प्रभी दुरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रति-
9. भाति कीर्तिः ॥¹²[९११*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रोक्तवक्त्राः स्मितप्रभो नगरपरिभर्षी (व्यं) लंघयन्दोहं-
येन ॥ (१) शिरसि कुलि [स] (श) पातो वीरिणा वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवत्पत्यं यस्य गाङ्गे-
10. यदेवः ॥¹³[१०११*] स वीरसिंहासनमौलिरत्नं स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्मादकस्माद-
पयानमिच्छ (च्छ) सं कुन्तलः¹⁴ कुन्तलतां च (व) भार ॥¹⁵[११११*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवट्ट (ट) मूलनि-
वेस (स) वन्धो¹⁶
11. सादं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुच भुक्ति (वित्तम्) ॥ (१) पुत्रे (प्रो) ज्यैः सङ्गदलितारिकरीन्द (त्र)-
कुम्भमुक्ताफलेः (लैः) स्व ककुभोर्ध्वसि [क] र्ण्यदेवः ॥¹⁷[१२११*] कनकसि (शि) वारवेल्लद्वय-
न्तीसमीर-
12. ग्लपितगगनलोलम्बे (स्त्रे) चरीचक्रदेवः ॥ (१) किमपरमिह कास्यां (स्यां) यस्य दुग्धाग्नि (वि) -
वीचीवलयव (व) हलकीर्तेः कीर्तनं क [र्ण] ¹⁸मेकः [ः] ॥¹⁹[१३११*] अश्वं चाम श्रेयसो वेद-
विद्याव-
13. त्लीकन्दः स्वः स्रवन्त्याः किरीटं (टम्) ॥²⁰ [१*] व (व) हस्तभो²¹ येन कर्णवितीति प्रत्यष्टापि क्ष्या-
तलत्र (व) ह्वाला (लो) कः ॥²²[१४११*] वा (व) जनि कलवूरीणां स्वामिना तेन हृणान्वयजल-
निधि [ल] क्ष्या (क्ष्या) श्रीमहा-

¹ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

² The engraver first incised ता, but later on cancelled the second vertical stroke.

³ Read -वास्वो.

⁴ Read -वष-

⁵ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁶ Read वासीकन्यस्य-

⁷ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Metre: *Malini*.

¹⁰ Hiralal read -सकुन्तलः.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹² Read -वन्धो.

¹³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁴ The superscript # is not completely incised.

¹⁵ Metre: *Malini*.

¹⁶ Read -स्तभो. Compare व (व) हस्तं व (व) स्थान in La. of the Bargao temple inscription of Sabara (No. 43, above).

¹⁷ Metre: *Śālinī*.

- 14 वण्ण(स्ल)वेण्यां(व्याम्) । वाशमुदयस(श)भूतापकु(कु)म्भ(म्भ)दुग्धाग्नि(ग्नि)वेलाहहचरित-
यशःश्रीः श्रीमद्यः(शः)कर्णदेवः ।¹[11511*] चंद्रार्कदीपवति पञ्चैतराजमूर्णकुंभावभासिमि
महाग्नि(ग्नि)चतुष्कमध्ये [1*]
15 चके(के) पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिप्ल(पू)तकम्मर्मा भर्माग्नि(त्व)मोऽस्य हि पितृव महाभिवेकं(कम्) ।²
[11611*] न सल्लालभगो[प्टी]पवसातस्य पार्थ न सलु कलुवचयिकज्जलाद्गारकारः ।³
16 कलयनि(ति) कलिनामस्युद्गमं यस्त्रियामातमसि जयति जसू(म्भू)दी(दी)परभ(त्त)प्रदीपः ।⁴
[11711*] चिन्तामणिकल्पतयुक्तियुग्मकोडे स्वाद्यदि कामवेगुद्गमं(ग्धम्) । दृश्ये दृशोस्तस्य⁵ दा-
17 नुः(तुः) मो(सा)दृश्यं(स्यं) धवलाकणेशस्य ।⁶ [11811*] यः ककुप्कुञ्जरो(रा)लानस्तसु-
(म्भ)सन्न(न)ह्यचारिणः । कपोपान्तेषु जयस्तं[भा]नुवस्तंभयवुच्चकैः ।⁷[11911*] [यो] न(न)-
ह्यणां पाणिपु(षु) पंचषाणि दा-
18 ता निघते पयसां पृषन्ति [1*] तैरेव तुप्ता(ष्णा)मवधूय ते च रत्नाकरोपि प्रव(ध)यन्त्यव-
जा(क्ताम्) ।⁸[12011*] महीमर्त्ता महादानेस्तैस्तुलापुष्पादिभिः । गरिम्णा मे⁹रत्नार्थं क-
19 तार्थयति योर्धिनः ।¹⁰[12111*] स्वर्मांराजगजदन्तरुचीनि कीरनीरनिधिसं(सं)क्षसु(शु)-
चीनि ॥ (1) सा(शा)ङ्कितल्पफणिकंचुकभाशि¹¹ स्फीततां दधति यस्य य-
20 सां(शां)सि ॥¹²[12211*] अन्ध्राधीशमरन्ध्रदोम्बिलसितं स्वच्छन्द¹³मु[च्छि]न्दता येनाभ्यर्ण्यत
भूरिमिः स भग[वा*]न्मीमेस(स्व)रो भूप(ध)मेः(जेः) । यस्याभ्यर्ण्यगता प्र-
21 नृत्य¹⁴लहरीभूवल्लिगोदावरी ।¹⁵ गायत्युन्मदहंसनादमधुरैः सो(सो)त[ः]स्वरैः सप्तभिः ।¹⁶
[12311*] कुब्जंन्महीं वा(वा)ह्यणसादरिक्तामनिव(व)-

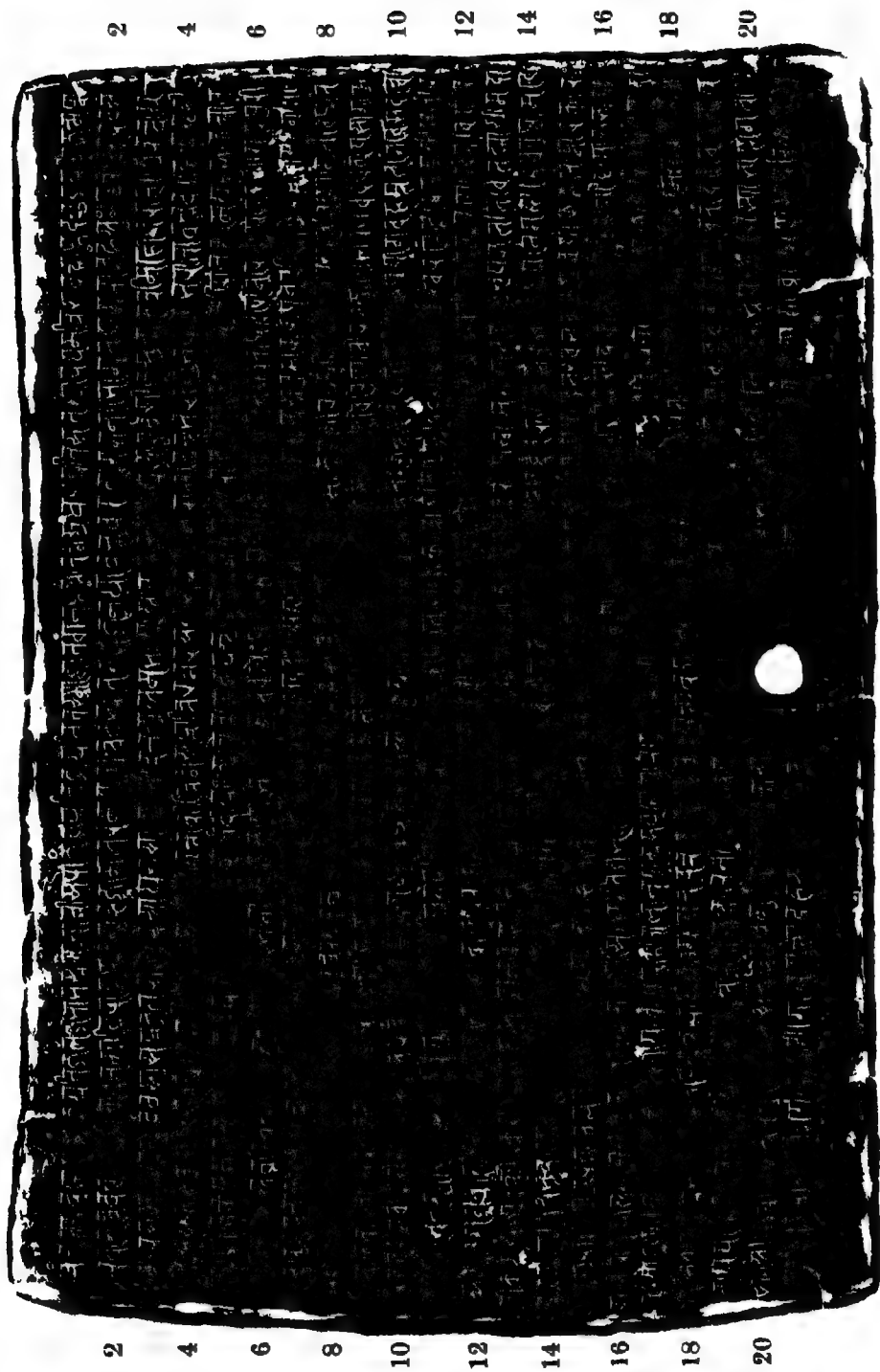
Second Plate

- 22 हृणः । साद्वं परसु(शु)भा(रा)मेण यः स्पर्धमिधिरोहति ।¹⁷ [12411*] स च परममट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममाहेस्व(स्व)रधीवा-
23 मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमक(म)ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममाहेस्व(स्व)रत्रिकलिगा-
धिपतिनिजमु-
24 जोपाज्जितास्व(स्व)पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजप्रयाधिपति(त्वः) श्रीमद्यसः(शः)कर्णदेवः ॥¹⁸
योग(म)हादेवी । महाराजपुत्रः

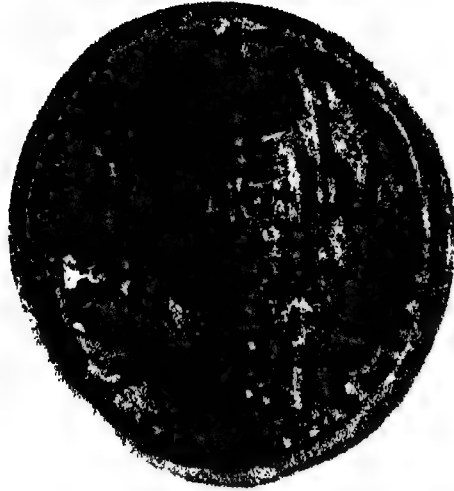
¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.³ Read -कज्जलोद्गारकारः.⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.⁵ Read दृश्येत दृशोस्तादास्य.⁶ Metre: *Bhadravirāj*.⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.⁸ Metre: *Indravajrā*.⁹ The engraver first incised मेः, but afterwards altered it to मे.¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.¹¹ Read -भासि.¹² Metre: *Svāgatā*.¹³ Read अन्ध्राधीशमरन्ध्रदोम्बिलसितं स्वच्छन्द-.¹⁴ This *akṣhara* is quite clear in the impressions.¹⁵ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.¹⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikīṭṭā*.¹⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.¹⁸ These and the following *daṇḍas* in ll. 24-26 are superfluous.

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAHKARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 823

First Plate



Seal



Seal
OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA



(From photographs).

Second Plate

22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44

22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44

22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44

SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

- ¹ Read महाभारतम्.

² Read महाभाष्यकारिकः.

^a This and the following *desplas* in ll. 18 and 19 are superfluous.

⁴ The *risorg* which was at first incised after *re* has been struck out.

Read काव्यसंगोपाय.

* Though the text refers to three *pravaras*, only two are actually mentioned here. Generally the *pravaras* which include the names of ज्ञानवान् and जामदग्न्य are five and are given in the following order:— वार्गव, ऋक्, ज्ञानवान्, ऋषिर् and जामदग्न्य. When only three *pravaras* are mentioned, they are generally वार्गव, ऋषिर् and जामदग्न्य or वार्गव, ऋक् and ज्ञानवान्. The donor of the present grant had perhaps the *pravaras*, ज्ञानवान्, ऋषिर् and जामदग्न्य. Read therefore ज्ञानवानीर्जामदग्न्यविराजः. *Kāṣa* is not, however, mentioned in the list of *gātras* under *Jāmadagnya*.

* Read सम्मनितान्मादिनः. The following ~~apple~~ is superfluous.

Metric: Saint.

* Metre of this and the following seven verses: *Asuabab.*

10 Read मायलसूर्यकुजा नोकाकताव-

- 39 कनीयं (यम्) ¹[13411*] प्रजाहितस्वंः स्विस्तवः प्रणीता धर्मेण विद्वान् (न्) प्रतिपालयेत् (त्) ।
यो लोभमोहाद्वस्ते दुरात्मा सोऽन्धो ब्रजेद् (द्) मतिबाधु (द्) कष्टा (ष्टाम्) [13511*]²
- 40 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रादनानि धर्मार्थवशात्कराणि [1*] निष्कालिष्य (वा) नित्यमितानि तानि
को नाम साधुः पुनरावधीत ³[13611*] भूमि यः प्रति—
- 41 गृह्णा (ह्ना)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणि नियतं स्वर्गगामिनी ⁴
[13711*] सं (वा) खो भद्र (द्रा) सनं च्छत्रं ⁵ करास्वा (स्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चि—
- 42 ह्णानि फलमेतत्पुनरदर ⁶ [13811*] अस्मिन्वंसे (से) परिकीये यः कश्चिन् (न्) पतिर्भवेत् (त्) ॥
(1) तस्याहं हस्तलग्नोस्मि सा (शा) सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [13911*] वाताग्र—
- 43 विभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तुणाग्रसमवि (वि) न्दुसमा
नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो
- 44 परलोकयाने ⁷[14011*] धर्मलेखिणीवाचक्येन लिखितमिति ⁸ ॥ मंगलं महाश्री [1*] ॥⁹

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Glorious is the lotus-navelled (*god*), glorious is the lotus which sprang from his navel and glorious is the (*god*) *Brahmā* born from (*that*) lotus! Glorious again is his offspring *Atri*, and glorious is the friend of the ocean¹⁰ who had his birth from his (*i.e.*, *Atri's*) eye.

(V. 2) Now the king,¹¹ who is the swan in the expanse of heaven, begat *Bōdhana* (*i.e.*, *Budha*), the son of (*that*) primeval king, (*who became*) a son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.¹²

(V. 3) The son of the god (moon), who is the elixir of the seven oceans, obtained as a legitimate son *Purūravas*, who had here as his faithful wife *Urvaśī* to be enjoyed (*only*) by hundreds of matchless blessings, and also the earth.

(V. 4) In this family verily was born *Bharata*, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the *Yamunā*, hemmed in by the posts of more than a hundred horse-sacrifices (*performed by him*); who was devoted to securing the well-being of the earth made beautiful by the jewelled girdle by the seven oceans.

(V. 5) Exceedingly glorious in his family is that *Kārtavīrya* who wielded with ease all weapons, superfluous (*though they were in his case*), and who allowed the title of king only to the Moon,¹³ the progenitor of the family of these *Haihaya* princes.

(V. 6) As the *Himālaya*, the lord of mountains, produces a bamboo, which is

¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

² Metre: *Upajāti*.

³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁴ Metre of this and of the following two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Read छत्रं.

⁶ The Sarkhō plates (No. 83, below) read कलं स्वर्गः पुनरदर.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Read लिखितमिति.

⁹ There is a sign here, indicating the completion of the record.

¹⁰ *I. e.*, the moon.

¹¹ *I. e.*, the moon, the lord of stars.

¹² *I. e.*, the sun.

¹³ For the idea, compare verse 16 of the *Deopata* inscription of *Viṣṇusena*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

sendered bright by stainless and round pearls,¹ so did that lord of princes beget the Kalachuri family, which is purified by kings of spotless conduct.

(V. 7) In that family was a king, the foremost among those (who are) eminent for political wisdom, who purified Tripuri as Indra does his city,—Yurvarājadēva (II), who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by arrogance as a young lion kills the leading scent-elephants infuriated by rut.

(V. 8) The chief ministers of the lord of the earth placed on the throne his son Kōkalla (II), a lion-like prince, the advance of whose four-membered army was checked (only) by (its) encountering the multitude of waves of the four oceans.

(V. 9) That lord having gone far away,² his fame appears like a woman separated from her husband; (far) throwing away the white sandal paste, she derides moon-light and detests pearl necklaces.³

(V. 10) His offspring was Gāṅgēyadēva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of (his) enemies, the lord of the fortune of heroes, whose chest was broad like an emerald tablet, and who, having smiling eyes, surpassed with both his arms the length of a city-bolt.

(V. 11) He (was) the crest-jewel of heroic princes; he (became) famous by the title of Vikramāditya; wishing suddenly to run away from whom (the lord of) Kuntala ceased to wield his spear.⁴

(V. 12) When, fond of residing at the foot of the (holy) banyan tree at Prayāga, he attained salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karpadēva worshipped the quarters with (the offerings of) the pearls from the frontal globes of the best of enemies' elephants cleft by his sword.

(V. 13) What more (need we say about him) than that here at Kāśī the (temple) Karṇamēru⁵ proclaims his great fame, which is like the circle of waves of the milk-ocean—

¹There is a play on the word *vyitha* meaning (1) round and (2) conduct.

²I.e., having gone to the other world.

³The intended sense is that the fame of the king was brighter than all these. A woman separated from her husband abstains from all decoration and suffers pangs of love in moon-light.

⁴Hiralaḥ translated the second half of this verse as follows: 'Wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again.' In a note added to this, he remarked, 'The meaning of the second line of the verse is very obscure. The writer evidently plays on the word *kuntala* and has brought about what is called *vīrādabāhāsa* when he says *akuntalaḥ kuntalātātā bhāhāsa*, i.e., a hairless person bore hairiness (an apparent contradiction). The eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāṅgēyadēva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to the king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair (a second pun on the word *akuntala*)', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 215, n. 2. This interpretation was followed by R. D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripuri etc.*, p. 16, but it is incorrect. The mistake lies in the *pada-śeṭṭhā* of the last quarter of the verse. We have to take the words as *na Kuntalaḥ (not a-kuntalaḥ) kuntalātātā sa(he)bhāsa*. There is evidently a pun on the word *kuntala* here. The first word *kuntalaḥ* means the king of the Kuntala country. *Kuntalātā* has to be explained in two ways (1) *Kuntalarya bhāhāsa kuntalātā* 'the position of the king of the Kuntala country' and (2) *kuntam ātīti itī kuntalaḥ; sa(he) bhāhāsa kuntalātā*, 'the state of one who wields a spear'. As regards the second explanation, see the derivation of *kuntala* given by Mammata in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* (ed. by Zalkikar, 1921), p. 42.

The second half of the verse apparently means 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, Kuntala ceased to be Kuntala. This involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the figure being *Vīrādabāhāsa*; for the words really mean 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear', i.e., he gave up fighting with Gāṅgēyadēva and fled away. The verse is, therefore, intended to record a defeat of the king of Kuntala by Gāṅgēyadēva.

⁵*Mēru* denotes a particular kind of temple, viz., hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows and four entrances; *Śrīmatasāhitya*, I, 20. According to the *Samarāṅghasāhitya*, it has sixteen stories and four spires. For other details, see *Samarāṅghasāhitya*, ch. 11, vv. 1-15, and ch. 63, vv. 4 and 5.

(the temple which is so high that) it lessens the fatigue of multitudes of celestial damsels playing in the sky, with the breezes of the flags waving from its golden spires.

(V. 14) He established a settlement of Brāhmaṇas¹ called Karpāvatī, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeper of Vedic scholarship, the crown of the heavenly river² (and) the world of Brahmā on the surface of the earth.

(V. 15) That lord of Kalachuris begot on the illustrious Āvalladēvī, the goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hūpa family, the illustrious Yaśaḥkarpadēva, the splendour of whose fame is the companion of the waves of the milk-ocean, that surges up mistaking it for the rise of the moon.³

(V. 16) Of this pious prince the father, whose actions were pure, being guided by his family priest, performed himself the great coronation ceremony in the quadrangle (surrounded) by the great oceans, which had the sun and the moon as lamps and which was rendered resplendent by the lord of mountains⁴ as by a full jar.

(V. 17) Glorious is he, who, like a jewel-lamp of the Jambūdvīpa⁵ shines in the Kali age, as (the jewel-lamp shines) in the darkness of the night; who is not influenced by partiality for the assemblies of wicked men, as a jewel-lamp is not filled by the wings of night-moths,⁶ and who does not display evil conduct as a jewel-lamp does not give out lamp-black.

(V. 18) If the milk of the cow of plenty were put in two shells made of the wish-fulfilling gem, then there would be seen a likeness with the white and red eyes of this liberal king.

(V. 19) He set up high pillars of victory near the confines of the earth, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are tied.

(V. 20) (This) liberal (king) pours five or six drops of water on the hands of Brāhmaṇas. Even with these, they satisfy their desire for wealth, and afterwards show their contempt for (the ocean which is) the mine of jewels.⁷

(V. 21) Occupying a high position like Mēru, (this) ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies the suppliants by his great gifts such as the tulā-puruṣa.⁸

(V. 22) Bright as the tusks of the elephants of the lord of heaven, white like the conches of the milky ocean, and (resplendent) like the slough of the serpent which forms the couch of Viṣṇu, his fame has attained abundance.

(V. 23) Extirpating with ease the lord of Andhra, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he worshipped with (the offerings of) many ornaments the holy Bhīmēśvara, near whom the Gōḍāvarī, with her dancing eye-brows of waves, sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams⁹ sweet with the cries of the intoxicated swans.

¹ Kielhorn and following him, Hiratal translate *Vra(Bra)hma-stambhā* by 'the pillar of piety'. But the correct expression is *Brāhma-stambhā* which means 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas', see above, No. 43, line 2.

² This seems to suggest that the settlement was situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā.

³ For fame is white like moon-beams.

⁴ I.e., Himālaya. What the poet intends to convey is that Yaśaḥkarṇa was crowned Emperor of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans.

⁵ *Jambūdvīpa* is the central division of the world, including India, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 6, n. 44.

⁶ There is a play on the word *pakṣa-pāta* meaning (1) partiality and (2) the fall of wings.

⁷ The intended sense is that the king's gifts are more precious than the treasure inside the ocean.

⁸ *Tulā-puruṣa* means the gift of some precious metal like gold equal to a man's weight. For this and other *mahādānas* see Hāmādrī's *Chaturvargabhināṣanī*, *Dharmabodha* (Banaras ed.) Vol. I, pp. 177 ff.

⁹ The seven mouths of the Gōḍāvarī, by which it is traditionally supposed to have reached the sea, are sacred to the seven sages. They are the Kāśyapa or the Tulyā, the Atri or the Coringā, the Gautamī,

(V. 21) Extirpating the hostile Kshatriyas and bestowing the earth on Brāhmanas, he is (as it were) vying with Parāsurama.

(Line 22) And he, the Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramīśvara, the illustrious Yasaḥkarnadeva,—the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the lord of Trikaṭhaga, who has attained by his arm sovereignty over three kings, (viz.), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramīśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva,—having called together the illustrious Mahādēvi, the Mahārājaputra, the Mahāmantri, the Mahāmātya, the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahāpurohita, the Mahāprathāra, the Mahākshapatalika, the Mahāpramātri, the Mahāsvasādhānika, the Mahābhāṇḍāgarika, (and) the Mahādhyaksha—these and other (officials) and (also) the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted, duly honours, informs and commands them (as follows):—

‘Be it known to you that on (the occasion of) the saṅkrānti, on Sunday, the fourteenth (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823, we have given as a grant for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, this village, Deulā-Pañchola, situated in the pattaḥ of Dēvagrāma in the udāśa (district?) of Vāsudēva, to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and madhūka trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with (the right of) egress and ingress, together with mines of salt, together with pasture-lands, together with arid and marshy lands, together with the groves of trees, the gardens of plants, grass and so forth,—to the Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādharaśarma, the son of Chhīṭapaḥ and grandson of Sīl, who belongs to the Kāṇva gōtra and the Bahvricha (Rigveda) śākhā and has the three pravaraś Apnavāna, (Aurva) and Jāmadagnya’.

In this matter (this) is the prayer of the donor—

(Here follow sixteen benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(This charter) has been written by the illustrious Vāchchhika, the writer of religious documents.

May there be bliss and great prosperity!

No. 57; PLATE XLVI

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA

THIS copper-plate belongs to a set of two plates, the exact provenance of which is not known.¹ Both the plates were, after discovery, deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur, together with an incorrect transcript made by a Pandit of Sihōrā² in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The second plate of the set was subsequently lost. The first plate and the old transcript of the second are still preserved in the Museum. The

the Bhāradvāja, the Viśvāmitra or Kauśikī, the Jāmadagni and the Vasishṭhī. The Bhāradvāja, Viśvāmitra and Jāmadagni no longer exist, but pilgrims bathe in the sea at the spots where they are supposed to have been. See the *Gadchiroli District Gazetteer*, p. 6.

¹ Like Kielhorn I have called it the Jabalpur plate, following Sir A. Cunningham (*A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 87). As it records the grant of a village in the Jāl pattaḥ it must have been found somewhere in the Jabalpur District. Hissel states that it was originally discovered by a Tahsildar of Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā tehsil of the Jabalpur District. See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second ed., p. 25.

² Loc. cit.

contents of the plates were first noticed by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 87 ff., but his account, based as it was on the aforementioned transcript, was very incorrect.¹ The first plate was then edited, with a translation but without a lithograph, by Dr. Kielhorn from rubbings and impressions supplied to him. It seems that the plate was not properly cleaned before its impressions and rubbings were taken for Dr. Kielhorn, who could not, in consequence, read with certainty several *akṣaras* of it. At my request Mr. M.A. Suboor of the Nagpur Museum has kindly cleaned the plate which now yields fairly good impressions. The inscription is edited here from the original plate and its ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. Natanajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The plate is substantial, weighing 4 seers and 3½ tolas. It is the first plate of its set and is inscribed on one side only. It measures 1' 6½" in breadth and 1' ¼" in height and is about .2" in thickness. Its rims are raised for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the inscribed side, there is a hole, .7" in diameter, for the ring which must have held the plates together, but both the ring and the seal which must have been soldered to it are lost. The plate is in a state of good preservation, only two or three letters being slightly damaged by rust.

The characters are Nāgarī and closely resemble those of the Khairhā plates, the writer being probably the same as shown below. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the initial *i* is represented by the later sign throughout, see e.g., *iva*, l. 5, *Indu*, l. 7 etc.; the left limb of *kh* is devoid of a tail in some plates see e.g., *-khūlat*-, l. 11 and *khalu*, l. 15, but contrast that in *khadga*-, l. 10; *gh* also appears in two forms, see *-saṃgha-saṃghaṭṭa* in l. 7 and *-parigha*- in l. 8. The sign of *avagraha* is used in ll. 10 and 14.

The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of *ōṃ namō Vrahmaṇē* in the beginning and a few initial words of the formal part at the end, the whole of the extant portion is metrically composed. All the verses, which number twenty-four, occur in the Khairhā plates. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in those plates. Besides, *j* is used for *y* once only in *-trijāmā*-, l. 15.

As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. It contains the entire eulogistic portion which is identical with that of the Khairhā grant, but it breaks off just after the formal portion begins. As the genealogy in the eulogistic portion stops with Yaśaḥkarna, it is plain that the grant was made by him. From the Nagpur Museum transcript of the second plate, which, though inaccurate in some places, may be used with caution in the absence of the original plate, it seems that the object of the inscription was to record the grant, by Yaśaḥkarna, of the village Karañjā situated on the bank of the Narmadā in the Jāulī pattalā² on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti on Monday, the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 529. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Hariśarman, the son of Bhaṭṭa Śrī-Nāgō and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Śrī-Bhavanāma(ga?) of the Vājasaneyā Sākhā with the three pravara Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhruva. The scribe was probably the illustrious Vāchchhūka, who wrote³ the Khairhā plates.

¹ See the mistakes pointed out by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 1, n. 2.

² The transcript reads *Jāulī-pattana-pāṭiṇ-Karañjā-grāmaḥ* and so Hiralal has stated that the plates record a grant of a village named Pāṭiṇkar in the Jāulipattan; (see his *Inscriptions etc.*, p. 25), but the correct reading is probably *Jāulī-pattal-antapāṭi-Karañjāgrāmaḥ*. For *pattalā* meaning a territorial sub-division, see l. 28 of the Khairhā plates.

³ The transcript has *Dharmalīkhi-śrī-Vākyakala-likhitam=iti* which is obviously a mistake for *Dharmalīkhi-śrī-Vāchchhūka-likhitam=iti*. See line 44 of the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56).

The numerals of the year, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, are quite unreliable; because Yasahkarna for whom we have the date 823¹ (or rather 827 as shown before), could not have flourished in the year 329 of the same era. But the specification of the saṅkrānti, month, fortnight and week-day may be correct. Taking it to be so, Dr. Kielhorn found by calculation that during the sixty years preceding 1151 A.C.,² the only year in which the Makara-saṅkrānti fell on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Māgha was 1122 A.C. For, in that year, the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pārimāṇa* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise; and in the same year, the Makara-saṅkrānti took place 25 m. before mean sunrise or, for religious purposes on, the same Monday.³ Dr. Kielhorn, therefore, took Monday, the 25th December 1122 A.C., corresponding, with his epoch of the Kalachuri era, to Māgha *sa. śi.* 10 of the Kalachuri year 874 as the true date of the grant.

In his article on the Khairhā plates, R. B. Hiralal objected to the aforementioned date on the ground that it gives an unusually long reign to Yasahkarna; for, the Khairhā plates show that Yasahkarna had defeated the king of Andhra, and crushed the power of several of his enemies before it was written. It is, therefore, likely that he had been in occupation of the throne for at least 4 or 5 years prior to this, and if we suppose that he lived for about the same period after he made the Jabalpur grant his reign would extend to about 60 years and his age to about 80 years, supposing his installation to have taken place at the age of 20.⁴ Rai Bahadur Hiralal, therefore, relied on the numerical date of the Nagpur Museum transcript which he read as 829 and remarked that the details worked out for Monday, the 31st December 1078 A.C., for the expired Kalachuri year 829. The Makara-saṅkrānti had, however, taken place a week earlier. R.B. Hiralal seems to have supposed that as in the case of the Khairhā grant, the saṅkrānti, on which the grant was made, is wrongly coupled with the day on which the record was actually handed over to the donee.

My personal examination of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the lost plate shows that the numerals of the year as written there are 329 and not 829 as stated by R.B. Hiralal. Even if we suppose that 329 is a mistake for 829, the expired year would be expected to correspond, according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., to 1077-78 A.C. and not 1078-1079 A.C. Now, in 1077-78 A.C., Māgha *sa. śi.* 10 fell on Thursday (the 10th January 1078 A.C.) and not on Monday as required. The Makara-saṅkrānti had taken place 17 days earlier. So the date would not be regular even if we read the numerals as 829. As for R.B. Hiralal's argument that if Dr. Kielhorn's date is accepted, it would give an unusually long reign to Yasahkarna, it may be noted, as has already been pointed out by Mr. R.D. Banerji⁵, that Yasahkarna must have reigned for a long time; because, even if we accept the date of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the Jabalpur plates of this prince as read by R.B. Hiralal as correct, there is a gap of 73 years between this date 829 and the only known date of his son and successor Gayākarna, K. 902. It comes to 75 years if we calculate from the date of the Khairhā plates (*viz.*, 827 as determined before). As conjectured by R.B. Hiralal, Yasahkarna may have come to the throne about 5 years earlier, *i.e.*, about 822,

¹ Above, No. 36, L. 7.

² This is the date of the Tower inscription of Yasahkarna's son and successor Gayākarnadēva (No. 38, below) which, as Dr. Kielhorn has remarked, must have been put up towards the end of his reign.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 207.

⁵ *H. T. M.*, p. 23.

and Gayākarna may have continued to rule till K. 905.¹ So the reigns of the two cover a long period of 83 years. It is not unlikely that Yaśahkarna had a longer reign than his son, say, of 50 or 55 years. In that case, the date of the Jabalpur plates as fixed by Dr. Kielhorn would not appear altogether impossible.

But Dr. Kielhorn's date (1122 A.C.) appears to be doubtful on other grounds. From verse 13 of the Jabalpur plate the inscription seems to have been drafted at Banaras. We find that only five months before, the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandradēva issued his Kamauli plate² from Banaras on the 21st July 1122 A.C. Two years later we find him again at Banaras, issuing his Banaras plates³ on the 14th August 1124 A.C. Is it likely that Yaśahkarna ousted Gōvindachandradēva from Banaras some time after July 1122 A.C. and still refrained from mentioning the glorious achievement in the plates issued only a few days after, as he has mentioned his defeat of the Andhra king? The eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plate is almost an exact copy of that of the Khairhā plates. It would be strange, indeed, if Yaśahkarna had nothing to record to his credit during the interval of nearly 50 years,—not even his successful invasion of Banaras!

In the absence of a thoroughly reliable transcript of the second plate, it is not, of course, possible to date the Jabalpur inscription definitely. As in the case of numerals, there may be a mistake, due to mislection, in the specification of the month, day or fortnight in the Nagpur Museum transcript. Of these, a mistake in the specification of the week-day is more possible than any other. Owing to the close resemblance between the letters *s* and *bb* of that period it is not unlikely that the writer of the transcript, who was none too accurate in his decipherment, read *Sōmī* (on Monday) for *Bhaumī* (on Tuesday).⁴ Now, we find that in 1084 A.C., Māgha *va. di.* 10 commenced 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 24th December). The Makara-saṅkrānti had taken place earlier on the same day, 2 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But as the auspicious time (*parva-kāla*) of the Makara-saṅkrānti extends to as many as 40 *ghaṭikās*⁵ it is not unlikely that Yaśahkarna made the grant on account of the saṅkrānti in the evening of that day, when the 10th *tithi* was current. Tuesday, the 24th December 1084 A. C., corresponding to the expired Kalachuri year 836, may, therefore, be the date of the Jabalpur inscription. It may be noted, in this connection, that the eulogistic part of the present grant closely agrees with that of the Khairhā plates and the writer of both was probably the same.⁶ This shows that the Jabalpur plates must have been issued within a few years of the Khairhā plates and before Yaśahkarna had lost Banaras to the Gāhaḍavālas some time before A.C. 1090.⁶

¹ The Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of his widow Alhaṇadēvi (No. 60) is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri era.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVI, Part I, pp. 114 ff.

⁴ He has confused *s* and *bb* in another place also. See *Atra vāḍarīth-ārthanā* in the transcript given below for *atr=atr=abhyarīthanā*.

⁵ Cf. मकरसङ्क्रान्ती हेमाद्रिमते परलक्ष्यत्वारिकाद् षटिकाः पुष्पकालः । 'विश्वकर्कटके नाह्यो मकरे तु दशाधिकाः ।' इति ब्रह्मवैवर्तात् । *Nirṇayasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgara Press), p. 160.

⁶ The Chandravati (Banaras District, U.P.) plates of Chandradēva, which record the earliest grant of the Gāhaḍavālas found in the Banaras District are dated in V. 1148 (*i. e.*, 1090 A. C.).

TEXT¹

- 1 तिदिः² [1*] नो नवी व(व) ह्यने ॥ जयति जलवनामस्तस्य नाजीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्मा-
ज्जातवानम्ब(म्ब)सुतिः ॥ (1) जय जयति स तस्यापत्यमभिस्तद्वन्मस्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-
2 नमिबन्धुः³ ॥ [11*] जय वी(वी) वनवाधिराजपुत्रं गृह्णातात्तमम्ब(म्ब)वा(वा) न्ववस्य ।
तस्य जयवाध(व)पुत्र राधा वननाभोगतडावराजहृतः ॥ [21*] पुत्रं पुरुरवसमौरसमाप सु-
3 नुवेस्य सप्तवत्सराति(ति)रत्तयस्य । आसीदन्मसमवाप्यवत्तोपयोग्या वस्योर्वसी(शी) च
सुवत्समिहोर्वरा च ॥ [31*] वनात्तवै किल कताधिकसप्तियैवपुपोपद्वयमुनो-
4 क्तमिविवत्कीर्तिः ॥ (1) सप्तान्मि(म्ब)रत्नरत्त(व)नाभर[वा]मिरामविस्व(स्व)भर(रा)-
सु(सु)वस्यो वस्यो व(व)पुत्र ॥ [41*] हेमानुहीतपुनवत्सस्यस्तस(स)स्यो गोत्रे जयत्यधिक-
वस्य स कार्तवीर्यः ॥ (1) व-
5 जैव हेह्यनृपान्वयपुर्जपुति रावेति नाम [स]सलकमभि चक्षमे वः ॥ [51*] स हिमाचल इव
कलपुरिषेव(व)महूत कनाकुतां वतां [1*] मुक्तामिनिरिवामलमुतः पूतं महीप-
6 तिदिः ॥ [61*] तन्नाम्बे जयवतां प्रवसे नरेन्द्रः वीर्यदीपिब वुरीं विपुरीं पुनानः ॥ (1)
आसीदन्मसमपुनमन्मसवधिराज⁴ निर्मा⁵ केसरिमुवा सुवराजदेवः ॥ [71*] सिंहासने नृप-
7 तिदिः⁶ मुमुक्षुः सुमुतास्त्वपन्नविन्दु⁷ स्वात्तमुत्सः ॥ (1) कोकस्त्वर्गवचतुष्टयवीचिसंघसंघट्टद्वय-
तुरङ्गममृप्रचारं(रम्) ॥ [81*] इन्मुप्रजां निवति हारमुच्छं मुमुप्सते
8 नंदवमाधिपती [1*] वन प्रजां वृक्षारं प्रवासे विमोमिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्तिः ॥ [91*] मरकत-
मणिपट्टप्रौढवक्त्राः स्मितालो नवरपरिचरैर्वा⁸ (व्यं) क⁹ (स्)वयन्नेर्द्वयेन [1*] [ति]रसि
9 कृत्स्न(व)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरवधवत्सं नस्य गाङ्गेवदेवः ॥ [101*] स वीरसिंहा-
सनवीलिरत्नं स निजमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ॥ (1) वस्मावकस्मादपयान-¹⁰
10 मिच्छस कृत्स्नः कृत्स्न(स्)कृता व(व)भार¹¹ ॥ [111*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेश(व)-
व(व)म्भी साईं तलेन गृहिणीनिरमुच मुक्ति(सितम्) । पुत्रोऽस्य शङ्खदलितारि¹² करीन्द्रकुम्भ-
मुक्ताफलैः
11 स्य ककुमोर्वन्ति कर्णदेवः ॥ [121*] कनकसि(धि)करवेत्तलैजवत्सीसमीरगलपितगगनखेल-
त्सेवरीचक्रसेवः ॥ (1) किमपरमिह कात्वां(व्यां) वस्य दुग्धान्मि(म्ब)वीचीवलयव(व)-

¹ From the original plate and its ink impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read -नमिबन्धुः.⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.⁵ Metre: *Aspadeśhbandarika*.⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Vasantatilakā*.⁷ Metre: *Āryā*.⁸ These *skhars* are quite clear on the plate.⁹ It would be better to read निर्मावि-, as suggested by Kielhorn.¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.¹¹ Metre: *Upajitī*.¹² I fail to see any *skhars* on व.¹³ Metre: *Mālinī*.¹⁴ Kielhorn doubtfully read -वयन्म, but the *skhars* are quite clear here.¹⁵ Kielhorn read -निजम[दुग्ध]न[?] [?] स्ववि ?] तां व(व)भार, but the *skhars* are equally clear in this case.¹⁶ Metre: *Upajitī*.¹⁷ There is no doubt about the reading here.¹⁸ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

- 12 हलकीर्तः कीर्तनं कर्णमेवः ॥¹[१३॥*] अथर्वं धाम जे (जे) यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंवः स्वःखवस्थाः
किरीटं (टम्) । व (व) हस्तं चो (चो) येव कर्णावतीति इत्यद्या (द्या) पि इमावल्ग (व) हलोकः
13 ॥²[१४॥*] अजनि कलचुरीषां स्वासिना तेन इणान्वयजलनिषिल [कम्पा] श्रीमदावल्गवेद्या-
(व्याम्) । शशासुवदयस (श) ह्यासुव (व्य) दृग्वाग्नि (व्य) वेलासहचरितयसः (शः) श्रीः श्री-
यसः (शः) कर्ण-
14 देवः ॥³ [१५॥*] अन्नामकंदीपवति⁴ पर्वतस्य राजपूष्पकुम्भाकमसिति (नि) महाव्यि (व्यि) च-
तुष्कमध्ये [१*] अके पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिपूतकर्मा धर्मा मनोज्ञस्य हि पितृव महाभिषेकं (कम्) ॥⁵
[१६॥*] न
15 सकल (श) लभयोष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं ॥⁶ न कलु कलुचकचिकिज्जलोद्गारकारः [१*]⁷ ॥ (१)
कलयति कलिनामन्युद्वगं यस्मिन्ना (या) मातमसि जयसि जम्बू (म्बू) क्षीपरत्नप्रदीपः ॥⁸ [१७॥*]
चिन्ता-
16 ममिकलुप्त⁹ कृतियुग्मकोटे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्धं (ग्धम्) । वृत्ते (स्ते) त वृथोस्त [या*] स्य दातुः
सादुस्यं (यं) च (च) बलारुणक्षणस्य ॥¹⁰ [१८॥*] यः कलुचकुम्भराजान्तमसन्न (च) ह्याचारिणः ।
17 [कम्पा]¹¹ न्तोषु [ज] यस्तम्भानुदस्तं नयदुग्धकैः ॥¹² [१९॥*] यो व (व) ह्याषां पाणिषु पंचपाणि
दाता निषते पयसः पूषन्ति [१*] तैरेव तुष्णामकधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथमस्यवज्ञा (शाम्)
॥ [२०॥*]¹³
18 महीमर्ता महादानस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [१] गरिम्णा मेरुत्यर्थं कृतावर्षति योधिभिः ॥¹⁴ [२१॥*]
स्वर्णराजगजदन्तरुचीनि भीरवीरनिषितं (शं) लसु (शु) चीनि । सा (शा) र्जि-
19 त [स्व]¹⁵ कणिकंचुकमसि स्फीततां दधति यस्य यसां (शां) सि ॥¹⁶ [२२॥*] अन्धावीस¹⁷ मरन्ध-
दोम्बिलसितं स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता येनाभ्यर्च्यत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमेस्व (स्व) रो
20 भू [ष] नैः ॥ (१) यस्याभ्यर्णगता¹⁸ [म] नृत्यलहरीभूवस्त्रियोदावरो गाय (मुन्मदहंसनादमधुरैः स्त्रो-
तःस्वरैः सप्तभिः ॥¹⁹ [२३॥*] कुर्वन्महो वा (वा) ह्याणसा-

¹ Metre: *Mālinī*. There is no uncertainty in the reading of this verse.

² Metre: *Sālinī*.

³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁴ The *aksharas* are quite clear here.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ This *danda* is superfluous.

⁷ Kielhorn doubtfully read कलुचोद्गारकश्च, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above.

⁸ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁹ Kielhorn read with diffidence कृष्ण-, but his reading is not warranted by the original.

¹⁰ Metre: *Bhadravirāj*.

¹¹ The *aksharas* are somewhat indistinct here, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above. Kielhorn read [असा (शा) न्तो] वृ.

¹² Metre: *Anushpūbb*.

¹³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Anushpūbb*.

¹⁵ Kielhorn was not certain about his reading स्वे. The second *akshara* appears like स्वे, but the intended reading is obviously as given above. See also the Khairā plates (above, No. 36), p. 19.

¹⁶ Metre: *Sūgātā*.

¹⁷ Read अन्धावीस-.

¹⁸ These six *aksharas* are quite clear on the plate.

¹⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA

[illegible]

21. [वि]मिषमिष(॥)हृन्ः [१५] का(सा)हं वसु(वु)रामेन वः स्वर्गमिषिरोहति ॥¹[२४॥*]
 स व परमभट्टास्वमहाराजाविराजसमेत्स(स्व)रचीवामदेवपा—²

(For a transcript of the second plate which has been lost, see Appendix, No. 2, below.)

TRANSLATION

Om ! Adoration to Brahman !

(For a translation of verses 1—24, see above, pp. 296-99.)

(Line 21) And he [meditating on] the feet of the Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramāvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva

(For the subsequent portion of the grant, see Appendix, No. 2, below.)

No. 38; PLATE XLVII

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA : CHHDI YEAR 902

THE slab of black stone which bears the subjoined inscription, was found at Tewar, a village about 6 miles to the west of Jabalpur, the headquarters of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was edited, without any translation or lithograph, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XVIII, pp. 209 ff. It is edited here from the original stone which is deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The record, consisting of twenty-two lines, is inscribed on the countersunk surface of the stone surrounded by a plain border. The writing covers a space measuring 12.7" in breadth and 14.7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation except in the middle of lines 9-13 where a few aksharas have become somewhat indistinct owing to the wearing away of the inscribed surface.¹ The size of the letters varies between .4" and .5." The characters are Nāgarī. T and bh are, in some places, not clearly distinguishable from n, see, e.g., *sāmnā* l. 5 and *Bhāvabrahma*-, l. 8; f has three different forms see, e.g., *triyā*-, l. 1, = *satyaminaś-cha*, l. 16 and *śrī-Dharaṇīdharō*-, l. 18; the left limb of dh is seen fully developed in some cases, see, e.g., *bhikṣā-dhanā*-, l. 17, *Mahidhara*ḥ, l. 20 etc. The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening *om namah Sivāya*, the record is metrically composed throughout. There are eighteen verses in all, none of which is numbered. As regards orthography, we may notice the doubling of the consonant following r and preceding v, see *Karṣa*-, l. 3, and *Pṛithvīdharas*-, l. 18; the use of the sign for v to denote b except in three cases, viz. *-muktir-bhāvāt*, l. 16, = *abdhī*ḥ, l. 19 and *-yugal-ābda*-, ll. 20-1; and the substitution of the dental s for the palatal ś in *-narīśvarō*-, ll. 3-4, *navasata*-, l. 20.

After two customary verses in praise of Śiva and the moon, the mythical ancestor of the Kalachuris, the inscription mentions the king Karṣa, his son Yaśaḥkarṣa and grandson Gayākarṣa², and expresses the wish that Gayākarṣa, together with his son, the crown-prince Narasiṃha, would rule the earth to the end of the world. The name of Gayākarṣa as the reigning king occurs again in connection with the date in l. 21. The object of the inscription is to record that Bhāvabrahman, who was a disciple of

¹ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

² For the following words, see ll. 23-24 of the Khairāṭ plates, above, No. 36.

³ The inscription was apparently in a state of better preservation when its estampages were taken for Kielhorn; for, in his transcript he does not show these letters as indistinct or doubtful.

⁴ In v. 3 his name appears as *Gayakarṣa* owing to the exigencies of the metre.

the Pāsupata ascetic Bhāvatējas of the Ananta *gōtra*, constructed a temple of Siva near which the inscribed stone was originally put up. The *prafasti*, as the inscription is called in v. 15, was composed by Ppithvidhara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Dharaṇidhara. It was incised by the architect Mahidhara.

The date of the record is rather clumsily expressed in words as Sunday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Śuchi (or Āshāḍha) while the Chēdi era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarna. This is one of the few dates in which the era is specifically named. The date is quite regular; for the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the expired Chēdi or Kalachuri year 902 ended 2 h. after mean sunrise on the 17th June 1151 A.C. which was a Sunday as stated in the present inscription.

TEXT¹

- 1 ओं² नमः शिवाय ॥ त्रैलोक्यसौवर्धित्यी यस्त्रिवेदीयाव्यसत्कविः । नित्यप्रयत्नबो(बो)धेच्छः
सोष्टमूर्तिः भियेस्तु नः ॥³[१॥*]
- 2 कलघोतक्षुवितरिच चंद्रकला जयति स्मरान्तकशिरोविधृता । अलिकाक्षिबह्विजनितोद्युषा सुतया
नि-
- 3 रेः सुरसरित्पयसे ॥⁴[२॥*] आग्नेयगोत्रेऽसिलराजचक्रजिगीषुराजोऽग्नि कर्णदेवः । तस्माद्यथाः-
कर्णनरेस्व(व)-
- 4 रोमूतस्यात्मजोयं गयकर्णदेवः ॥⁵[३॥*] आकल्पं पृथिवीं शास्तु श्रीगयाकर्णपातिव्यं । संगतो-
नरसिंहेन यु-
- 5 वराजेन सूनुना ॥⁶[४॥*] गोत्रेऽनन्तसमाह्वयेभवदिनप्रस्थस्तपस्तेजसा दृष्टादृष्टविशुद्धकर्म-
निरतः श्रीभाव-
- 6 तेजा गुरुः ॥(१) आचार्योद्भूतकेवलार्थवचसां पाञ्चार्थिको यः सुधीः कामक्रोधजवर्गदुर्गविपिन-
प्लोष-
- 7 स्य दावानलः ॥⁷[५॥*] श्रुत्वा समस्तागमयोगशास्त्रं व्याख्याय च न्यायकणादशास्त्रं(स्वम्) ।
अभ्यस्य यः पाशुपतं च योगं
- 8 शिवस्य सायोज्यमवाप बो(बो)धात् ॥⁸[६॥*] प्रथमस्तस्य शिष्योयं भावत्र(त्र)हृतपोषणः ।
तपःकर्मरतो नित्यं कर्मसा(सा)-
- 9 न्यासिकोपि यः ॥⁹[७॥*] कौपीनमात्रवसनः शुचिभस्म[शायी पंचार्थ]बो(बो)वसुकुती
मितमंजभोजी । यो न(न)ह्यचर्य-
- 10 विविनान्यसनत्कुमारः पातञ्जलागमनिरूपित[योगसंगः] ॥¹⁰[८॥*] भिक्षोषार्जितकाञ्चनाम-
वसनैः संप्रीणयत्य-
- 11 त्थिनः स्नेहेन प्रगुणीकरोति सुधियः संतर्पितान्सूनूतैः । क्लेशो[न्मूलन]धर्म्यकर्मनिरतः साक्षात्कृत-

¹ From the original stone and inked estampages.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre: *Anushtubb*.

⁴ Metre: *Pramitaksbarā*.

⁵ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁶ Metre: *Anushtubb*.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Metre: *Anushtubb*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

- 12 अष्ट(व)को नाक(व)हस्तमस्तपस्विषु कली वृष्टो न [पाञ्चार्त्तिकः]¹ ॥[१॥*] परिग्रह-
विमुक्तोपि गृह्णा (ह्ना)ति² हवि नः³ शिव(वम्)
- 13 कामजोषी निगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति क्षमाकानपि सवृषतः ॥⁴ [१०॥*] [प्राणायाम]समाधिसिद्ध-
नियमध्यानासनैरन्वहं यः कृत्वा
- 14 हुवमावु(वु)ने स्मररिपुं वु(वु)दवा समभ्यस्यति । [मैत्री तस्य सुधी]भिरात्ममुदिता शास्त्रागमे
योगिनः शिष्याणां कवचा
- 15 नवेण्व विषयोपेक्षा शिवज्ञावतः ॥⁵ [११॥*] रथयात्रो[त्सवाञ्च]भिर्जाहुंजगतीभिर्मा(माम्) ।
सौलंभकार प्राकारदेवागारमठैर-
- 16 पि ॥⁶ [१२॥*] पूरुतेन धर्मेण निवर्तकेन मुक्तिर्भवेत्संयमिनश्च को(वो)धात् । एतद्(द्व)यं
प्राप्तुमर्थं मुमुक्षुर्ध्यापयद्देवभिर्मा शिवस्व ॥⁷ [१३॥*]
- 17 मिष्टाचनेन तेनेर्दं मंदिरं कामविद्धिषः । कारितं मुक्तये भक्त्या कीर्तये च कृतस्मना(नाम्) ॥⁸
[१४॥*] अतिस्मृतीहास⁹पुराणवेत्ता
- 18 विप्रः सुधीः श्रीधरणीधरोमूत् । अथादिमां ततनवः प्रशस्ति पृथ्वीधरस्तनवर्कविमुदवु(वु)दिः ॥¹⁰
[१५॥*] यावन्मेरुः स्व-
- 19 मंजुंभः पृथिव्यां यावद्गंगा वर्तते यावदग्निः । यावत्स्लोके चंद्रसूरीं चकास्तः शंभोरेतकीर्तनं
तावदास्ता(स्ताम्) ॥¹¹ [१६॥*]
- 20 विप्रवक्त्रमंकृतं शास्त्रं वेत्ति योर्ध्वेन कर्मणा । उत्कीर्णवानिमां शस्तां प्रशस्ति स महोदरः ॥¹²
[१७॥*] नवस(श)तयुगला-
- 21 व्याधिक्रये चेदिदिष्ट(ष्टे) ज[न*]पवनवतीमं श्रीगयाकर्णदेवे । प्रतिपदि शुचिमासश्चैतपक्षेर्कवा-
22 रे शिवधारणसमीपे स्थापितेयं प्रशस्तिः ॥¹³ [१८॥*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Siva!

(Verse 1) May that eight-formed (Siva) grant you fortune!—(he) who is the architect of the mansion of the three worlds (and) the noble poet of the composition of the three Vēdas, and whose effort, knowledge and will are eternal.

(V. 2) Glorious is the digit of the moon which is, as it were, the silver-shell held on the head of (Siva), the destroyer of Smara, by (Pārvatī), the daughter of the mountain, who felt very thirsty on account of the fire of the (third) eye on (his) forehead.¹³

(V. 3) In the race of Atri's son (i.e., the moon) was born Kārpa, the king who strove to subdue the whole multitude of princes. From him was (born) the king Yaśah-kārpa. His son is this king Gayākarpa.

¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² These *akṣharas* are quite distinct on the original stone and in the inked estampages.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ The writer intended to say अतिस्मृतीतिहास—, but has dropped the *akṣharas* *si* for the sake of the metre.

⁹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Sādh*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Metre: *Mālika*.

¹³ According to Kielhorn the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, n.7). I fail to notice any such difficulty.

(V. 4) May the illustrious king **Gayākārpa** together with his son, the crown-prince **Narasimha**, rule the earth as long as the world will endure!

(V. 5) In the *gōtra* called Ananta was born the religious preceptor, the illustrious **Bhāvatējas**, resembling the sun by the lustre of his penance, and devoutly performing extremely pure actions whether noticed or not (*by others*)—who, a wise man and a follower of the Pañchārtha,¹ expounded the marvellous teaching about the absolute and was a wild fire in burning the impenetrable forest of the multitude of evils arising from lust and anger.

(V. 6) Having listened to the entire systems of the Āgama and the Yōga, having expounded the systems of Nyāya and Kaṇāda² and having practised the Yōga system of Paśupati, he attained union with Śiva by his knowledge.

(V. 7) This ascetic **Bhāvabrahman** is his foremost disciple, who, though he has given up all actions, is ever engaged in the performance of penance.³

(V. 8) He is clad only in a loin-cloth, lies on pure ashes, is proficient in the knowledge of the Pañchārtha (*system*), lives on a limited quantity of food, is another Sanatkumāra⁴ on account of his celibacy, and is devoted to (*the practice of*) Yōga as taught in the system of Patañjali.

(V. 9) (*He*) pleases supplicants with (*gifts of*) gold, food and raiment, makes intelligent men meritorious by his love, delighting them with pleasant speech, performs devoutly religious actions for the eradication of trouble, and has realized the three-eyed (god Śiva). In (*this*) Kali age there is seen no follower of the Pañchārtha system like Bhāvabrahman.

(V. 10) Though devoid of all possessions he harbours Śiva in his heart; though forgiving, he curbs lust and rage through good vows.

(V. 11) By means of control of breath, observances essential for meditation, contemplation and postures, he day by day practises intellectually (*meditation on*) Śiva whom he places in the lotus of his heart; (*being*) a yōgin he would cultivate benevolence towards the wise, the joy of self-realization by the study of the śāstras, compassion towards his disciples and indifference to worldly objects by (*his*) knowledge of Śiva.⁵

(V. 12) He adorned this world of Gāhṇḍa⁶ with processions of the chariot (of Śiva), festivity and the worship (of Śiva) and also with encircling walls, temples and monasteries.

(V. 13) A self-controlled person secures final emancipation by a work of pious liberality which makes one desist (*from worldly affairs*) and by knowledge. To secure both these⁷ he installed this image of Śiva.

(V. 14) By means of wealth obtained by begging he caused this temple of (Śiva), the enemy of the god of love, to be constructed with devotion for the liberation and glory of the self-controlled.

¹ See above, page 232, n. 1.

² I.e. the Vaiśeṣika system.

³ There is apparent contradiction in this verse, the figure being *Virōdhabhāsa*.

⁴ Sanatkumāra figures in the Upanishads and the Purāṇas as a great teacher (see, e.g., *Chhāndogya Up.* VII, 1, 1; 26; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* III, 8, 7; *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparvan, 227). According to the *Līṅgapurāṇa* he himself received the Śaiva doctrine from Nandin.

⁵ This verse describes the cultivation of the four sentiments (*bhāvanās*) of *matri* (benevolence), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (cheerfulness) and *upēkṣā* (indifference) mentioned in the *Yōgasūtra* of Patañjali I, 33. They are also recognized in Buddhist philosophy. See Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 34.

⁶ Kielhorn has suggested that *Gāhṇḍa* is probably a local designation of Śiva. It may be noted in this connection that Monier-Williams gives, on the authority of the *Kāśikhaṇḍa*, *haṇḍana* in the sense of an attendant of Śiva.

⁷ I.e., pious work and knowledge.

(V. 15) These was the illustrious Dharanidhara, a wise Brāhmaṇa, who had studied the Vēdas, Smṛtis, Itihāsa and Purāṇas. His son Pṛthivīdhara, whose intellect has become keen by (the study of) dialectics, has composed this eulogy.

(V. 16) As long as Mēru (which is) the jar of gold, the Gaṅgā and the ocean endure on the earth, so long may this temple of Siva last!

(V. 17) That Mahādhara, who understands the teaching and the practical work of the science invented by Viśvakarman¹, has incised this commendable *prastuti*.

(V. 18) While the Chōḍī era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years and the illustrious Gayākarna was ruling this country, this eulogy was put up near the temple of Siva on Sunday, the first (lunar day) in the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha.

No. 59; PLATE XLVIII

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA

BAHURIBAND is now a small village situated on a plateau at a distance of about 20 miles from Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā *tahsil* in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Not far from Bahuriband lie the villages of Tigōwā and Rūpnāth, the former of which is known for its Gupta temple, still in a state of perfect preservation, and the latter, for its Aśoka rock-edict. Bahuriband contains some old ruins, the most conspicuous of which is a colossal standing nude statue of the Jain Tirthaṅkara Śāntinātha. It is near the village and stands upon its original site, portions of the foundations of the walls of the shrine, in which it stood, being still around it. It stands 12 feet and 2½ inches high from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head.² There is an attendant holding a *chauri* on either side of it. The *śhattra* over it is now broken away and lies behind the image. It measures 4' 4" in height and has the figure of an elephant on either side of it.

The present inscription is incised on the pedestal of the statue of Śāntinātha. It falls into three parts. Parts A and B, each consisting of three lines, are engraved on the top of the pedestal to the left and right respectively of the feet of the image³. Part C, which has seven lines, is incised on the front face of the pedestal. Before it is a small *kunda* intended to receive the water of the Tirthaṅkara's bath. The inscription was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, who gave his reading of the first two lines and a portion of the third of part C⁴. It was next noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who published a short abstract of its contents⁵. It is being edited here for the first time from the original stone as well as its inked stampages which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is very much weather-worn, especially in parts A and B. Besides, a few *aksharas* in the first line of part C have been broken away. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. It may be noted that *dh* appears here to be fully developed as in the modern Nāgarī; see, e.g., *dharmma*-, l. 4 and *Sātradhāra*, l. 5; *th*, on the other hand, has not yet opened its upper loop, see *Sāntināthāya*, l. 3. The language is Sanskrit. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

¹ I.e., the science of architecture. Viśvakarman is the architect of gods.

² P. R. A. S., W. I. for 1903-4, p. 55. For a photograph of the image see H. T. M., Plate LII.

³ These were not noticed by previous writers.

⁴ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, p. 40.

⁵ P. R. A. S., W. I. for 1903-04, pp. 14-15.

The object of the inscription is to record that during the victorious reign of the illustrious Gayākarnadēva, while the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Gōlhanadēva of the Rāshtrakūṭa family was flourishing, one Mahābhōja (?), the son of Sādhu Sarvadhara, who had been favoured by the illustrious Māghavanandi, the foremost of logicians, erected the temple of Sāntinātha. We are further told that the white canopy over it was built by a *Sātradhāra*.¹ The image of Sāntinātha was consecrated by the *Āchārya* Subhadra, who belonged to the line of the Dēśi *gana*² in the *Amnāya* of the Chandrakara *Āchārya*.³

Cunningham read the date in the first line, as *samvat* 10.. *Phālguna* *badi* 9 *sōmē*. Dr. Bhandarkar has, on the other hand, remarked that 'the date of the inscription is too indistinct to be read.' Many of the signs in the first line, where Cunningham read the date are now broken away. It is not, therefore, possible to verify his reading completely. But the extant *aksharas* seem to read [va] di 9 *Bhaumē* (not *Sōmē*). Even in Cunningham's time all the figures of the year were not preserved. What he took to be the figure 1 appears to be the remnant of some *akshara* like *pa* or *sa*. Again, Cunningham's reading of the first two figures, if correct, would relegate the present record to the end of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.C.; for *samvat* 10.. would have to be referred to the Vikrama era. But from the Tewar inscription⁴ dated K. 902 we know that Gayākarna flourished in the first half of the twelfth century A.C. The first two figures of the date, if it was recorded in the Vikrama era, must, therefore, have been either 11 or 12.

TEXT⁵

A

On the top of the pedestal, to the left of the feet of Sāntinātha.

- 1 साधु श्रीसर्वधर[व?]
- 2 . . . [महा] . . .
- 3

B

On the top of the pedestal, to the right of the feet of Sāntinātha.

- 1 साधु श्री स[स्वला]
- 2
- 3

C

On the front face of the pedestal of the image of Sāntinātha.

- 1 [स्वस्ति] * [व] दि ९ [भौ] मे श्रीमद्गयाकर्णदेवविजयरा-
- 2 ज्ये राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीमद्गोल्हणदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमानस्य ॥⁶

¹ His name appears to be *Srashti*.

² The Dēśi *gana* is a branch of the Nandi *gana* and Mūla *saṅgha* of the Digambara sect.

³ This may be identical with the Chandrakapāṭa-*garbhā* of the Digambara sect, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 73.

⁴ Above, No. 38.

⁵ From the original stone and inked estampages.

⁶ About nine *aksharas* are lost here.

⁷ There are indistinct traces of four *aksharas* here.

⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA



- 3 श्रीमन्गोलापूज्याम्माये वेस्तज्जाटिकावायुस्तुताम्माये तर्कताकीं(कि)कचूडामणिभीम—
 4 चापकमंविगन्नुहि(ही)तस्सावुभीस[र्]ण[र्]ण[र्] तस्य पुन[र्] महा[र्]ण[र्] वम्मं—
 5 दित्तं वम्मं का(का)दिनावस्स मंविरे(रय्) ॥¹ स्वस्त्यमसंज्जक²सुवचार[र्] ते(मे)त्ति(त्ति)
 नामा [र्] विती(ता)र् च महास्से—
 6 तं निर्मितमत्तिसुंदरं(रय्)³ ॥[१॥⁴ श्रीमच्छंकराचार्याम्मायवेत्ती(ही)ग[र्]ण[र्]वये तमस्त—
 विद्याविनये(या)मंविरे—
 7 विह[र्]ण[र्]ना[र्] प्रतिष्ठाचार्यश्रीमत्सुमद्रास्विरं जयंतु ॥ ॥०॥

TRANSLATION

C⁴

Hail! On Tuesday the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight⁵ during the victorious reign of the illustrious Gayākarnadēva, while the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, the illustrious Gōlhapadēva, born in the Rāshtrakūṭa family, is flourishing—

(There was) the pious layman, the illustrious Sarvadhara, (born) in the Gōllāpūrva⁶ Āmnāya, the sacred traditions (*Āmnāya*) of which were amplified at Vēllaprabhāṭikā, who was blessed by the illustrious Māghavanandī, the crest-jewel of logicians. His son is Mahā[bhō]jja (who is) devoted to (the performance of) religious duty, charity and study (of the sacred texts). By him has been caused to be erected this beautiful temple of Śāntinātha.

The *Sajjaka Sūtradhāra* is named Srēshṭhi.⁷ By him has been constructed (here) a very white and extremely beautiful canopy.

(Line 6) May the holy *Achārya* Subhadra, who has consecrated (this image of *Śāntinātha*), be long glorious!—(he) who belongs to the line (*amaya*) of the *Dēśi gāṇa*⁸ in the *Āmnāya* of the holy Chandrakara⁹ *Achārya*, and who has delighted learned men by his perfect learning and humility!

¹ The verse is completed below.

² Bhandarkar read the last three *akṣaras* as *sajjana* which he took to be the name of the *Sūtradhāra* (P. R. A. S. W. I. for 1903-04, p. 55); but the last *akṣara* is certainly not *na*. It is more like *ka* than any other *akṣara*. I therefore read the word as सज्जक. Cf. सजाक prefixed to सुवचार in No. 105, l. 20.

³ Metre: *Amṣṭupb.*

⁴ Parts A and B, which contain only a few *akṣaras* have not been translated. Part A contains the name *Sarvadhara*.

⁵ The name of the month and the figures of the year have been broken away.

⁶ There are still several Jain families belonging to the Gōllāpūrva Āmnāya in Madhya Pradesh. *Vēllaprabhāṭikā* may be a place-name.

⁷ I am unable to explain स्वस्त्यम prefixed to सज्जक.

⁸ See above, p. 310, n. 3.

⁹ Loc. cit.

No. 60; PLATE XLIX

BHĒRĀ-GHĀT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 907

THE stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall in 1857 at Bhērā-Ghāt on the Narmadā in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society, in whose Cabinet at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of green stone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2' 9½" broad by 1' 10½" high. The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 499 f.¹; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archaeological Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 91-94.² The inscription was finally edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with an English translation but without a lithograph, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 7 f. It is edited here from excellent large-size photographs which were, at the Government Epigraphist's request, kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

The inscription, consisting of 29 lines of writing, covers a space of about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 9" high. The letters are beautifully and carefully cut, the *anusvāras*, curves and *mātrās* in the first line being ornamentally treated. Except for two *aksharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost completely broken away, and one or two others here and there which are partially damaged, the inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from .4" to .7". The characters are Nāgarī and resemble those of the Tewar inscription of Bhāvabrahman. The sign of the initial *i* in ll. 7, 17 *etc.* has its two dots at the top joined by a curve, instead of a straight line;³ *th* and *dh* exhibit transitional forms, the former having its upper loop open in some cases (see, e.g., *tathā*, l. 25 and *-Priṭhu-*, l. 29) and the latter appearing with a fully developed left member in *dhar-āśraya-*, l. 3 *vyadhātām*, l. 25, *etc.*; in other cases, these letters retain their earlier forms; *ṣ* is still without its dot, see, e.g., *-diṣṇamāṇāli*, ll. 27-28; the sign of the *jihvāmūlya* occurs in l. 9 and that of the *upadhmiṇīya* in l. 10. The language is Sanskrit and except for *ōm namaḥ Śivāya* in the beginning and the date at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. There are thirty-seven verses in all. Though written in a good style, the inscription is not altogether free from mistakes. Thus *chakapē* in l. 10 is used for the correct form *chakampē* to suit the metre; *vyadhātām*, which is intended as a form of the Imperative, is incorrect for *vidhātām*, and in *chandīmatām* l. 9, there is a superfluous addition of a second *taddhita* affix to form an abstract noun. Finally, rules of *sandhi* have been violated in *kīm-vā* l. 2, *yashmān-sarīraiḥ*, l. 3, and *sarvu-ādāyaiḥ-sārāham*, ll. 24-25. As regards orthography, *b* is in some cases denoted by its proper sign, see, e.g., *babhūva* and *vibudhā-*, both in l. 8, *bibhraty-*, l. 10, and in others by that of *v*, see *vuddhim* = l. 1, *vibhrat*, l. 6 *etc.*; the palatal *ṣ* is used for the dental *s* in *saṭāla*, l. 14, and the dental nasal for *anusvāra* in the component *sinha* of the proper names *Vairisinha*, l. 16, *Vijayasinha*, l. 17, *Narasinha*, l. 21, *Jayasinha*, l. 22 and *Vālasinha*, l. 29, and also in *-sudhānsūḥ*, l. 18, = *sansatsū*,

¹ The committee of publications corrected some of the mistakes in Hall's transcript while the paper was going through the press. It is noteworthy that the mention of the Paramāra king Udayāditya in the present inscription enabled Hall to conjecture for the first time that the dates of the present and other inscriptions of the Kalachuris refer to an era which commenced about 250 A. C.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 7.

³ In line 3 of the Goharwa plates of Kaṇva (above, No. 50) and line 8 of the Khaichā plates of Yaśaḥ-karṇa (above, No. 56), the top of the initial *i* is formed by a straight line.

1.5 etc.; finally, the consonant following *r* is occasionally doubled, see e.g., *nirjjity* = 1.7, = *irddhva* = 1.8 etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Narasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. The object of it is to record that his mother Alhanadēvi, the widow of Gayakarna¹ constructed a temple of Siva under the name of Vaidyanātha together with a *maṭha* or monastery and a hall of study which she endowed with the income from two villages, *viz.*, Nāmatūṇḍī in the Jāuṇī *pattalā* and Makarapāṭaka on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land near the foot of the hills, for the worship of the deity. The management of the whole establishment was entrusted to the Pāsupata ascetic Rudrarāśī of the Lāṭa lineage. The inscription, which is called *prastāvi* in l. 28, was composed by Śaśidhara, the son of Dharmadhara who was himself the son of Mahēśvara of the Maunya family (*gōtra*), with the *pravara*s Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sīvētasa. It was written on the stone by Śaśidhara's elder brother Pṛithvidhara, and engraved by Mahidhara, a son of the artisan Bālasimha.² Finally, we are told that the buildings were designed by the architect Pithā.

After the introductory verses invoking the blessings of the moon, the Gaṅgā, Siva, Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī, the inscription mentions Arjuna (*i.e.*, Sahasrārjuna), from whom was descended Kōkalla (II). From him was born Gāṇḍēyadēva whose son was Karṇa. The latter held in check the Pāṇḍya, Mūrāla, Kuṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Kira and Hūṇa princes. Karṇa's son was Yaśahkarṇa who made himself famous by devastating Champāranya. His son was Gayakarna who married Alhanadēvi. The queen's pedigree is given in verses 17-22. In the family descended from Gōbhilaputra was born the prince Hamsapāla. His son was Vairisimha who, again, had a son named Vijayasimha. The latter prince married Śyāmaladēvi, the beautiful daughter of Udayāditya, the ruler of the Mālava-maṇḍala. Their daughter was Alhanadēvi who was married to Gayakarna. By him Alhanadēvi had two sons Narasimhadēva, who succeeded Gayakarna, and his younger brother Jayasimha.

The names of Alhanadēvi's ancestors are known from some other inscriptions also.³ Thus the Mount Abu inscription of Samarasimha⁴ mentions Vairisimha and his successor Vijayasimha in the list of Guhila princes of Mēdapāṭa. The record does not, however, name any prince of the name Hamsapāla, but makes Vairisimha the successor of the king Vairāṭa. Dr. Hall⁵ and following him, Dr. Kielhorn⁶ supposed that Hamsapāla was another name of Vairāṭa 'unless Vairāṭa was his brother or some other near relative.' Hamsapāla is, however, mentioned separately from Vairāṭa whom he is said to have succeeded in the Sādaḍī⁷ and Kumbhalgaḍī⁸ inscriptions.

The present inscription is dated at the end in the year 907 (expressed in numerical

¹ This is the form of the name used throughout in this inscription owing evidently to the exigencies of the metre.

² Pṛithvidhara the son of Mahidhara was the author of the Tewar inscription of Gayakarna (No. 58, above). The engraver Mahidhara also is mentioned in the same capacity in that inscription.

³ The same pedigree is given in ll. 15-16 of the Kumbhēl stone inscription of Jayasimhadēva, Appendix, No. 3.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

⁵ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 519.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347.

⁷ *A. R. A. S. I.* (1907-08), pp. 214 ff. This inscription mentions Vairāṭapāla as a successor of Vairāṭa and predecessor of Vairisimha. Vairāṭapāla is probably a mistake for Hamsapāla. The successor of Vairisimha is, however, named Virasimha, not Vijayasimha, in that inscription.

⁸ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* (1905-6), p. 61; G. H. Ojha's *History of Udaipur* (Hindi), Vol. I. p. 140, n. 2.

figures only), on Sunday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa. This date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-248 A. C., it would correspond, for the *expired* year 907, to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C., when the aforementioned *tithi commenced* 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, the *tithi* must have been joined with that week-day 'on which it commenced and which was almost entirely filled by it.'¹

As for the geographical names occurring in the present inscription Murala is generally identified with Kēraḷa.² It is, however, doubtful if Kaṇṇa led any expedition so far to the south-west. In the *Uttararāmacharita* (Act III) the river Muralā figures as a tributary of the Godavari. The country of Murala is also mentioned in the *Viddhaśālabhaṅḡikā*³ of Rājaśekhara and seems to correspond to the northern part of the Hyderabad State. Dr. Kielhorn identified Kuṅga with the districts of Salem and Coimbatore,⁴ but it is more likely to be identical with Kōṅgōda, (Kong-yu-to of Yuan Chwang), corresponding to the Rāmagiri Agency of the Godavari District. Kaliṅga comprised the modern districts of Ganjām and Vizagapatam and some portion of the Godavari District. Vaṅga is Eastern Bengal. Kīra has already been shown to be the name of the territory round Baijnāth in the Kāngrā District. The country under the Hūṇas was probably situated to the north of Malwa.⁵ Mālava-maṇḍala is, of course, the country of Malwa. Of the villages granted by Alhaṇadēvi, Nāmatūṇḍī is now untraceable, but the Jāuli-pattalā in which it was situated and which is also mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarna, must have comprised the country round Jabalpur. Makara-pāṭaka may be Magarmuha, about 4 m. to the west of Bhērā-Ghāt. It is at the foot of a hill and almost near the right bank of the Narmadā. Its situation, therefore, answers to the description of it given in the present inscription.

TEXT⁶

- 1 सिद्धिः⁷ [1*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ कल्याणितामविकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलानिविकला
शशिखरस्य ॥ (1) एकैव या प्रमथसार्धगतां द्वितीयावु(बु)द्धिप्रदोषविरहेषि करोति नित्यम् ॥⁸
[१॥*]
- 2 किं मालाः कुमुदस्य किं शशिकलाः किञ्चम्यंकमूर्माकुराः किम्वा⁹ कञ्चुकिकञ्चुकाः किमयवा
भूत्युद्गमा भान्त्यमी । इत्यस्माकिवर्तिकाः शिवशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगारिङ्गद्वलुतरङ्गमङ्कित-
तयः पुष्पप्र-
- 3 पाः पान्तु वः ॥¹⁰ [२॥*] भूतं सद्धिमु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जगन्नेत्रानन्दकरं धराध्वय-

¹ A more satisfactory equivalent of the date would have been Sunday, the 25th November 1156 A. C., on which day the tithi ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. But Kielhorn was not inclined to accept it as it would have necessitated the shifting of the epoch of the era to 248-249 A. C. This would have made most of the Kalachuri dates cite current, not expired, years, which was contrary to the usage observed in the case of other eras. Kielhorn's view has been supported by some dates discovered subsequently, to which the epoch of 248-249 A. C. would be altogether unsuitable. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 ff. and the date of No. 90, below.

² H. T. M., p. 20.

³ Act. IV, verse 18.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 215.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 102.

⁶ From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Read किं वा.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdhāṇavikṛīḍita*.

- 12 किरि ॥[१३॥*] चम्पारण्यविहारमोक्षस्तवकाःशुभांशुना भासवसायाचक्रमवक्रमावहृदयः कमा-
पालचूडामणिः । तस्माज्जन्म समाससाव विशदं श्रीमान्यशःकर्णं इत्थीवावडि[मडी*]¹—
- 13 चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सज्जनानि ॥ [१४॥*] तस्मादशोकंभुवनरत्ननिषेवणायाद्भू बल्लभः समम-
बद्गयकर्णदेवः । अस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणां लोकाणोकोदयनिदानपदं प्रवेदे ॥²[१५॥*]
- 14 छुतिजितहरितालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पृथुतरगुणमालः सन्मृगैककालः । विमलितरणमालः का-
न्तकीर्त्या श(स)टालः शिततरकरवालः सोमवद्भूमिपालः ॥³[१६॥*] ॐ ॥ वस्ति
- 15 प्रसिद्धमिह गोमिलपुत्रगोत्रस्तत्राजनिष्ट नृपतिः किल हंसपालः । शौर्याविसृजितनिरगलसैन्य-
संघनम्रीकृताखिलमिलद्विपुत्रवालः ॥⁴[१७॥*] तस्याभवत्तनुमवः प्र—
- 16 नमस्तमस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जिताङ्गः⁵ । श्रीवैरिसिन्धु⁶चसुधाधिपतिर्विजयसिन्धु⁷देनिविभं
परमधिजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥⁸[१८॥*] स वैरिसिन्धु⁹चनयद्रिपूर्णां कुलानि चम्पूरमुहागु—
- 17 ह्राणि । स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥¹⁰[१९॥*] तस्मादजायत
समस्तजनाभिनन्दसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभंगुरिताहितश्रीः । पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसिन्धु¹¹ इति
- 18 प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधान्तुः¹² ॥¹³[२०॥*] तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदया-
दित्यसुता सुरुपा । शृङ्गारिणी स्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरञ्जितश्रीः ॥¹⁴[२१॥*]
- 19 मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीमृताभायकाद्वीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षात्प्रजानां सृजः ।
तस्मादलहणदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाद्भूपतेरेतस्याभिज—
- 20 दीर्घवन्श¹⁵विशदप्रैसत्पताकाकृतिः ॥¹⁶[२२॥*] विबाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्णनरेश्वरः । चक्रे
प्रीतिस्मरामस्यां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥¹⁷[२३॥*] शृङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-
णपण्यभूमिः । असूत पुत्रजयकर्णभूपादसौ नरेश्वरसिन्धु¹⁸देवम् ॥¹⁹[२४॥*] अस्य श्रीनर-
सिन्धु²⁰देवनृपतेः प्रोद्यन्त्यशशचन्दमा दिग्गितीर्विदधातु व(व)न्धुपसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव । भूर्भर्ता-
रम—
- 22 वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुयात्पूव्वेषां यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीमृतां ध्यायति ॥²¹[२५॥*]
अस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिन्धुदेवः²² सौमिभिवत्प्रथमजैद्भुतरूपसेवः ॥(१) यो मेचनादव(व)हृ-

¹ Hall's suggestion to read धनिकी here was adopted by Kielhorn. I fail, however, to see any trace of the medial *i* of नि which according to Kielhorn is partly visible. I prefer to restore the text as above in view of the resulting *Virōdbābbāsa* सम्मानं विबुधान् धनदीचकार which must have been intended here.

² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁵ This has not been altered to ह्रेः, as supposed by Kielhorn.

⁶ Read श्रीवैरिसिन्धु—.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Read वैरिसिन्धु.

⁹ Metre: *Upāndravajrā*.

¹⁰ Read —विजयसिन्धु.

¹¹ Read —पुष्पाङ्गः.

¹² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ Read —शंकर—.

¹⁵ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁷ Read —शरसिन्धु.

¹⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁹ Read श्रीनरसिन्धु—.

²⁰ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

²¹ Read जयसिन्धुदेवः.

BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASINHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 907

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- 23 मास्यहातिकायसैव्यं शिवाममिभनमहं प्रहस्तः ॥¹[२६॥*] अकारयम्मन्त्रिभिरमिन्दुमीलेरिदम्—
तेनाद्भुतभूमिकेन । सहस्रानां भीमरसिन्धुदेवसुरसावतहमवेव्युधारा ॥²[२७॥*] व्याख्यानवा—
- 24 जामुधानमाकाभिकलाममून (य) । अकारयत्स्वयं अम्मुप्रासावालीद्वयमिर्जः ॥³[२८॥*] देवा—
यास्मै वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादाद्देवी जाडलीपतलायाम् । ग्रामनाम्ना नामउण्डीति सर्वादावैः⁴त्सा—
- 25 देवं नादयन्ममिदं ॥⁵[२९॥*] अर्च्यमादयिष्ये कृते पञ्चलोपत्वकाभये । तथा परमवाद्या—
मनाम्ना अकरपाटक[य] ॥⁶[३०॥*] सादान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्राशिविविबद्धयधस्ता—
म⁷ । स्थानस्व रक्षावि—
- 26 चिमस्य तावदावन्मिमीते भुवनानि अम्मुः ॥⁸[३१॥*] ॥ मीम्वान्वये¹⁰ मार्गववैतहव्यसा—
वेतसेति¹¹ प्रवरवयादये । महेश्वराख्याद्वरणीयरोभूनाम्ना गरिम्मा यशसा प्रिया न ॥¹²[३२॥*]
कोमल—
- 27 कामिस्तालेनोन्मैः स्नेहातिचारमरितेन । दीर्घममोक्तदसेन विधुवनवीनयितं मेन ॥¹³[३३॥*]
पृथ्वीवरस्तस्य सुतः समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्णवपारदृष्टा । प्रशस्तिमेतामलिलचदीवैर्दि—
- 28 कृमण्डली शिष्यगणैर्विजिग्ये ॥¹⁴[३४॥*] एतस्यावरजस्तर्कनिष्णा[तो]दन्तनैपुणः । प्रशस्ति—
मकरोदेतान्सूरिः¹⁵ शशिधराभिषः ॥¹⁶[३५॥*] मा(न)¹⁷सूत्रयदिवं सर्वं विश्वकर्मविधान—
वित् । पीयेसमभिषः सूत्र—
- 29 चारः पृथ्वीम्पुत्र्यया ॥[३६॥*] सूत्रधारतन्नीवा(न)लसिन्धु¹⁸सुमुर्महीवरः । जिलान्तयाक—
रोद्ध[र्व्य]मैमस्तारकितं यथा ॥[३७॥*] संवत् ९०७ मार्ग सुदि ११ रवौ ॥ ॐ ॥ ॐ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Om ! Adoration to Siva !

(Verse 1) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) (Siva) grant you perfect bliss,—(*the digit*), which, though only one (*i.e.*, the first), makes the host of Siva's attendants always think, even in the absence of the evening, that it is the second (*digit*)!¹⁹

¹ Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

² Read भीमरसिह—.

³ Metre : *Upāṇḍrajā*.

⁴ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ This *vicarga* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre : *Śālin*.

⁷ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ The sense requires the reading विविबद्धयताम् here.

⁹ Metre : *Indrajā*.

¹⁰ Kielhorn thought that this was altered मीम्वान्वये, but the correction has not been made in the original. The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha (below No. 64, l. 26) also mentions this family as मीम्व. See below, p. 333, n. 3.

¹¹ The last *pravarā* is generally mentioned as सवेदह, see the *Gōtrapravarāṇihandhakadamba* (Vēṅka-śivara Press ed.), pp. 23 ff.

¹² Metre : *Upajit*.

¹³ Metre : *Āryā*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Upajit*.

¹⁵ Read —वेतां सूरिः.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁷ The correction has not been made in the original.

¹⁸ Read —सिह—.

¹⁹ The figure is *Vīṇātilaka*. There is a play on the word *digit* which means (1) 'the second (digit)' and (2) 'the second lunar day'. The crescent shape of the moon makes Siva's attendants think every day to be the second lunar day of the bright fortnight in the evening of which that shape of the moon is seen on the western horizon.

(V. 2) May those founts of religious merit, the lines of the creeping, lovely,¹ tortuous waves of the heavenly river meandering on Siva's head protect you!—(*the waves*) about which heavenly beings have such doubts,—Are these wreaths of white lotuses, or digits of the moon, or sprouts of religious deeds, or sloughs of snakes, or ashes emerging (*from Siva's body*)?²

(V. 3) May Siva with these (*eight*) bodies³ (*of his*) protect you—(*viz.*) (*that body*) which, being an element, is all-pervading; (*that*) by whose revolution the world becomes manifest; (*that*) which gives delight to the eyes (*of creatures*) in the (*whole*) world; (*that*) which is the cause of the diversity of flavour and other (*qualities*) abiding in the earth; (*that*) which is a vast repository of odour; (*that*) which sacrifices; (*that*) which is exclusively cold; and (*that*) which, (*though*) devoid of colour, is felt by the touch!

(V. 4) May the blue-necked (Siva), who gives delight to such as are fond of wielding spear and missile, who is adorned with the young moon and exults in his *tāṇḍava* (*dance*), grant whatever is pleasing to you!⁴

(V. 5) May the Elephant-faced (*Gaṇapati*) graciously confer on you highest bliss,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, holds a piece of the moon free from the slightest dark-spot and capable of dispelling the intense darkness of multitudes of obstacles!

(V. 6) May Sarasvatī protect you,—who by varied forms of speech conducts the intercourse (*of men*), and by obtaining the slightest portion of whose elegance even for a short time, men may attain very great honour in assemblies!

(V. 7) There was in the moon's race, a king with a thousand hands, who was, day and night, wakeful to educate individually the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the worlds, (*and*) who surpassed the rulers of the world by his lustre—(*a king*) named Arjuna, by the mere remembrance of whom even now is regained wealth which had been lost or taken away by thieves long since.⁵

(V. 8) In his lineage was born a well-known lord of the earth, of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the illustrious name **Kōkalladēva (II)**, the sole source of the happiness of the three worlds.

(V. 9) From him was born **Gāṅgēyadēva** who, by over-coming the hostile rulers of the earth, possessed of huge mountains of pride, attained endless glory, who, a wish-fulfilling tree to suppliants, made this earth, an abode of learned men, though situated below, soar higher than heaven (*which is an abode of gods*), by (*constructing here*) a matchless Mēru.

(V. 10) The creeper of his fame, sprinkled with the water of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, has overspread the whole bower of the universe.

¹ Kielhorn remarks that *salgu* in the text is used for the participle *salgat*. But *salgu* can be taken as an adjective meaning 'beautiful' or 'lovely'.

² Kielhorn translated *bhūty-udgamāḥ* by '(the god's) majesty bursting into view.' But as in the case of other things mentioned in this verse, the poet refers here to a white thing worn or applied to his body by Siva.

³ The eight forms are ether (*ākāśa*), the sun, the moon, fire, earth, the sacrificer, water and air respectively. The same eight forms of Siva are referred to in the first verse of the *Sakuntala*.

⁴ The verse would be equally descriptive of Kārttikēya's peacock. 'May the peacock indulging in dancing, which gives great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to Kārttikēya) and (*the tail of*) which is covered with (*bright*) moon-like spots grant whatever is dear to you!

⁵ Hall cites the following verse from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* :—कर्तवीर्योर्बुनो नाम राजा बाहुसहस्रवान् । तस्य स्मरणमात्रेण नतं नष्टं च लभ्यते ॥

(V. 11) He, who, seeking glory, filled with gold the oceans of the desires of supplicants, begot the prince Kārṣa.

(V. 12) While that king of unprecedented lustre gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya renounced violence, the king of Mūṣala gave up arrogance, the ruler of Kuṇḍa sought his alliance, the prince of Vaṅga trembled with that of Kaliṅga, the lord of Kīra stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, and the Hūṇa lost all merit.

(V. 13) 'Let us reduce the size of the earth, the whole of which he enjoys by defeating our husbands'—With this motive as it were, the wives of hostile kings enlarged the seas with tears flowing from their eyes. These (*was*), on the other hand, presented¹ him with large waves of precious stones!

(V. 14) From him the illustrious Yaśaḥkarma took his spotless birth—(*he who was*) a crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, who had a guiltless heart, who illuminated the circle of quarters with the bright rays of his fame which sprang from his devastation of Champāranya, (*and*) who transformed into gods of wealth whatever learned men² met his eyes.

(V. 15) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all merits, was born Gayakarma-dēva, the favourite of the earth, in whose case, even the sun³,—the sun of his prowess—, caused the rise of the ocean—the ocean of grief—of his enemies' beautiful wives.

(V. 16) That king surpassed yellow orpiment by his lustre, was the wish-fulfilling tree supporting the creeper of fortune, wore a large garland of noble qualities, was the sole god of death to the host of his enemies, adorned the fore-front of the battle-field, was surrounded by a (*halo of*) charming glory, and wielded a very sharp sword.—

(V. 17) Famous in this world is the family of the son of Gōbhila. Therein was born, forsooth, the king Hamsapāla, who, with his valiant and irresistible armies, humbled all the combined hosts of (*his*) enemies.

(V. 18) He had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious Vairisimha, whose feet were reddened by the crest-jewels in the diadems of all feudatory princes paying homage to him, (*and who was*) a treasure, not merely of pure thoughts, but also eminently (*one*) for suppliants.

(V. 19) That Vairisimha too, drove the families of his enemies to deep cave-dwellings, while he himself occupying their cities made them far surpass (*in splendour*) the city of Alakā.⁴

(V. 20) From him was born the lord of the earth named Vijayasimha, whose beauty was praised by all men, who, by his great valour, made his enemies' fortune unstable, (*and*) the moon of whose fame was always waxing in the world.

(V. 21) His loving wife was Śyāmaladēvi, the beautiful daughter of Udayāditya, the lord of the country of Malwa, a jewel which fulfilled the desires (*of suppliants*) of noble conduct, and a devotee of fortune.

(V. 22) As the beloved of Saṅkara (*i.e.*, Umā) was born to Mēnā from the lord of mountains (*i.e.* Himālaya), as the wife of the Moon was born to Viriṇī⁵ from Dakṣa, the creator of beings, even so was Alhapadēvi born to her from that king capable of protecting the (*whole*) world,—(*she*) who appeared like an unsullied banner fluttering from the staff of his long pedigree.

¹ Monier-Williams gives *√jan-eridh* (causal) in the sense of 'presenting'.

² There is a pun on '*vibudha*' which means 'a god' also. The verse apparently means that he turned all gods into Kubēra, the figure being *Virāḍvibudha*.

³ Ordinarily it is the moon which causes the tides of the ocean.

⁴ *Alakā* is the city of Kubēra, the god of wealth.

⁵ She was the wife of Dakṣa.

(V. 23) Having performed the nuptial ceremony, the king Gayakarna bore intense love for her as Saṅkara did for Śivā (*i.e.*, Umā).

(V. 24) She, a home of amour, a pitcher (*brimful*) of accomplishments, a garland of beauty, a store-house of noble qualities, had, by the king Gayakarna, a son, the prince Narasiṃha.

(V. 25) May the rising moon of the glory of this king, the illustrious Narasiṃhadēva, saturate, as it were, the walls of the quarters with a beautiful white-wash; and may the earth, having secured in him a worthy lord, experience such delight that she would not, even slightly, think of its past great rulers!

(V. 26) May his younger brother Jayasiṃhadēva, who does marvellous service to his elder brother as (Lakshmaṇa,) the son of Sumitrā, did to Rāma, attain victory! —(he) who, behold! being long-armed, vanquishes the gigantic forces of his enemies roaring like clouds, and practising many tricks (*even as Lakshmaṇa defeated the hosts of Mēghanāda and the wily and stalwart Atikāya*)!¹

(V. 27) The generous Alhaṇadēvī, the mother of the illustrious Narasiṃhadēva, caused this temple of the moon-crested (*god*) to be built together with that monastery of wonderful storeys.

(V. 28) She also caused her people to construct a lecture-hall, that continuous line of gardens, as well as two rows (*of rooms attached*) to the temple of Sambhu.

(V. 29) To the god named Vaidyanātha the queen donated, for his beautiful decoration,² the village named Nāmatūṇḍī (*situated*) in the Jāulipattalā, together with all income.

(V. 30) And she gave another village named Makarapāṭaka (*situated*) on the right bank of the Narmadā and in the land near the foot of the hills.

(V. 31) May the Pāsupata ascetic, the holy Rudrarāśi of Lāṭa lineage, duly arrange for the management of this place so long as Sambhu pervades the worlds!

(V. 32) In the Maunya lineage which has the three *pravara*s Bhārgava, Vaitehavya and Sāvēṭasa, there was born, from one named Mahēśvara, (*a son*) Dharaṇīdhara by name, possessed of greatness, glory and fortune.

(V. 33) Who, encircled by a delightful lustre, being full of exceedingly great affection and occupying, for long, an agreeable position, acted like a lamp of the three worlds (*which is surrounded by a halo of light, is filled to over-flowing with oil, and has a long and beautiful wick*).

(V. 34) His son Pṛithvīdhara, who has seen the further shore of the deep ocean of all the *Sūtras*, and by the crowds of whose pupils the circle of regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.

(V. 35) His younger brother, a learned man named Śaśīdhara, proficient in dialectics and wonderfully clever, composed this eulogy.

(V. 36) The architect Pīthē, who is conversant with the science (*taught*) by Viśvakarman,³ planned all this as Pṛithu did the earth.

(V. 37) Mahīdhara, the son of Bālasirīha, the foremost of artisans, incised the stone with letters so as to resemble the starry sky.

¹ *Mēghanāda* and *Atikāya* were Rāvaṇa's sons who were defeated by Lakshmaṇa; see the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, Yuddhakāṇḍa, adhyāyas 90 and 71 respectively. *Prakasta* was also the name of Rāvaṇa's general.

² Kielhorn translates *chārṇ-charchā-prasiddhyai* as 'to make known her good report'; but *charchā* which literally means 'smearing' or 'anointing', seems to be used here in the wider sense of 'decoration'.

³ As pointed out by Kielhorn the adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work.'

(Line 19) (In) the year 909, (the month) Mārgaśīrṣa (and) the bright (fortnight), on the (lunar) day 11, on Sunday.

No. 61: PLATE I

LAL-PAHAD ROCK INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 909

THIS inscription was discovered in 1873-74 by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who published a transcript of it together with a photostereotype in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 94 and Plate II. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-13. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

The inscription is rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called Lāl-Pahāḍ near Bharhut, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It contains eight lines, of which the last is separated from the rest by some distance. The writing of the first seven lines covers a space 17½" in height; the first three lines are 2' 6", the next four 1' 9½" and the last 1' 4" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from 1.2" to 2.5".

The characters are Nāgarī. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of *r*, one of which shows a horizontal line and the other a loop on the left, and of *dh* in *-pād-ānudhyāt-*, l. 2, and *-Mahārājādhirāja-*, l. 1; *s* and *bh* appear everywhere in the modern Nāgarī forms. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we may note that *ḥ* is denoted by the sign for *v* as in *-Vallādevakya-*, l. 6 and the dental *s* is used for the palatal *ś* in all cases except *Śrī*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Narasimhadēva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is described as *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the lord of Trikalīṅga, who by his own arm had acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadēva. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by Ballādevaka (or Rāuta¹ Ballādeva as he is called in the last line), the son of the illustrious Kayavāditya,² *Mahārājaputra* of the village Vadyavā. This Kayavāditya seems to have been a high official of the king Narasimhadēva, during whose reign the inscription was engraved.

The inscription is dated, in line 7, in the year 909 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, on the fifth tithi of the bright half of Śrāvapa, on Wednesday. The date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., there were two Śrāvas in the expired Kalachuri year 909. Of these the first or *adhika* Śrāvapa is evidently intended here; for the fifth tithi of the bright half of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the corresponding Christian date being the 2nd July 1138 A. C.³

¹ *Rāuta* (*Rājaputra*) and *Mahārājaputra* appear to be titles of officials.

² Both Cunningham and Kielhorn read this name as *Kāya (ś)āditya*, but there is no sign of the medial *ś* on *k*, and the following letter is not *s* which has a different shape throughout this record.

³ In the *śiṣa* Śrāvapa the tithi ended on Friday, the 1st August 1138 A. C. Kielhorn has cited some other instances in which an *adhika* month has not been specified as such in the wording of the date. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212. See also the date of the Tewar stone inscription of the reign of Jayasimhadēva (No. 66, below).

The village Vadyavā which was probably situated in the vicinity of Lāl-Pahāḍ cannot now be traced.

TEXT¹

- 1 [सिद्धिः १] स्वस्ति श्रीः ।*] परममहाराकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर(स्व)रक्षी-
- 2 वामदेवपादानुध्यात्(त)परममहाराकमहाराजाधिराजपर-
- 3 मेश्वर(स्व)रपरममाहेश्वर(स्व)रत्रिकलिगाधिपतिनिजभुजोपा[र्जित]तम^३-
- 4 स्व(स्व)पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजश्या(त्रया)धिपति(त्य)श्रीमन्नर-
- 5 सिंहदेवचरणाः ॥ वसवामकस्य महारा-
- 6 जपुमभीकयवादित्यपुमव(व)ल्लालदेवकस्य बहः ।
- 7 [सं]वत् १०९ सा(आ)वण सुदि ५ बुदे^६ ॥ [श्रीः] [॥*]
- 8 राउत श्रीव(व)ल्लालदेवः ॥*

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Sri! (*There reigns*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious and venerable *Narasimhadēva*, the devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*, the lord of *Trikaṇṭga*, who by his own arm has acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*. (*There has been constructed*) (*this*) channel of *Ballāladēvaka*, the son of the great prince, the illustrious *Kayavāditya*.⁷

(Line 7) (*In*) the year 909, (*the month*) Śrāvaṇa (*and*) the bright (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) day 5, on Wednesday.

(L. 8) The *Rāuta*, the illustrious *Ballāladēva*.

NO. 62; PLATE LI

ALHA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA : (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216

'THIS inscription together with two others is on a block of stone, which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the Alha-Ghāt, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rewa to the plain of the Ganges." . . . It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photo-lithograph was published in the *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 115 and Plate xxviii'⁸ Its date was next referred to by Dr. Kielhorn in connection with the epoch of the Kalachuri era in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 218. The record was finally edited, without any translation or facsimile, by the same scholar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

¹ From inked estampages supplied by the Director General of Archæology.

² Expressed by a faint symbol.

³ अस्वपति which was at first omitted was incised later on in ll. 3 and 4. Read भुजोपाजितास्वपति-.

⁴ This name was read as *Kāmaditya* by Cunningham and Kielhorn; see above, p. 321, n. 2.

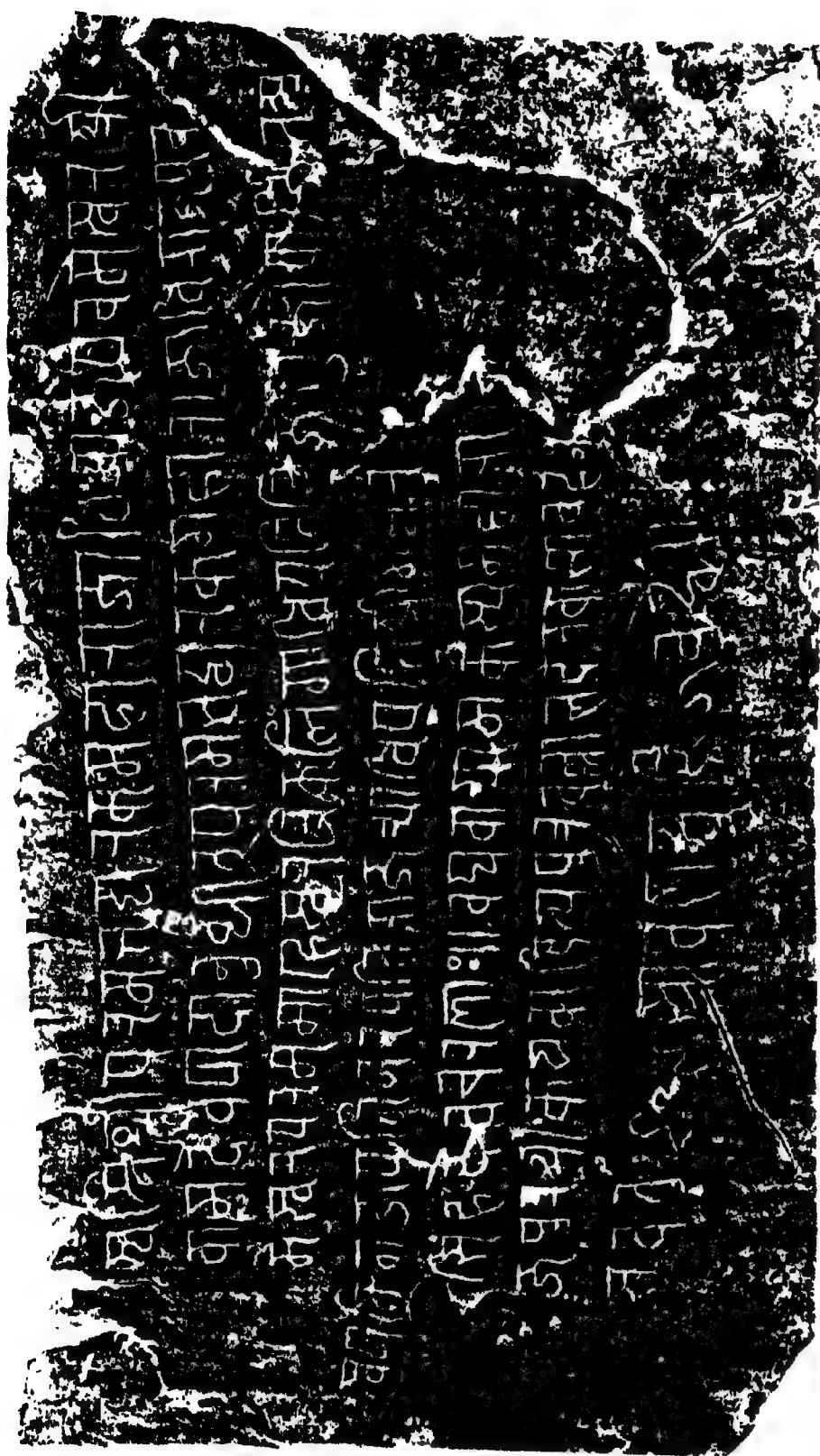
⁵ This *doṣa* is superfluous.

⁶ The *mātrā* on *adb* is quite clear. Read बुदे.

⁷ See above, p. 321, n. 2.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 213.

LAL-PAHAD ROCK INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 909



The inscription contains seven lines and covers a space about 2' broad by 1' high. It is in a state of good preservation. The letters are deeply engraved, but not well-formed. Their size varies from .8" to 1.4". The characters are Nāgarī. The only form which calls for notice is that of *r* which has a triangle instead of a loop on the left of its vertical; see, e.g., *Mahārājā*, l. 1. The language is incorrect Sanskrit. We may notice, for instance, the wrong elision of the case-affix in *-sādhanā*, l. 5, *jāti*, l. 6, *etc.*, and of the feminine affix in *-Āmikādēva* (for *-Āmbikādēvi*) in l. 4 as well as the incorrect participial forms *udharitah* for *udhārītā* in l. 6 and *karāpitā* for *kārītā*, ll. 4-5. In respect of orthography we find that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in *-usādhanā*, l. 4, *Kausāmbi*, l. 5; *j* is used for *y* in *Kali-juga*, l. 3, the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *Kausāmbi* and the lingual *sh* for *kh* in *lishitā* l. 6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious Narasimhadēva, the *Mahārājādhirāja* of *Dāhāla*, who is evidently identical with the homonymous Kalachuri king who ruled at Tripurī. Its object is to record that the *Rāpaka*, the illustrious Chhīhula, the son of the illustrious Jālhana, the *Mahārāpaka* of the Pipalāma fort caused the *Shatashadikā-ghāt* to be constructed and (a temple of) the goddess *Ambikā* to be built near the road leading to it. He is thereby said to have freed (from the bondage of worldly existence) the whole tribe of the *Rautiās* (*Rāuts*) dwelling in *Kausāmbī*.¹ This seems to suggest that he had himself originally hailed from that place. The record finally mentions the names of the writer and of the artisans who executed the work.

The inscription opens with the date, *Saṁvat* 1216, the first (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada*, Sunday. As we know that Narasimhadēva was ruling in the Kalachuri year 909, the date of the present inscription must be referred to some other era. The only era which would suit the present case is the *Vikrama* era. As Dr. Kielhorn has shown, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* in the northern expired (or southern current) *Vikrama* year 1216 ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise and was, therefore, current at sunrise on Sunday as required, the corresponding Christian date being the 16th August 1159 A. C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription *Dāhāla* or *Dāhala*, which the lexicographers give as a synonym of *Chēdi*, denoted generally the country between the *Gaṅgā* and the *Narmadā*,² corresponding to the modern *Baghelkhand*. *Kausāmbī* has already been identified with the village *Kōsam*, 28 miles west by south from *Allahabad*. *Shatashadikā-ghāt* may have been the ancient name of the *Alha-Ghāt*. *Pipalāmadurga* cannot be identified.

TEXT*

- 1 सिद्धिः⁴ [1*] संवत्(स) १२१६ आश्विदि प्रतिपदा(वि) रवी ॥ बाहलीयमहाराजा-
- 2 वि(वि) राजश्रीनरसिम्हदेव⁵ विजयराजे ॥ पिपलामदुर्गस्थे (स्व ?) महा-

¹ The text has clearly *Kausāmbī-nikāya*. *Pāṇini*, III, 3, 41 gives *nikāya* in the sense of 'habitation', 'dwelling', and the *Siddhāntakhaṇḍikā* gives *Kāśī-nikāya* as an illustration.

² See *Bhāgavata-Narmadāyātrā-mādhyaṁ* *Dāhala-maṇḍalāt* in line 34 of the *Malikapuram* stone inscription of *Rudradēva*, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 156.

³ From inked stampages.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read श्रीनरसिम्हदेव-

⁶ Dr. Kielhorn read *Pipa[s][āw ?]durg[ā]*. The *ā* on *s* is very doubtful and the following

- ३ राणकम्भीजाल्हणा^१पुत्र राणकम्भीच्छीहुलस्य^२ कलिजु(यु)ग—
 ४ धम्मार्थि(यं) षट्षडिकाषाटवं(वं)वनमार्गेतटामिकादेव करा—
 ५ पिता इति^३ ॥ धम्मार्थिकाममोक्षसाधन(नम्) ॥ कौसाम्बिनिकाय^४ रो—
 ६ तिजा नाम जाति उधरितः^५ ॥ ठकुर श्रीकमलाधर^६ लिषि(लि)तं [१*]
 ७ सूत्रधार कमलसीहाः^७ [१*] सोमे । कोकास ॥ पाल्हण [१] [३]ल्हण ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (In) the year 1216, on Sunday, the first (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Bhādra (i.e., Bhādrapada), during the victorious reign of the illustrious Narasimha-dēva, the Mahārājādhirāja of Dāhāla, the Rāṇaka, the illustrious Chhīhula, the son of the illustrious Jālhaṇa, the Mahārāṇaka of Pipalāma fort, constructed the Shaṭṭa-shaḍikā ghāt and (the temple of) the goddess Ambikā near the road (leading to it) for (the acquisition of) religious merit in the Kali age. This is a means of (acquiring) religious merit, wealth, pleasure and liberation. The tribe of Rautiā (Rauts) living in Kauśāmbī⁸ has been liberated (by this religious deed).

(L. 6) (This) has been written by the Thakkura, the illustrious Kamalādhara. (The work was executed by) the artisans, Kamalasimha, Sōmē, Kōkāsa, Pālhaṇa (and) Dālhaṇa.

No. 63; PLATE LII

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

THESE plates were found in a stone-box while digging for the foundation of a Kōt-wāli building at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. When first discovered, the plates were thickly covered with verdigris. Several aksharas especially in ll. 10-17 of the first plate have consequently been damaged a good deal, but as the present inscription has this portion in common with some other records⁹ of the Kalachuri dynasty, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. The writing on the second plate is fortunately in a state of fair preservation. Nothing of historical importance has, therefore, been lost. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The inscription was published, with lithographs but without any translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 91 ff. It is edited here from the original plates and from ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. K. Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

akshara appears to be *ma*, though the horizontal stroke at the top is wanting. The last akshara again is doubtful. If the reading given above is correct, it may be explained as formed on the analogy of *atratya*, *ibatya* etc., though it is against Pāṇini, IV, 2, 104.

¹ Read जाल्हण—. There is no clear indication of the vertical 'stroke' after *ga* being cancelled.

² The original has *chhchīhulasya*. Read श्रीच्छीहुलेम.

³ Read वंशनं मार्गेतटामिका देवी च कारितेति.

⁴ Read कौशाम्बीनिकाया. The aksharas are perfectly clear here. So Kielhorn's suggestion that the reading may be —*nivāsi* cannot be upheld.

⁵ Read जानिकद्धारिता.

⁶ Read कमलाधरेण.

⁷ Read सूत्रधारः कमलसिंहः. The case-affixes of the following words also are dropped.

⁸ See above p. 323, n. 1.

⁹ *Viz.*, the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarna (Nos. 56 and 57, above) and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha (Appendix No. 4, below).

ALHA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216

एतदेव ॥ १ ॥ इन्द्रादुत्तरेति ॥ २ ॥ इन्द्रादुत्तरेति ॥ ३ ॥
 विनाशजीनवर्ष ॥ ४ ॥ विनाशजीनवर्ष ॥ ५ ॥ विनाशजीनवर्ष ॥ ६ ॥
 जीनवर्ष ॥ ७ ॥ जीनवर्ष ॥ ८ ॥ जीनवर्ष ॥ ९ ॥ जीनवर्ष ॥ १० ॥
 प्रभात ॥ ११ ॥ प्रभात ॥ १२ ॥ प्रभात ॥ १३ ॥ प्रभात ॥ १४ ॥
 प्रभात ॥ १५ ॥ प्रभात ॥ १६ ॥ प्रभात ॥ १७ ॥ प्रभात ॥ १८ ॥
 प्रभात ॥ १९ ॥ प्रभात ॥ २० ॥ प्रभात ॥ २१ ॥ प्रभात ॥ २२ ॥
 प्रभात ॥ २३ ॥ प्रभात ॥ २४ ॥ प्रभात ॥ २५ ॥ प्रभात ॥ २६ ॥
 प्रभात ॥ २७ ॥ प्रभात ॥ २८ ॥ प्रभात ॥ २९ ॥ प्रभात ॥ ३० ॥

They are two copper-plates, each measuring 1' 2" broad and 9½" high. The first plate weighs 226½ *tolas* and the second 213½ *tolas*. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both the sides. In the middle of the top of each plate there is a hole, .8" in diameter, for the ring which must have originally held the plates together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been attached to it, was apparently discovered.¹

The record consists of 43 lines, of which twenty are inscribed on the inner side of each plate and the remaining three on the outer side of the second. The inscription seems to have been completed at first in the last line on the inner side of the second plate; for the words *maṅgalam mahāśrīḥ*, which usually indicate the completion of a record, occur at the end of that line. It seems, therefore, plausible, as conjectured by R. B. Hiralal, that the engraver whose name was at first inadvertently omitted, induced the Head of the Department of Religion to compose one more verse about himself to serve as an excuse for engraving the second side of the second plate, before he could insert his own name.

The characters are Nāgarī. They are beautifully formed and carefully incised. The size of the letters varies from .3" to .4". The *akshara da* which was omitted in l. 2 has been written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 following it, and the place of omission is shown with an inverted *kākapada* above the line.² As regards individual letters we may note that the initial *i* appears in its old form, see, e.g., *iva*, l. 6; *ṣ* is still without its dot, see *-Trikaṅgā-*, l. 21; while *th*, *dh* and *jñ* approximate to their modern Nāgarī forms; see, e.g., *yathā*, l. 31, *-madhūkaḥ*, l. 28, *saṁājñāpayanti*, l. 25; *ḥ* is indicated by its proper sign in a few cases where it appears as the superscript letter of a ligature, see, e.g., *=abja-*, l. 1. The language is Sanskrit. The eulogistic part of the grant which extends to l. 19 is in verse; it is followed by the formal part in prose in ll. 19-21. Then come the benedictive and imprecatory verses, of which as many as eleven are included here in ll. 31-39. Two more verses, one recording the name of the writer and the other in praise of the Head of the Religious Department, are next added. The record finally ends with the name of the engraver in prose. Verses 1-12 of the present grant which carry the genealogy of the donor from Brahman to Yaśaḥkarma occur in the same order in the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarma. The draft of the present grant is, however, shorter than the corresponding portion of the aforementioned grants of Yaśaḥkarma by three verses.³ Again, all the verses of the eulogistic part of the present inscription are repeated in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Vijayasimhadēva, which contains seven more verses⁴ in its corresponding portion. As regards orthography, we find that the sign of *v* is used to denote *b* except in ligatures see, e.g., *abja-*, ll. 1 and 2; *-abhi-*, ll. 2 and 5 etc.; the palatal and dental sibilants are generally used each in its proper place, but occasional deviations from this are also noticed, see, e.g., *-rasanā* for *-raśanā* in l. 3 and *śravantyaḥ* for *śravantyaḥ*, l. 12; finally, *y* is used for *j* in *griha-yāmātaram*, l. 2.

The plates were issued by the king Jayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. He is described here exactly like his elder brother Narasimha in the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village Agarī near Akharauda, which the king made at Tripurī after bathing in the

¹ The Rai brothers of Kapri kindly showed me a seal of Jayasimhadēva which was previously in the collection of Hiralal (Plate LII). But there was no indication of its having been soldered to or otherwise connected with any ring.

² It does not, therefore, signify २२ २ or २२ २ as supposed by Hiralal and Hirananda Sastri respectively, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 93 and n. 1.

³ *Vij.*, verses 9, 11 and 13 of the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56).

⁴ *Vij.*, verses 9, 14, 16, 19-21 and 24.

Rēvā on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on Saturday, the full-moon tithi of Āśvina in the year 918 (expressed in numerical figures only). The date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Dēlhaṇa, the son of Dāmōdara of the Agastya gōtra with three *pravaras*.¹ Among the officials to whom the order is addressed occur the names of the *Mahārājī* Kēlhaṇadēvi,² the *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva, the *Dharma*pradhāna Paṇḍita Rāghava, the *Sāndhivigrahika* Purushōttama, the *Pratihāra* Kamalasimha and the *Dushṭasādhyā* Padmasimha. Some of these figure in other records also. Thus the *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva is mentioned in the Jabalpur stone inscription (No. 64) and in the Dhurēti plates (No. 72) and the *Sāndhivigrahika* Purushōttama in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No. 4). In the enumeration of the rights, privileges and exemptions of the donee there occur some technical terms, the exact signification of which is not yet known. This portion is repeated *verbatim* in the later Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha.

As all the verses descriptive of Jayasimha's ancestors down to Yaśaḥkarna are repeated here from older records like the Khairhā plates, they furnish no additional historical information. We are next told that Yaśaḥkarna was succeeded by Gayākarna. The latter had, from his queen Alhaṇadēvi, a son named Narasimhadēva. His younger brother Jayasimhadēva, who succeeded him, is the donor of the present plates. The verses descriptive of these princes also contain mere conventional praise and are altogether devoid of historical interest.

The importance of the present inscription lies mainly in the data it furnishes for testing Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. According to Kielhorn's final view,³ the Kalachuri era commenced on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina in 248 A.C. As the bright fortnight of Āśvina thus fell in the beginning of the Kalachuri year, we should get the Christian equivalent of a date in that fortnight by adding 247 or 248 to the particular Kalachuri year according as the latter is current or expired. Thus the date of the present grant,—Saturday, the full-moon day of Āśvina with a lunar eclipse in the (Kalachuri) year 918,—should fall in 1165 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 918 was current, and in 1166 A.C. if it was expired. But neither of these would suit; for, in the former year, the tithi fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in the latter on Monday (the 10th October). Nor was there a lunar eclipse on that tithi in either of these years. On the other hand, if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began in some month later than Āśvina, say in Kārttika, the date of the present grant would regularly correspond, for the *expired* year 918, to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A.C., on which day the *pūrṇimā* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the present grant. This date, therefore, is clearly adverse to Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. It shows that the year must have commenced on some date later than the full-moon tithi of Āśvina.⁴

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Tripurī, Rēvā, Karnāvatī and Kuntala have already been identified. Agarā, the donated village, is

¹ The *pravaras* are not mentioned in the present inscription. They are variously enumerated by the authorities on *pravaras*. Some give them as Āgastya, Dārḍhachyuta and Aidhmavāha, while some others substitute Sāmbhavāha in place of Aidhmavāha. For other enumerations, see *Gōtra*pravarānibandhakadamba, pp. 86 ff.

² The Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha mention Gōsaladēvi as the mother of Vijayasimha and consequently as the queen of Jayasimha. She seems to be different from this Kēlhaṇadēvi.

³ See his article 'Die Epoche des Cedi-Aera' in the *Festschrift an Roth*, pp. 53 ff.

⁴ For another case of this type, see the date of the Amōdā plates of Pṛithvidēva (Second Set) of K. 905 (No. 94, below).

TEXT 1

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः ॥१॥ जो नमो ब(ब)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जगन्नाथस्तस्य नामीश्वरो[जं] जयति जय[ति]
त[स्मा]ज्जा[त]नान्मन्यति ॥ जय जयति स तस्या-
 - 2 परममविस्तव[ध]स्तव[ध]नु जयति जयन् प्राप्तवानन्निव(व)न्दुः ॥१॥[११॥] जय वो(वो)वन-
मावि[रा]जपुत्रं [गु]ह्या(वा)मातरमन्ववा(वा)न्यस्य ॥ तमयं जनयाव(व)-
 - 3 भूय राजा गणनाभोगतडागराज[हंस] ॥१॥[२१॥] पुत्रं पुत्ररत्न[मी]र[स]माप सुतुह्यस्य
[स]प्ता[व]लरा[मि]रसावकस्य ॥ आसीदन्मत्तय-
 - 4 भाग्यशालोपभोग्या यस्तोर्व्वशी च सुक[ल]व[मि]होर्व्वरा च ॥१॥[३१॥] जया[न्य]ये किल
[स(ध)ता]धिकस्यतिमेधयूपोपकृत्यमुनोस्तविभितकीतिः ॥ स-
 - 5 प्ताम्बिरत्नरस[स]नाभरण्याभिराभयिस्वभराशुभरतो भरतो ब(ब)भूय ॥१॥[४१॥] हेलागु[ही]-
त[पु]नरुक्तस[म]स्तपस्वो [गो]मे जयत्यधिकमस्य
 - 6 स कास्तवीर्यैः ॥ जय[ध]हे[ह]यनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपूंसि राजेति नाम शयलकम्प[णि] जयमे वः ॥१॥[५१॥]
[स]हि[मा]च[क]इव कलचुरिबंसमय-
 - 7 त जगतीभृतां भ[र्ता] ॥ मुक्ताभ[णि]मि[रि]वाभलवृत्तैः पूतं महीपतिभिः ॥१॥[६१॥] तत्रान्वये
नमवतां प्रवरो [न]रें[द्र]ः पीरव[री]मिच पुंरिं त्रि-
 - 8 पुरीं पुनातः ॥ आसीन्मवान्मृगपगन्धगजाभिराजनिम्माभिकैसरियुवा मुवराजदेवः ॥१॥[७१॥] सि-
[हा]वने नृपतिसिंहममुष्य सून-
 - 9 [मा]रुह[प]न्नवनिभर्तुरमात्ममुखाः ॥ कोकलमणौवच[तु]ष्टयवीचि[सं]वसंमृदुवचतु[रंग]चमू-
प्रचारं(रम्) ॥१॥[८१॥] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रोढव-
 - 10 साः स्मितास्यो¹⁰ नगर[परि]वदे[धी]¹¹(ध्वे)] लंघयन्दोह्वयेन ॥ [धि]र[सि] कुलिशपातो
वैरि[णा]वी[र]ल[क्ष्मी]पतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥१॥[९१॥]
 - 11 प्राप्य [प्र]यागव[ट]मूल[नि]वेश[व(व)धौ] [सा]र्द्धं शतेन गृहिणी[मि]रमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्) ॥
पुनोस्य सङ्गवलिस्तारिकरीन्द्रकुंभमुवताकलैः [स्म] ककुभोर्ध्वति
 - 12 [कर्ण]दे[वः] ॥१॥[१०१॥] अग्रं धाम श्रेयसो वेदविद्याव[स्ती]कंदः ॥ [स्वः]ध¹²

14 This ~~where~~ is quite clear. Read ~~एवमवस्था~~.

- वंत्याः किरीटं(टम्) । [ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तंबो¹(बो)] येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्यक्षा[मि] द्वा[त]ल-
ब्र(ब्र)ह्मलो-
- 13 कः ॥²[११॥*] अ[जनि] कल[चु]रीणां स्वा[मि]ना [ते]न हूणान्वयजलनिधिल[क्ष्मां]
श्रीम[दाव]ल्ल[देव्यां](व्याम्) ॥³* श[शभुदुद]यशंकाक्षुब्धदुग्धाब्धिवीचीस-
- 14 हृच[रित]यशःश्रीः [श्री]यशःकर्णदेवः ॥⁴[१२॥*] [त]स्या[त्पजो]भूद[तुल]प्रता[पः]
श्रीमद्गयाकर्ण इ[ति] प्रतीतः । यस्याहवेषुद्धतवैरिकण्ठच्छेदा-
- 15 [स्र]पूर्ण[व घ]रानुरक्ता ॥⁵[१३॥*] [अ]साव[ल्ल]णदेव्यां श्रीनरसिंहनरेस्व(श्व)रं(रम्) ।
[संबे]दन[मि]वेच्छायां प्रयत्नं सु[पु]वे सु(शु)भं(भम्) ॥⁶[१४॥*] उच्चैर्हिरण्यकशि-
- 16 पुप्रतिपादनेन प्रीति परं विवु(बु)धसंहतिषु प्रकुर्व्व[न्] । सौंदर्यसार[वि]निवारितसा(मा) रगर्व्व-
दिचित्रं तथा[प्य]यमहो नरसिंहदेवः ॥⁷[१५॥*]
- 17 तस्यानुजो वि[जय]तां जय[सि]ह[दे]वः शौर्यो[ज्व(ज्ज्व)]लैर[पि] नृपैः क्रियमाणसे[व]ः ।
यदाम(न)लुप्तयशसेव सुरद्रुमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(ब)लिना प्रलीनं(नम्) ॥[१६॥*] नष्टं गूर्ज्वर[भू]भुजा भुजव(व)लं मुक्तं तुरुष्केण
च त्यक्तः कुंतल[नाय]केन सहसा कंदर्पकैलिक्रमः । श्रुत्वा
- 19 श्रीजयसि[ह]देवनृपते राज्याभिषेकं नृपाः संत्रासादपरेप्यपास्य जग[तीं] पारे ययुर्ध्वारिभेः ॥⁸
[१७॥*] परमभट्टारक-
- 20 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहे-

Second Plate : First Side

- 21 श्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपाज्जिताश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजप्रयाधिपति (त्यः) श्रीमज्जय-
सिंहदेव एते विजयि-
- 22 नः ॥⁹ महाराज्ञी श्रीकेल्हणदेवी । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्रीमद्राजगुरुविमलशिव । महा-
पुरोहित । धर्मप्रधान
- 23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानार्थलेखिठक्कुरश्रीदशमूलिक । सांधिविग्रहिकठक्कुरश्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्र-
तीहारश्रीकमलसिंह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्यश्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तवार । अश्वसाधनिक । भांडागारिक ।
इत्येतानन्याश्च प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 नग्रामनिवासिजनपदाश्चाहूय यथाहं मानयन्ति बो(बो)धयंति समाज्ञापयंति च । विदितमस्तु
भवताम् । संवत् ९१८ आश्वि-
- 26 न सु(शु)दि पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्यां सोमग्रहणे रेवायां विधिवत्स्नात्वा श्रीमहा-
देवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रो-
- 27 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अखरोदसमीपे अगाराग्रामः स्वसीमापर्यंतश्चतुराष्टाटविशुद्धः सगोप्र-
चारः ।⁹

¹ The lower part of this *akshara*, which is extant, shows that the word was स्तंबो, not स्तंभो as read by Hirālāl.

² Metre: *Śālinī*.

³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁴ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁵ Metre: *Amshubh*.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ The marks of punctuation in lines 22-24 are superfluous.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

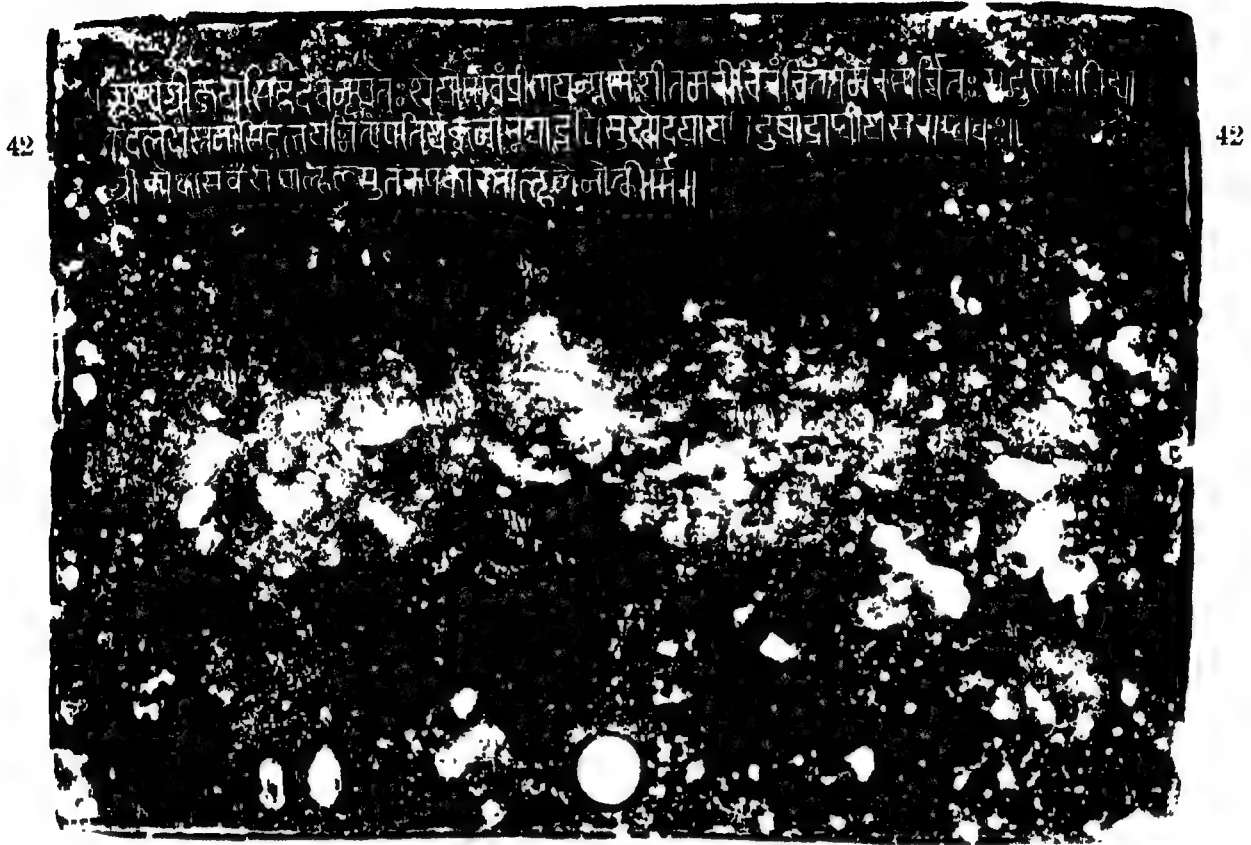
JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYANIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

i.

2 2
 4 4
 6 6
 8 8
 10 10
 12 12
 14 14
 16 16
 18 18
 20 20

ii, a.

22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28
 30 30
 32 32
 34 34
 36 36
 38 38
 40 40



A Seal of Jayasimha.



(From a photograph).

- 28 सजलस्थलः साग्नमनूकः सलवंगकरः सगतीभरः सनिर्ममप्रवेशः सबाङ्गलानूपो वृक्षारामो-
त्रिदोषा-
- 29 नतुणाविसहितः समदीपवर्धतः¹ भागकरप्रवणिवाडचरीरसवतीकामतविसेणिमादायपट्टकिलादायदुः-
साध्यादा-
- 30 यवि(वै)वयिकादायाविकृतकरिष्यमाणादायैः सह² अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय पंडितश्रीदामोदर-
पुत्राय पंडितश्रीदेवहूण-
- 31 सन्मने जा(वा)हृणायोदकपूर्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुमवति यथा ॥
सर्वानितान्माविनः पार्थिवे-
- 32 न्द्रान्मूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं वर्मसेतुम् (भुं) पाषा काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥³
[१८॥*] व(व)हृमिर्भसुधा [भु]क्ता राज-
- 33 मिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य वदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा कलं (लम्) ॥⁴ [१९॥*] सुवर्णमेकं
गामेका भूमेरप्येकमकुलं (लम्) । हरश्चरकमानोति याच-
- 34 दामूतसंलव(वम्) ॥ [२०॥*] तटागानां सहस्रेण भवमेधसतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भू-
मिहर्ता न शृण्यति ॥ [२१॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् व-
- 35 सुवरां (राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितुभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२२॥*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः । जाच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
- 36 व नरके वसेत् ॥ [२३॥*] वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कुष्णसर्पस्तु जायन्ते देव-
व(व)हृस्वहारिणः ॥ [२४॥*] अभ्यायेन
- 37 हुता भूमिरभ्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतश्च⁵ दहत्यास्तप्तमं कुलं (लम्) ॥ [२५॥*] भूमि
यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-
- 38 ति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [२६॥*] शंसो भद्रासनं च्छत्रं वराहवा
वरवारणाः [१*] भूमिदानस्य चिन्हा (ह्वा)-
- 39 नि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥ [२७॥*] अस्मिन्वंशे परिक्रीण (णो) यः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं हस्तल-
ग्नोस्मि शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [२८॥*]
- 40 अभ्युद्वरस्य पीत्रेण श्रीमद्वर्मस्य सुनुना । लिखितं वत्सराजेन चेदीशदशमूलिना ॥ [२९॥*]
मङ्गलं ॥ महाश्रीः ॥ ॐ

Second Plate : Second Side

- 41 सिद्धिः⁶ [११*] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहवेषनृपतेः श्रेयोर्णवं श्रीषयन्पूर्णः शीतमरीचिर्दक्षितसमैरभ्यञ्चितः
सवन्गुणैः । विद्याः
- 42 कवलवस्तर्मासि दलयन्तित्यं पतिर्यज्वना भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां द्रावीयसे राघवः ॥⁷
[३०॥*]
- 43 श्रीकोकासवंशपाह्णसुतकपकारतालहृणेनोत्कीर्णं (र्णम्) ॥

Seal

श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव[ः*] ॥

¹ Read -पर्वतो.

² Read सहायस्व-

³ Metre: *Sālin*.

⁴ Metre of verses 19-29: *Anushubh*.

⁵ The metre requires a reading like हरयतश्च, but it would be ungrammatical.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration to Brahman!

[For a translation of verses 1-12, see that of vv. 1-8, 10, 12, 14 and 15, above, pp. 296 ff.]

(Verse 13) His (*i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarma's) son of unrivalled prowess became famous as the illustrious Gayākarma; in whose wars the earth, replete with blood from the cut-off necks of arrogant foes, was, as it were, in love (*with him*).

(V. 14) He begat on Alhapadēvi the illustrious prince Narasimhadēva, as sensation produces in will a righteous effort.

(V. 15) Though he caused great joy among multitudes of learned people by his precious gifts of gold and food¹ (*unlike the man-lion god who pleased hosts of gods only by killing Hiraṇyakasipu*) and did away with cupid's pride by his superb beauty (*unlike the ugly man-lion god*), he was, oh wonder! still (*called*) Narasimhadēva!

(V. 16) May his younger brother Jayasimhadēva be victorious—(*he*) who is waited upon even by princes resplendent with valour! Being deprived of their glory by his liberality, the celestial tree hastily left (*the world*) and Bali disappeared underground!

(V. 17) On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasimhadēva the Gurjara king disappeared, the Turushka lost the strength of (*his*) arms, the lord of Kuntala suddenly renounced all love-sports and other kings also, leaving the earth through apprehension, crossed the ocean.

(Line 19) This victorious (*king*), the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Jayasimhadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikaṭiṅga, who has by (*the might of*) his arm, attained suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva, —having called together the Mahārājāṇi, the illustrious Kēlhapadēvi, the Mahārājaputra, the Mahāmātya, the illustrious Rājaguru Vimalasīva, the Mahāpūrōhita, the Dharmapradhāna Paṇḍita, the illustrious Rāghava, the Mahāpradhāna, Arthalēkhin² Ṭhakkura the illustrious Daśamūlika,³ the Sāndhivigrahika Ṭhakkura, the illustrious Purushōttama, the Pratihāra, the illustrious Kamalasīmha, the Daśtasādhyā,⁴ the illustrious Padmasīmha, the Mahāsāmanta, the Akshapaṭalika, the Pramattavāra, the Aśvasādhānika, the Bhāṇḍāgārika—these and other (*officers*) and the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted,—duly honours, informs and commands them (*as follows*):—

(L. 25) "Be it known to you that on (*the occasion of*) the lunar eclipse on Saturday, the full-moon (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the year 918, we, having bathed in the Rēvā and having worshipped the holy Mahādēva, have given as a grant with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourselves, the village Agarā near Akharauda to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with pasture-land for cows, with land and water, with mango and mahua trees, with salt mines, with its pits and barren lands, with (*the right*

¹ There is a play on the word *Hiraṇyakasipu* which means (1) gold and food (*kasipu*) and (2) the name of a demon who was killed by Viṣṇu in his man-lion incarnation.

² This appears to be a technical title corresponding to the modern 'Chief Secretary.'

³ This officer is called *Daśamūlin* in verse 29 below. The post was then held by Vatsarāja. He is named in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No. 4, below) also.

⁴ This corresponds to the *Daśtasādhanika* usually mentioned in the records of the Pālas. It was a technical title probably denoting 'an officer in charge of criminals.'

of) egress and ingress, with fertile¹ and marshy lands, with trees-groves, plant-gardens, grass and so forth, with rivers and hills, with the (royal) share (of produce), taxes, (the cess on) *pravasi*,² *vidā*, grazing tax, liquor tax, *śānta*, the cess on *visṭpimā*,³ the tax levied for *Pastakilas*⁴ and *Dassādhyas*,⁵ the district rates and such other taxes levied or to be levied,—to the Brāhmana, the illustrious *Paṇḍita* Dāhapaśarma, the son of the illustrious *Paṇḍita* Dāmōdara, of the Agastya *gōtra* and three *pravaras*.⁶

And in this matter this is the prayer of the donor—

(Here follow eleven benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(V. 29) (This charter) has been written by Vatsarāja, the son of the illustrious Dharma and son's son of Abhyuddhara, (who is) the *Datamulin* of the lord of Chēdi. May there be bliss and great prosperity!

Success!

(V. 30) May Rāghava, the lord of sacrificers, the full moon that delights the ocean of well-being of this illustrious king Jayasimha, who is honoured on account of his virtues, cause great prosperity and happiness to the learned, making the lotus sprout forth, and annihilating ignorance!

(This charter) has been engraved by the sculptor Tālhapā, the son of Pālhapā of the illustrious Kōkāsa family.

Seal

The illustrious Jayasimha.

NO. 64; PLATE LIII

JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 926.

THE stone bearing this inscription was found at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The record has been referred to several times, e.g., by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, p. 535, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210 and, again, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, Appendix I, p. 10, n. 4 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, (second ed.), p. 42; but owing presumably to its very bad preservation⁷ none attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents. The record was for the first time edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 309

¹ Compare बरपोदकतुषो वस्तु प्रवातः प्रवृत्तः । न ज्ञेयो काकलको देवो बहुवाक्यारिसंयुतः ॥ in Kullūka's com. on *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya VII, v. 69.

² Kielhorn draws attention to the similarity of the expression *vaṇik-pravasi-pramukha* in l. 6 of the Rājōr inscription of Mathanādēva and *vaṇik-śrīśṛīṣṭi-purāṇa* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 263, n. 4). *Pravasi* therefore, seems to mean *śrīśṛīṣṭi*, a banker. *Pravasi-kara* is mentioned in other records also, see, e.g., line 28 of the Faizābād grant of Jayachandra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 12.

³ *Vāḍa*, *śānta* and *visṭpimā*, which occur also in the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha (below, Appendix, No. 4), I am unable to explain.

⁴ *Pastakilas* are mentioned in some records together with *jānapadas* (residents of the country) as persons living in the village to whom the royal order is addressed. See, e.g., line 18 of the Māndhātā plates of Jayasimha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 49. *Pastakila* probably represents the modern *Pāṭil* or headman of a village.

⁵ These were probably criminals and other suspects living within the limits of the village.

⁶ Hiralal remarks that 'this is a pretty big record, but is too much defaced to yield any useful information.' *J. C. P. B.*, p. 42.

ff. It is edited here from the original stone and its inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The writing covers a space 2' 7" broad and 1' 8½" high. The average size of the letters is .5". The surface of the stone which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by exposure to weather and several letters in the middle as well as the right-hand side of the first fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible.

The characters are Nāgarī. The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed. It will suffice to draw attention to the proper sign of *b* as an independent letter in *bibhrat*, l. 25 and in its superscript form in *=bvabhūv*, l. 9, to the form of the initial *i* in *iti*, l. 12, of the initial *ri* in *richām*, l. 15 and of *ś*, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8 in *Sivāya*, l. 11. The language is Sanskrit, and except for the obeisance to Siva in the beginning of the first line and the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifty in all. The orthography does not present anything calling for special notice except that *v* and *b* as well as *ś* and *s* are confounded in some places.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested god (Siva) by Vimalaśiva, the religious preceptor of the king Jayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripuri. The god was named Kīrtiśvara after Vimalaśiva's guru Kīrtiśiva. The inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse.¹

The record is dated in words as well as numerical figures in the year 926 without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to 1174-75 A. C. In this year there was only one solar eclipse, viz., that which occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa, on Tuesday, the 26th November, 1174 A. C. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasimha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up.² It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasimha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918³ to K. 928.⁴

After three *maṅgalā-slōkas* in praise of Siva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of Vimalaśiva⁵ and Vāstuśiva⁶ only are now completely legible. In line 8 we read the name of Puruṣaśiva who is described as the cause of Yaśaḥkarṇa's prosperity. Next is mentioned Śaktiśiva in connection with Gayākarṇa.

¹ I take *rauṣṭh parvati* in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. *Parvat* also means a *sanīkrānti*, but in that case the name of the *sanīkrānti* would have been specified.

² There was a solar eclipse on the *amāvāsyā* of *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha (the 1st June 1174 A. C.) also. So the year can be taken as current. But current years are cited very rarely.

³ Above, No. 63.

⁴ Below, No. 66.

⁵ This Vimalaśiva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.

⁶ I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmāśiva in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karṇa and represents Vāmadēva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karṇa downwards are described as meditating. (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.). A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmarāśi is also mentioned as living in Banaras in the Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla, dated V. 1083, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karṇa; for the next legible name is that of Puruṣaśiva who was the guru of Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa. But the second *akṣara* of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like *ma*. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadēva was a Kalachuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic; see *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, pp. 152 ff.

His desciple was Kirtisiva who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king Narasimha. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his description. The next eighteen verses refer to Vimalasiva. He belonged to the *gōtra* of Viśvāmītra and was the son of Madhusūdana and Urmā. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gōkarna, Gayā, and other *śrīkṣas*, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kirtisiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal, and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmanas constructed by him is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king Jayasimha devoutely bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalasiva built a temple of Siva under the name Kirtisvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kirtisiva. The king Jayasimha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages, which was named Tēkabhara, was situated in the *vishaya* (district) of Navapattalā and the other two named Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vaḍōha or Avaḍōha in Samudrapāṭa which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalachuri kings of Tripurī from Yaśaḥkarna downwards. It may, however, be noted in this connection that the Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gōvindachandra¹ mention the Śaiva Āchārya Rudrasiva, not Puruṣasiva, as the *Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥkarna. Perhaps Yaśaḥkarna had two *Rājagurus* in succession. The name of Vimalasiva, the *guru* of Jayasimha occurs in his Jabalpur plates² also.

The present *prastāvi* was composed by the poet Śaśidhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Maunya³ *gōtra*. He composed also the Bhērī-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, while his elder brother Prithvīdhara was the author of the Tēwar inscription of the reign of Gayākarna. The present record was incised on the stone by Nannadēva, the son of Mahīdhara. His father was the sculptor of the aforementioned stone inscription of the reign of Gayākarna and that of Alhaṇadēvi.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Tēkabhara may be identical with Tikhāri, 5 miles south by west of Jabalpur. The *vishaya* (district) of Navapattalā in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākhērā which lies about 8 miles west of Tikhāri. Samudrapāṭa is probably Samand Pipāriā, 4 miles south of Jabalpur. There are several villages named Kuṇḍa or Kuṇḍan near Jabalpur, one of which may represent the ancient Kaṇḍaravāḍa. No place exactly corresponding to Vaḍōha or Avaḍōha can, however, be traced in the Jabalpur District. Prabhāsa, Gōkarna and Gayā are too well-known to need identification.

TEXT⁴

1 सिद्धिः⁵ [1*] ओ नमः शिवाय ॥ उन्मीलकमलावलम्बि(म्ब)तरतिर्बन्धविजेन्द्रस्वित्तिर्निर्दोषा
[म]हितप्रकाशवसतिः [काश्यपूष्णोद्गतिः] । सम्यग्बजित[सञ्चिता]हितकृतिः [ओसम्बं]-
वेहोद्गतिर्भूत्वा पुण्यकुदात्मजः

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

² Above, No. 63. Vimalasiva is also mentioned in the Dhurēti plates, below, No. 72.

³ This is also the spelling of the name in the Bhērī-Ghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (above, No. 60, l. 26), but the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadambe* spells it as *Mama*.

⁴ From the original stone and ink impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- कतिपयवर्षाभ्यन्तरेऽपि । तस्य कीर्तिविक्रमः शिवा[स्तिस्रः ?] ॥५४॥ [अथ सः] ॥१२१॥^१
 [येन वै ?] ॥५५॥ ॥५५॥ ॥५५॥ ॥५५॥ । नरसिंहवरेणस्य वसुध-
 १२ म्भुवद्वयः सः ॥१२५॥^२ न त्वं न वसुधती न च वसुधती न च सादेविरमृतः च दिवयोनिः ।
 नेवुर्हतिः परपुराणि तत्रापि अस्मि न च वतः स इति कीर्तिविक्रमः स्तु- ॥१२६॥^३ यद्योर्गिरि-
 बुधिसर्वस्तर्वादिभिरुत्तमैः । मयपुरातः सन्निधा विभे-
 १३ म्भुवद्वयः ॥१२७॥^४ वृष्टी च विभु (वृ)ष्टमनोवयोपि । प्रसन्नचन्द्रप्रतिमाकरोपि । वृषप्रति-
 ष्ठोपि शिवावसवतोऽप्यमृतः मोक्षो न च सङ्घिबिभुः ॥१२८॥^५ कलपुष्टिफल
 यस्ति प्रदीपः । स यन्मैव तदेविविधाभि सन्नि-
 १४ ध्यायि शिवायसुरादुरिदिरायाः ॥१२९॥^६ विश्वामित्रवचनमिदमोत्तमैः नैव्याकलंकृताः । प्रापु-
 ष्विप्राः मित्रं न प्रतिष्ठा परमेष्ठिनः ॥१३०॥^७ येषां सम्प्रपन्नितवेदविषयज्ञानार्थमत्याद-
 रा[त्] ॥ येषां - ५५ - [रत्नावमयः] - - ५ - - ५ - । येषां [वा]र्षसमृद्धिभिः समन्व-
 १५ सिष्टानि पुस्तानि च प्रायस्त्वेन गृहीयुतामिष सदा प्रायश्चारायामपि ॥१३१॥^८ जमातना-
 मवपुगे नैत्री सने (वै)वृ. संवत् । येषां पदक्रमाधीती को (वै)वृ. च मकुसुदनः ॥१३२॥^९
 दक्षिणायावतंसस्य मृगयोर्गिरिवाधिकम् । व (व)वृ. अस्मि विभु (वृ)वोदो (वै)वाय म-
 १६ हिमोदयः ॥१३३॥^{१०} द्विषेन्मृगवशात्समाधुनेवोमानिषा वदुः । अलंभने तनूनेन स्कन्धेनेव
 जगत्प्रमयम् ॥१३४॥^{११} सोपीत्यवेवात्वेकावर्तनविशम्य वतं मनु । ५५५५५ - - ५ नमस्त्वानिव
 दक्षिणः ॥१३५॥^{१२} प्रसासवो कर्ण[य]म्यमितीर्षया-
 १७ नृप्यमापद्य सुरादिवर्य । शैवं वतं कीर्तिविश्राद्धमारः समग्रमुपायमन्युवदुः ॥१३६॥^{१३} कल्पा-
 युष्मिन्मलमिषः स एव [तस्या]द्वि (द्वि)भायः कल्पियुगकल्पमायमवम् । [यच्छा]यां विभु (वृ)व-
 गयोधिगम्य वते वैद्युत सत्तु [महोत्स]मोवयेदु ॥१३७॥^{१४} वा-
 १८ तिः सज्जनपुत्रितः कतिपयेववर्तमानाकृतिर्व्यभिः । कतिपयवर्षाभ्यन्तरेऽपि स्फीतिर्बुधानां
 गुरुः । रीतिः [प्रीति]करी सतामतितरा नीतिः सदा सद्भिदा [कीर्णं मङ्गल]मुत्तमैकसरणेऽस्यैव
 संवृष्यते ॥१३८॥^{१५} वागी सद्गुणनैपुणप्रण-
 १९ यिनी व (व)वृ. ह्यास्यपचायया श्रीः श्रीवत्सविभूषयत्स^{१६}वसतिप्रेमेति [को]कोक्तयः । एतस्मिन्मु-
 रद्वृत्तं द्वयमिदं सानन्द[मुद्यो] (द्वयो) [तले] ताम्बुधायुजजीवन[सुखनसा] भेटस्तु - - ५ - ॥१३९॥^{१७}
 विद्यासमुद्रचन्द्रस्य तपःशीलस्तीक्ष्णः । सत्त्वोत्सवाग्नेः स-
 २० इतमिन्द्रस्यास्यावृत्तं न किम् ॥१४०॥^{१८} अस्यायिद्विजराजवर्सेनवशादानाम्बु (म्बु)मिद्वै-
 र्वेते मद्या [राजिदिव] वरेण विधिना [वर्मेस्य] वत्कीरिव^{१९} । यो दर्शयति सावरं द्विजपती-

^१ Restore स्फुटं सः । Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

^२ Metre: *Anuṣṭup*.

^३ Metre: *Upejñti*.

^४ About 5 aksharas are missing here.

^५ About 7 aksharas are gone here.

^६ Metre: *Anuṣṭup*.

^७ Metre: *Anuṣṭup*.

^८ Metre: *Sārdhāśrīdita*.

^९ Metre of this and the next three verses: *Anuṣṭup*.

^{१०} Metre: *Upejñti*.

^{११} Metre: *Prakṛāṣṭa*.

^{१२} The *vinaya* is dropped here by the scribe on Pāṇini, VIII, 3.26.

^{१३} Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdhāśrīdita*.

^{१४} The second *śrī* here means 'the best'.

^{१५} Metre: *Anuṣṭup*.

^{१६} Properly *वत्कीरिव*, but this reading would not suit the metre.

- नवीणशोभाभरास्वको योजयसे सुवर्णमिकक(स)स्तद्रोहिनीनां स(श)तैः ॥¹[३८॥*]
- 21 सकलनृपतिकृत्यप्रत्यवेक्षासुखाख्यं संसधिकमधि --- ७ --- जयधुर्यः । द्विजेप्रतिपदि पूर्णः कोम-
लाभिः कलाभिः कलयति बललीलां योरि --- ७ --- ॥²[३९॥*] लक्ष्मीलीलाकटाक्षैरतिकृतु-
कतया संततं लक्ष्यमाणो-
- 22 प्यक्षाणां न क्षमी यः क्वचिदपि सहते स(श)क्तिमुत्सेवयिषीम् । पुण्यीपालेन भिर्यं व(व)हुल-
समुचिते कार्यजाते निमुक्तोप्यादते नैव जादयं [कथम]पि विधिवमित्यनेमितिकेषु ॥³
[४०॥*] नित्यं वासमवा ७ --- ७ ७ ७ --- ७ --- ७ --- संजने न निष्ठा-
- 23 रपूष्वंकविधि[द्वैत] न यथास्ति तत् । पात्रं तस्य यदन्वितं त व(व)हुलस्तीर्णं न तद्भूतले दान-
स्मानतपोभिरव्युत्तयेयमामुना संस्कृतम् ॥⁴[४१॥*] साधीयांसि महीयांसि स्वैयांसि स्थाणु-
रुपिणः । श्रेयांसि यस्य बद्धन्ते महंसीव यथा-
- 24 सि च ॥⁵[४२॥*] दधानसरसी [सत्त्व]प्रासादद्विजवेक्षमभिः । भूमिः परिभवत्प्रस्य न कैर्भूवा-
मरेदिवम् ॥[४३॥*] यो मंत्रैः करवर्तिनः समकरोस्तेकान्यरेभ्यः परान् --- ७ --- जयमसिहदेव-
नृपतिर्भक्त्यातिनम्रोपि सन् । स श्रीमान्निमलेश्वरः कलिमलम्-
- 25 क्षालनकक्षमां कीर्तिं देव[मदीमिव] निभुवने विस्तार[येक्षदनीम्] ॥⁶[४४॥*] अचीकरच्चन्द्र-
बोले⁷मन्दिरमादरात् । गुरोः कीर्तिसिखस्वतत्कीर्तये सुकृताय च ॥⁸[४५॥*] देवाय कीर्ती-
श्वरसंशिताय प्रादादमुष्णं जयसिहदेवः । विभ्रद्भवे भक्तिभरं गुरो
- 26 च ग्रामान्नवेः पर्वणि न[व्य]दायात् ॥⁹[४६॥*] [टेकभरास्य]स्तेषामेको नमपसलाविषये ।
अन्यौ समुद्रपाटे कंडरवाडो बडोहस्थ(श्च) ॥¹⁰[४७॥*] मीन्यान्वयद्विजैर्ब्रह्मीधरणीधरनंदनः ।
प्रशस्तिमकरोदेताम्ब्रीत्या शसिधरः¹¹ कधिः ॥¹²[४८॥*] सूत्रधारशि-
- 27 [रोरत्न]महीधरतनूद्भवः शिलामलंकरोदेता¹³ नामवेचोऽक्षरैर्भरैः ॥[४९॥*] सम्बत्तवद्विंश-
त्युत्तरनवशताब्देपि¹⁴ ९२६ ॥ यावत्सूर्याचन्द्रौ यातायास्तं नमस्तस्ते तपतः । तावत्कीर्तनमेतत्कीर्त्यै
कर्तुः स्थिरं भूयात् ॥¹⁵[५०॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Obeisance to Siva!

(Verse 1) Having become a meritorious person's son of righteous deeds, [Siva] who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmaṇas, who dwells blamelessly in honoured lustre, and is full of compassion, destroys the

¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² Metre: *Mālinī*.

³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁴ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Some word like रस्य is omitted after चंद्रमौलेः.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹¹ Read शसिधरः.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹³ अलंकरोत् is grammatically incorrect. Read अलंकरोतां.

¹⁴ Read संवत् षड्विंशत्युत्तरनवशताब्देपि.

¹⁵ Metre: *Āryā*.

(and) actions of the enemies of those who take refuge with him, and annihilates the arrogance of demons.

(V. 2) Siva, who is mounted on the bull, who has the beauty of lotuses

(V. 3) We praise the praiseworthy (Siva), whom they see

(V. 4) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Siva revealed his doctrine

(V. 5) Those whose direct knowledge failed

(V. 6) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time

(V. 7)

(V. 8) Having installed his disciple, Vimalasiva, in his own place, he

(V. 9) Whose dear fame

(V. 10) (He) who was named Vātasiva, who caused great bliss, who
in the country of the lords of Chēdi

(V. 11)

(V. 12) His disciple named —siva, who acquired a great excellence of merits and wealth in order to oblige others (and) to attain the aims of human life.

(V. 13)

(V. 14) like multitudes of merits

(V. 15) He, though possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (and) was devoted to Siva

(V. 16) Purushasiva, the best of men, who was conversant with
was his disciple

(V. 17) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of Yaśaskarṇa as that of (Indra) the lord of immortals through Brihaspati.

(V. 18) His disciple, Śaktisiva, (who augmented) the (two) royal powers of the illustrious king Gayakarṇa, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean of learning with the excellence of his intellect.

(V. 19) the prowess of the king Gayakarṇa

(V. 20) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people, and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V. 21) The disciple of him,—a marvellous tree supporting the wish-fulfilling creeping plant of noble fame—(was) Kirtisiva

(V. 22) He caused the prosperity of the king Narsaiṇha

(V. 23) (Unlike Siva) he had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Viṣṇu for his arrow.¹ Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (as Siva did those of demons). Hence he (was) [clearly] Kirtisiva (Siva in glory).

(V. 24) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion² and was devoted to Siva (even as Siva burned the god of love by his glance, has the bright disc of the moon on his forehead,

¹ For the equipment of Siva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see *Mahābhārata*, Drōṇa-parvan, adhyāya 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitrakūṭa Press ed.).

² There is a play on the word *śrī* meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

is mounted on the bull, and is attached to Pārvatī¹) he was, (unlike Siva who is called Ugra² and wears serpents), neither dreadful in appearance, nor attended by informers³.

(V. 26) The great lights the Kalachuri family As he, so all his sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V. 27) In the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra which is a friend of the world how many Brāhmaṇas adorned with benevolence⁴ and other (*virtues*) have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēśhthin (God)?

(V. 28) Their with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vēdas which they had studied in the right manner Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

(V. 29) In course of time there was born in that *gōtra* Madhusūdana who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the *pada* and *kerama* recensions of the Rīgvēda and understood its meaning.

(V. 30) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men even as the rise of the star Agastya,⁵ the ornament of the southern direction, causes the awakening of the gods (*from slumber*).

(V. 31) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, (*his*) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents he, observing vows, pleased all people like the southern breeze.

(V. 33) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā, and other holy places, he received (*initiation in*) the Śaiva vow from Kīrtiśiva even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (*i.e.* Siva).

(V. 34) (*May*) this Vimalaśiva, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world!—(*the tree*), having come under the shade of which, a multitude of Brāhmaṇas do not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V. 35) In the case of only this (*Vimalaśiva*) who is solely devoted to exertion, are seen (*the following*), *viṣ.*, birth of a caste (*viṣ.*, Brāhmaṇa) which is honoured by good people, a (*handsome*) form which can turn back the god of love (*in discomfiture*), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to politicians (*and*) blessed silence.

(V. 36) "The goddess of speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā's face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (Vishṇu) who is adorned with Śrīvatsa." This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused in the minds of magnanimous people.

(V. 37) What thing concerning him is not marvellous?—(*him*) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct?

¹ *Siv-avasakti* is to be interpreted in two ways; (1) *Siva-avasakti* meaning 'devoted to Siva', and (2) *Siv-avasakti* meaning 'attached to Pārvatī'.

² Ugra is a name of Siva.

³ *Dvijibha* (two-tongued) means (i) a serpent, and (ii) an informer.

⁴ *Maitrī* is one of the four *bhāvanās* which *yōgis* cultivate.

⁵ The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of *Sarad* or autumn.

(V. 38) At the sight of the best of Brāhmanas who approach him as supplicants, his piety increases day and night with the libations of water (*poured at the time of*) making gifts like the creeping plant of religion, in an excellent manner. Vigilant as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmanas whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.¹

(V. 39) Showing exceedingly great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader The foremost among Brāhmanas (*viz.*, Vimalasīva), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies²

(V. 40) Though he is ever looked at with great curiosity by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he, (*though*) of a forgiving nature, does not at all suffer the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed (*by the king*) in many suitable affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (*the performance of*) obligatory and occasional religious rites.

(V. 41) (*There is*) no discriminating action which he has not performed; (*there is*) no gift which he has not conferred; (*there is*) no deserving person whom he has not honoured many times, (*and*) (*there is*) generally no holy place on the earth which he has not sanctified with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities.

(V. 42) Of him who is like Śiva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings increase like his great lustre.

(V. 43) With what ornaments (*supplied*) by him does not the earth surpass heaven? —(*the earth, which has*) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmanas?

(V. 44) May that illustrious Vimalasīva,—who, by his counsel, has made (*even*) the most distant people pay taxes,³ [to whom] the king Jayasīmaha [*bows*] becoming very humble through devotion,—spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age!

(V. 45) He caused a temple of the moon-crested god (*Śiva*) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kirtisīva out of reverence for him.

(V. 46) To this god named Kirtisīvara, Jayasīmahadēva, through devotion to Śiva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (*the occasion of*) the sun's eclipse.

(V. 47) Of these the village called Tēkabhara is situated in the *vishaya* (district) of Navapattalī and two others, (*viz.*), Kappāravāḍa and Vādōha⁴ in (*the district of*) Samudrapāṭa.

(V. 48) The poet Śaśidhara, the son of the illustrious Dharaṇīdhara who is the foremost among Brāhmanas born in the family of Maunya, has composed this *prastuti* with pleasure.

(V. 49) Nāmadēva, the son of Mahīdhara, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters.

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures also 926.

(V. 50) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament!

¹ There is a play on the words *dakṣa*, *daśa-pati* and *rāṣi*. Dakṣa gave only one Rāṣī (i. e., the star Aldebaran) to the Moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalasīva gives hundreds of *rāṣīs* (red cows) to Brāhmanas even on the new-moon day. The star Rāṣī is personified as the daughter of Dakṣa and the favourite wife of the Moon.

² In this verse also, there is a pun on some words like *daśa-pati*, *kālā*, etc.

³ *Karmarthī* means also 'one who is near at hand'. The statement 'Vimalasīva makes most distant people near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above. The figure is *Vīradhātā*. *See, Anugāthā*.

No. 63: PLATE LIV

REWA PLATE OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

THIS plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. A brief and, in some respects, incorrect account of it was given by him in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 143 ff. The inscription was subsequently edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

"The inscription is on a single plate measuring about 13" by 9 7/8" and inscribed on one side only. The surface of the plate itself is smooth; but for the protection of the writing, strips of copper about 1/2" broad are fastened by rivets along the edge of the top and the two sides; and the bottom edge was originally protected in the same way, but the strips have been torn off and lost. The preservation of the inscription is perfect; and there is hardly any letter which is not clear and distinct in the impression.—In the upper part of the plate and secured by a strong rivet passing through the plates, there is a thicker and broader strip of copper, which towards the end projecting above the plate is turned over so as to catch and hold a plain copper ring about 1/2" thick and 2 1/2" in diameter. There is no indication of any seal having been attached to the ring.¹—The weight of the plate with the ring is 164 1/2 *tolas*.² The letters in lines 1-2 and 11-12 are much bigger than those in others. Their size consequently varies from .25" to .15".

The characters are Nāgarī. They are somewhat irregularly formed and carelessly incised. Several letters have more than one form; see, e.g., the initial *i* in *iva*, ll. 7 and 8; *j* in *-rājādhirāja*, l. 2 and *upārjakō*, l. 5; *dh* in *-Gayādhara*, l. 10 and *-madhūkabh*, l. 12, and *g* in *gaṇa-nāyakaḥ*, ll. 1-2 and *-gajapati*, l. 3. In some places it is difficult to distinguish between *v* and *ch*, and *ś* and *s*. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening verse in praise of Hēramba and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in verse. It is somewhat carelessly written. Rules of *sandhi* have, in some cases, not been observed. In ll. 8-13 there is a confusion of the active and passive constructions. Besides, there are some mistakes of case-inflections, e.g., in ll. 9-10, the plural is wrongly used in referring to two donees. The wrong number of the compound *chandr-ārka-mēdini* and the superfluous addition of a second affix in *utkīrṇitam* may also be noted. As regards orthography, we find that the sign for *v* is throughout used to denote *b*; *s* is, in some cases, used for *ś* as in *Kauśika*, l. 9 and *vice versa* in *Vatsarājasya*, l. 14; and *śh* is employed for *ś* in *sa-gaṭṭi-ōkharah*, l. 12.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Jayasimha, evidently of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. He is mentioned here with the same imperial titles as in his Jabalpur plates. He is called a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of Trīkalīṅga and is said to have meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva who is also given the same imperial titles. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Abadāpāḍa situated in the Khaṇḍagahā pattaḷā. It was made at Karakēḍi by the Mahārāṇaka Kirtivarman on the occasion of offering oblations to his deceased father, the Rāṇaka³ Vatsarāja. The donees were two Brāhmanas, Thakuras Mahāditya and Silāṇa, who belonged to the Kauśika gētra and had

¹ The seal may have been sliding on the ring as in the case of the Vākṣaka plates.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 224.

³ Vatsarāja is, however, called Mahārāṇaka in the genealogical portion.

the three *pravaras* Audala, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta. They were sons of *Thakura* Chaturbhujā, son's sons of *Thakura* Gayādhara and son's sons' sons of *Thakura* Trilōchana. The inscription was written with the consent of *Thakura* Ratnapāla by Viśvādharma the son of *Thakura* Mālīhā, son's son of *Thakura* Dhārēśvara and son's son's son of *Thakura* Rājēśvara. It was engraved by the blacksmiths Kaka and Kikaka.

Kirtivarman, who made the present gift, was evidently a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha. He was the son of Vatsarāja who was himself the son of Jayavarman. All the three princes bore the feudatory title *Mahārājaka*. They claimed descent from the Kauravas, the legendary heroes described in the *Mahābhārata*.

The inscription is dated, in line 14, on Thursday, the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 926. The year is again repeated at the end of the record. In both the places it is expressed in decimal figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era and falls in the reign of Jayasimha. Dr. Kielhorn, who at first supposed that the Kalachuri era began on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in 249 A.C., found by calculation that in 1175 A.C. (corresponding to the expired Kalachuri year 926) the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada commenced 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 21st August.¹ The *tithi* was not, of course, civilly connected with that day, but as it was the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī, Dr. Kielhorn thought that the religious ceremonies and the gifts to Brāhmanas connected with them must have been performed after the *tithi* commenced on that day.² Later on, even though he shifted the beginning of the Kalachuri era to 248 A.C., he had no difficulty in showing the date of the present grant to be regular; for he had come to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina. I have shown elsewhere that the Kalachuri era probably commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika, but that also does not affect the present date. The date, therefore, corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A.C., but the reason why the *tithi* is mentioned here as *chaturthī* though it was not current at sunrise on that day is not that the ceremonies of the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī were performed in the afternoon on that day as supposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, but that the *śrāddha* of the donor's father, in connection with which the donation was made, was performed in the afternoon when the fourth *tithi* was current. It is well known that for the performance of a *śrāddha*, the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon.³

Of the place-names mentioned in the present record, Kakkarādīkā is clearly Kakreri (long. 81° 12' E, lat. 24° 33' N.). Kṣapāgahā, the headquarters of the *pattalī* in which the donated village was situated, is perhaps identical with Kandāhlī, about 6 miles west by south of Kakreri. The village Abadāpāda cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity.

TEXT⁴

तिथिः⁵ [१४] स्वस्ति ॥ अमोदरप अमोदरप सुमुतो सुमुतस्तवा(वा) । अविजो विजकर्ता
च हक(र)मो(मो) गण-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 219. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy*, the *tithi* commenced 9 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday.

² Fleet also confirmed this view, drawing attention to the opening verse which is in praise of Hīramba (Gaṇēśa).

³ See above p. 240, n. 2.

⁴ From ink impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 नायकः ॥¹[१॥*] परममहाराजमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व (स्व) रजीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरव[भ*]—
द्वारक—
3 महाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व (स्व) रपरममाह्वेस्व (स्व) रत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपाज्जितास्व (स्व)—
पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्र—
4 याधिपतिश्रीमज्जयसिंहदेवविजयराज्ये ॥ असे²(से) षविशेषार्थ³समन्वितायां देवद्विजगुह्यपक्षि⁴—
(स्वि)निषेवितायां ।⁵ कक्करेडिकाडमिधानायां
5 नगय्या⁶ कौरव[न्ना]⁷संभूत उपाजको⁸ शोषराजगुणालंकृतशरीरः परममाह्वेस्वरो महात्र(त्र)ह्यभ्यो—
जेकदानोदकप्रक्षालितवा—
6 मेतरकरप्रकोष्ठः ।⁹ अनेकसंभ्रामभूमौ करिधटाकुम्भवि[ध]वण¹⁰पंचाननः समस्तक्षत्रियगर्व—
हृद्भिः¹⁰ ।⁵ महाराणक[ः*] श्रीजयव—
7 म्मं(म्मा) नाम आसीत् । एतस्य पुत्रो दुर्वारवैरिवारणसम[धं]¹¹ ।⁵ कर्णं इव कुण्डलकिरीट—
धारी ।⁵ मह(हा)राणकश्रीवत्सराजोभूत् [।*]
8 एतस्य पुत्रो महामाह्वेस्वरः¹² कल्पवृक्षवत् द्विजार्थी(धि)नां वांछितफलप्रदोज्जुन इव चापेनेक्षु(षु)—
कोटिस¹³मुत्सारितारातिकु—
9 लो महाराणक[श्री]कीर्तिवर्मा¹⁴ कौसि(शि)कगोत्रस्यौ¹⁵दलविश्वामित्रदेवरात्र(त)¹⁶त्रिप्रवरेश्वरः¹⁷
यजनयाजनाध्ययन(ना)ध्या—
10 पनदानप्रतिग्रहवट्कर्मरतेभ्यः¹⁸ ।¹⁹ ठकुरश्रीत्रिलोचनप्रपौत्रेभ्यः²⁰ । ठकुरश्रीगयावरपीत्रेभ्यः²¹ ।
ठकुरश्रीचतुर्भु—
11 जपुत्राभ्यां ठकुरश्रीमहादित्यसीलनत्रा(त्रा)ह्यणाभ्यां खंडगहापत्तलायां अहडापाडग्रामः²² स्वसी—

¹ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

² Kielhorn read this *akshara* as से, but the facsimile accompanying his article clearly shows it to be से.

³ Kielhorn's proposal to alter this expression to विशिष्टार्थ does not appear necessary, as we find similar ones, (e.g., विशेषगुण) in Sanskrit.

⁴ Kielhorn wrongly read गुह्यपक्षि and proposed to alter it to गुह्यवर्ष—; but the reading तपक्षि(स्वि) is quite clear and suits the context very well.

⁵ This *danda* is superfluous.

⁶ Read नगय्या.

⁷ Read कौरववंश—.

⁸ Perhaps उपाजिताशेष— is intended.

⁹ The intended reading may have been विवारण as suggested by Kielhorn.

¹⁰ Some words like क्षत्रैरपेतः seem to be omitted here. Kielhorn proposed to read —गर्वहृत्.

¹¹ Kielhorn read [सं]क्षे, but there is no trace of an *anusvara* on स, the second letter is probably स and the third an imperfectly incised धं.

¹² The *mātrā* on र is cancelled.

¹³ A superfluous स which was at first incised between स and मु is cancelled.

¹⁴ There is a *kākapada* below म्मा, indicating that the *akshara* मा incised in the top margin (with the figure 9 to indicate the proper line) is to be inserted here. The resulting form कीर्तिवर्मणा (with the shortening of मा into म्मा) is intended to be construed with संप्रदायः in ll. 14-15. But the cases of other adjectives and words in apposition are not similarly changed.

¹⁵ Read कौशिकगोत्राभ्यामी—.

¹⁶ There is no clear indication in the impression of त्र being changed to त.

¹⁷ Read —त्रिप्रवरभ्यां. In some following expressions also the plural is used for the dual.

¹⁸ Read —रताभ्यां.

¹⁹ This and the other *danda*s in this line are superfluous.

²⁰ Read —प्रपौत्राभ्यां.

²¹ Read —पीत्राभ्यां.

²² This *visarga*, being very faint, was probably added later on.

REWA PLATE OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

[illegible]

- 12 मायमन्तवतुरायाटविमुक्तः सज्जस्वकः साधनमयूकः सल्लगणकरः सवर्तक(व)रः सनिर्ग-
 13 र्ग(म)प्रवेत्त(व): सगोप्रचारः सनिधिनि(नि)क्षेपः कल्याणजनः सकरो मातापित्रोरात्मन-
 स्वाभंता(त)मुच्ययसोविबुद्धये
 14 संवत् ९२६ भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे [च]तुर्थ्या तिथौ शुद्धदिने राणकभीवत्तराजस्य^१(स्य) निमित्ते
 पिडाभयस्था[ने]^२ संग्र-
 15 वतः [१^{*}] कौ स्वस्ति ॥ ये [म]वंति कुलेस्माकं [ध]रा बीराश्च संगरे [॥] ते पालयंतु मे
 दानं यावत् चंद्रावर्कमेदिनी^३ ॥[२॥^{*}] व(व)हुनिः^४
 16 भूक्ता वसुधा राजनिः सगराक्षिनिः [१^{*}] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥
 [३॥^{*}] कुक्षोपग्रहहस्ताभ्यां चेत्ती राय-
 17 लक्ष्मणौ^५ [१^{*}] स्ववत्तं(तां) वा^६ परवत्तां वा यो हरेत्(त) वसुधरां(राम्) [१^{*}] स वि-
 [ष्ठा]^७वां कृमि मूत्रा^८ पितृभिः^९ सह मज्जति ॥[४॥^{*}] तदागानां व(स)ह-
 81 लेण [म]द्वमे[व]^{१०}शतेन व । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न तु(शु)ध्यति ॥[५॥^{*}] ठ^{११} ।
 श्रीराजेस्व(स्व)रूपीनेन । ठ । वारेद्वरपीनेन
 19 ठ । मातृपुत्रेण । ठ । रत्नपालस्य संमत्या ठ । विद्यावरेणालेखि ॥ लोह[कार]कूकेकी-
 क^{१२}काभ्यामुत्कीर्णितमिति [१^{*}] संवत् ९२६^{१३} [॥^{*}]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verse 1) Joyless and joyful, handsome and deformed, unimpeded and obstructing is Hēramba, the lord of Gaṇas.

(Line 2) During the victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramāśvara*, the illustrious *Jayasimha*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikaṭiṅga, who by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (*vir.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (*and*) the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramāśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*,—

(L. 4) In the city called *Kakkarēḍikā* which is furnished with all excellent things (*and*) which is resorted to by gods, Brāhmaṇas, preceptors and ascetics,—

There was the *Mahārāṇaka* named the illustrious *Jayavarman* who was born in the family of the *Kauravas*, whose person was adorned with all royal virtues which he had acquired, (*who was*) a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) very pious, whose right

¹ Kielhorn read this *akshara* as स्वं, but there is no trace of the horizontal stroke joining the two limbs of the letter.

² Originally वे, subsequently altered to ने.

³ The correct reading should be चन्द्रावर्कमेदिनी, but it would not suit the metre. Metre of this and the following verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ This *viraga* is superfluous. Besides, the usual expression is *Bahubhir=varuḍhā bhukta*.

⁵ Kielhorn took this to be the beginning of the unfinished verse. Perhaps it is meant to be connected with the following imprecation. Compare तथा योक्तं राममयेव which occurs in a similar connection. There is one syllable less in the present *śloka*. Read —हस्ताभ्यामुत्कृष्टं राममयपी.

⁶ This word is superfluous.

⁷ Here the letters appear to be actually incised as *ṣṭhā*.

⁸ Read कृमिर्मुत्रा.

⁹ Originally निधिनि.

¹⁰ ठ in this and the next line means ठगुर.

¹¹ The *middle* of वे and the *middle* on व्या have been cancelled. Read कूकेकीकाभ्यामुत्कीर्णितमिति.

¹² The figure 6, though it has not come out in Pl. LIV, is quite clear in the plate facing p. 226 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII.

fore-arm was washed by (*libations of*) water in making many gifts, who was a lion in breaking open the frontal globes of hosts of elephants on many fields of battle (*and*) (*whose arms*) had deprived all warriors of their pride.

His son was the *Mahārāṇaka*, the illustrious *Vatsarāja*, who was able to turn back the irresistible elephants of the enemies, (*and*) who, like *Kaṇṇa*, wore ear-ornaments and a crown.

(L. 8) His son, the *Mahārāṇaka*, the illustrious *Kīrtivarman*, a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*,—who, like the celestial tree, grants their desired objects to the *Brāhmaṇa* supplicants, (*and*) who, like *Arjuna*, has routed multitudes of enemies with the tips of arrows (*discharged*) with (*his*) bow,—has granted, at the place of worshipping the balls (*of rice*) offered in honour of the *Rāṇaka* the illustrious *Vatsarāja*, on *Thursday*, the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Bhādrapada* in the year 926, for the increase of infinite religious merit and fame of (*his*) mother and father and himself, the village *Ahaḍāpāḍa* in the *Khaṇḍagahā pattalā* extending as far as its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined, together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with salt mines, together with pits and barren lands, together with the rights of egress and ingress, together with pasture-lands, together with treasures and deposits, with beneficial wealth and together with taxes—to the *Ṭhakura*s, the illustrious *Brāhmaṇa*s *Mahādītya* and *Sīlaṇa*, the sons of the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Chaturbhuja*, son's sons of the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Gayādhara*, son's son's sons of the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Trilōchana*, who belong to the *Kauśika gōtra* and have the three *pravara*s *Audala*, *Viśvāmitra* and *Dēvarāta*, who are (*always*) engaged in the six duties, (*viz.*,) performance of sacrifice for themselves and for others, studying and teaching, making and receiving gifts.

Om! Hail!

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(Line 18) (*This charter*) has been written by the *Ṭhakura Vidyādhara*, the son of the *Ṭhakura Mālhē*, son's son of *Dhārēśvara* and son's son's son of the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Rājēśvara*, with the consent of the *Ṭhakura Ratnapāla*. It has been engraved by the blacksmiths *Kūkē* and *Kikaka*. The year 926.

NO. 66: PLATE LV

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928

THE stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F.E. Hall at *Tēwar*, a village about 6 miles to the west of *Jabalpur* in *Madhya Pradesh*, and presented by him to the *American Oriental Society*, in whose cabinet, at *New Haven*, it is now deposited. It is said to be of like character with that of *Alhaṇadēvi*'s inscription. Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 512 f; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, p. 110 and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 95 f.¹ The inscription was next edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with a translation, but without a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 17-19. It is edited here from two excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the *American Oriental Society*.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 17.

The inscription contains nine lines of writing of which the first eight are written breadthwise, while the last is written along the proper left margin. The writing covers a space 11" in breadth and 7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation. The letters are irregularly formed and carelessly cut. In two places in l. 3 they seem to have been changed subsequently. Their size varies from .3" to .8".

The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and except for the last three lines, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, *v* is used for *b* in *Vrahma* and *Vrahm-ādā* in l. 1, the dental for the palatal sibilant in *narīśvara* l. 3, *aiśvaram*, l. 6 and *Kāśava* ll. 6 and 8 and *s* in place of *auśvara* in *Jayasimha*, l. 4. The rule of euphony is unnecessarily applied in *Narasimhadēva*, which occurs at the end of a hemistich in l. 4; while it is neglected in *Samrat jya-* in l. 4.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Samrat Jayasimhadēva*, the younger brother of the king *Narasimhadēva* who was a son of the king *Gayāśanka*, evidently of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. The object of it is to record the building of a temple of *Īśvara* (Śiva) by the *naiyaka* *Kēśava* of the *Kātyāyana gōtra*, who was the son of *Āladēva*. The latter was probably the son of the Brāhmana *Āstaka*. *Kēśava* was a resident of the village *Sikhā* in *Mālaivaka*.

The inscription is dated in the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Hasta*. The year and the tithi are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As Dr. Kielhorn has shown, there were two Śrāvaṇas in the expired Kalachuri year 928, corresponding to 1176-77 A.C. The month Śrāvaṇa of the present date, though not further particularised, was the first or *adhika* (intercalary) Śrāvaṇa¹; for the 6th tithi of the bright half of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 3rd July 1177 A.C.) and the *nakṣatra* *Hasta* also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The 6th tithi of the *nija* Śrāvaṇa on the other hand fell on Monday, the 1st August, on which day the *nakṣatra* was *Chitrā*. Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A.C., is thus the date of the present inscription.

The village *Sikhā* may be identical with *Sikhā* which lies about 4 miles north-west of Jabalpur. The territorial division *Mālavaka* in which it was situated I am unable to identify.²

TEXT*

- 1 सिद्धिः¹[1*] ज्ञानानंदं परं न(न)दा न(न)दासिखसेवितं(तम्) । वंदे—
- 2 हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥²[11*] श्रीमद्गयाक—
- 3 ण्णुपस्य सुनुमरेत्य(न)रु श्रीमत्सिखसेवितं(न) । वि(वि)मे परि—
- 4 श्रीमन्मोक्ष सन्नाद³ श्रीमत्परि श्रीमत्सिखसेवितं ॥⁴[21*]
- 5 विप्र[स्या]स्तकनाम्नी⁵ भूबालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।

¹ For another instance of the same kind, see the date of the Lal-Pahāḍ rock inscription, No. 61, above.

² It may have been identical with *Mālaivaka* named in l. 3 of No. 41.

³ From photographs.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭup*.

⁶ Read सन्नाद.

⁷ Read श्रीमत्सिखसेवितं.

⁸ Metre: *Ugāṇā*.

⁹ The engraver seems to have cut at first *विप्र* श्रीमत्सिखसेवितं and subsequently changed *विप्र* into *विप्र* and *सिख* into *नाम्नी*. It has not been clearly altered to *सिख* as required.

- 6 केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादममुनेस्व(स्व)स्व ॥¹[३॥*]
 7 सम्बत्² ९२८ श्रावण सुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥
 8 नायककेस(श)वस्ये(स्य) गोत्रं कात्यायनं स्थानं मा[ल?]-
 9 वके सीलाग्रामः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May we bow to Mahādēva, the god of gods, the father of the world, (*who is*) knowledge and bliss, the Supreme Brahman, served by Brahmā and other gods !

(V. 2) The illustrious lord of men, Narasimhadēva, the son of the illustrious king Gayākarna, conquered the earth. May his younger brother, the illustrious Samrāt Jayasimhadēva, long be victorious !

(V. 3) The Brāhmaṇa named Āstaka had (*a son named*) Āladēva; his son Kēsava caused this temple of Īśvara to be built.

(Line 7) (*In*) the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Śrāvaṇa, (*the moon being*) in (*the asterism*) Hasta.

The Nāyaka Kēsava's *gōtra* is Kātyāyana and (*his*) place of residence the village Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka.

No. 67; PLATE LVI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 944

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered 'in one of the small guard-rooms to the left of the main entrance to the citadel or palace enclosure' at Rewa³ in Vindhya Pradesh. It is said to have been brought over to Rewa from the Kastarā tank in the Rewa *tahsil*⁴. The record was first noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle* for 1920-21. Subsequently he gave a transcript and a translation of it in his *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*⁵ and finally edited it, with a lithograph, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 295 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The record is incised on an oblong plain slab of sandstone measuring 4' 3½" by 1' 8½". The writing covers a space 4' 2" broad by 1' 7" high. It contains 27 lines, of which the last measures only 2' 7" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The characters are Nāgarī. They are irregularly and carelessly cut and incised. The letters *th*, *bh*, *j* as well as the medial *i* in some places present earlier forms; see, e.g., *Thakkurō*, l. 22, *-bhūt* and *Yasahpāla*, both in l. 4, *=yasmimis=tishthē*, l. 16. Attention may also be drawn to the peculiar form of the initial *i*, e.g., in *iti*, l. 4, and *iv*-, l. 5, the subscript *ḥi* in *prakṛiptaḥ*, l. 5, and *-pratikṛipta*-, l. 17, and *th*, of which the upper loop is open, in *yath=ēsa*-, l. 21. In the ligature *na*, the superscript letter has in most cases the same form as the dental *n*, see, e.g., *-pūrṇa*-, l. 1, *-Karṇa*-, l. 4; but notice *=Gayākarnṇa*, l. 4, where it appears in its usual form; *t* is looped in some places, see, e.g., *kṛita-giraṁ*, l. 16; *b*, as distinguished from *v*, is de-

¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Read संवत्.

³ P. R. A. S., W. C., (1920-21), p. 52.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 295, n. 1. This place is perhaps identical with Kastarā near Makundpur p. 295, where also there is a large tank.

⁵ M. A. S. I., No. 23, pp. 133 ff.

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928



noted by it proper sign only in the form *babhu* in ll. 7, 22, 23 etc. The sign of the *upadh-mānya* occurs, though wrongly, in *nīpāṭha*, l. 7 and *vā(h)h-paṭh*, l. 12. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary *manī* in the beginning, and the date and *maṅgalam mahā-trīp* towards the close, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. The verses, which are 34 in all, are not numbered. The composer of the *prastiti* (as the record is called in l. 23), though he claims proficiency in the science of word and sense, had but an imperfect command over the Sanskrit language. His style is obscure, his compounds uncouth, and his meaning uncertain¹ in several places. Notice, for instance, the compounds *nīlānīta-vāh*, l. 6 and *Vāstavya-eritti-pratham-nīka-līgan*, l. 21, the meaning of which is obscure. He has used verbal forms of the potential mood in the sense of the present tense in several places see, e.g., *rakṣēt*, l. 6, *āndōkryt*, l. 9. His unsuccessful attempt to embellish his style with figures of sense will be pointed out in the notes to the text and the translation. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* is everywhere used to denote *b* except in the form *babhu*, the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in several places, e.g., in *darśanāt*, l. 2, *śasinaḥ*, l. 7 and *vice versa* in *vāṅ-āmbhāsi*, l. 12; *y* is employed for *j* in *yushtaḥ*, l. 22; one of the two similarly sounding consonants is wrongly elided in *svālayā*, l. 13 and *prādā-trīpada*, l. 10; similarly the *visarga* is omitted in some places to suit the metre;² finally, the sign of the *anumāṅka* is used in place of the *anusvāra*, generally when followed by *v* or *s*, see *trōṇīm vidhi-* and *-girām vasan*, both in l. 16, *tit-āśa*, l. 8; but see also *lāṅkā* l. 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Vijayasimhadēva (called Vijayadēva in line 3), evidently of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, who ruled at Tripurī on the Narmadā. The object of it is to record the construction of a tank by Malayasimha who was probably a feudatory chief of Vijayasimha.

The inscription opens with a verse in praise of Mañjughōṣa, the Buddhist god of learning. There is, however, nothing peculiarly Buddhistic about the present inscription. The composer was not a Buddhist, as he describes himself as always engaged in the study of the Vēdas. It is again doubtful if his patron Malayasimha, who caused the tank to be excavated, was a follower of Buddhism; for verse 27 speaks of a temple of Rāma built by him. Verses 5 and 6 refer to the illustrious Vijayadēva (evidently identical with Vijayasimha, the lord of Chēdi, mentioned in v. 12) who was ruling at Tripurī on the Narmadā. He was born in the family of Karna. The poet then turns to the pedigree of Malayasimha. The first ancestor named here is Jāta, who was appointed the head of a *vishaya* (district), and by the might of whose arms the illustrious (Kalachuri) king Karna-dēva is said to have vanquished his foes. His son was Yaśahpāla who was a devoted councillor of Gayākarpa. He had two sons Padmasimha and Chandrasimha. One of them, probably Chandrasimha³ who was the younger of the two, became the pre-eminent Home Minister of the Chēdi king Vijayasimha. Padmasimha had a son named Kirtisimha who was the father of Malayasimha. The only historical information that can be gleaned from the lengthy eulogy of Malayasimha is that he defeated Salakshapa and Vikrama (Vikramāditya?).⁴ The battle in which the former is said to have lost his

¹ See below, p. 356, n. 1.

² See below, p. 355, n. 15.

³ As it stands, the text makes Padmasimha the minister of Vijayasimha, but this seems improbable because his grandson Malayasimha was a contemporary and feudatory of the same Kalachuri king. Perhaps *Chandrasimha-muraj* in verse 11 is a mistake for *Chandrasimha-saraj*, and it was Chandrasimha, the younger brother of Padmasimha, who was the Home Minister. There is not much improbability in his being a contemporary of his elder brother's grandson. Verse 12 would thus contain a description of Chandrasimha. This would also satisfactorily explain why Padmasimha's name is repeated in the next verse.

⁴ Banerji took no notice of this Vikrama.

arm was fought at **Karkarēḍī**. He is, therefore, identical with the homonymous prince of Karkarēḍī (modern Karkrēri, 28 m. north of Rewa) whose Rewa plate is dated V. 1233 (1193 A.C.). His elder brother Kirtivarman was a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha and he himself in the aforementioned Rewa plate acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasimha. He seems, therefore, to have revolted against his liege-lord sometime during the period 1175 A.C. to 1193 A.C., but was defeated by Malayasimha and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kalachuri king. Vikrama, the other adversary of Malayasimha, cannot be identified.

Verse 28 mentions the queen **Talhaṇadēvi** who was probably a wife¹ of Malayasimha and had two sons, the elder of them being named **Prithvidhara**. The inscription then mentions several officers of Malayasimha. **Garga**, the son of **Raṇasimha**, was his chief Record Officer, while **Harisimha**, the son of **Jagatsimha**, was his excellent Councillor. The latter is said to have got the tank excavated, to the description of which eight verses (34-41) are devoted. Malayasimha is said to have spent fifteen hundred *tanikakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (Buddha?) on this work. No such coins have yet been discovered.²

The pedigree of **Vidyādhara**, the Superintendent of the excavation of the tank, is next given in vv. 43-46. In the **Vāstavya** family there was a person named **Uddharaṇa**. His son was perhaps named **Sṛidhara**³. The son of the latter was the *Thakkura* **Lakshmi-dhara**, who was the father of **Vidyādhara**. Next is mentioned **Purushōttama**, the son of **Valhaṇa**, who designed the tank. The genealogy of the poet **Purushōttama** begins in verse 48. There was a learned **Brāhmaṇa** named **Rāmachandra**, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son was **Divākara**. The latter's son was **Purushōttama** who composed the present *prastāvi*. He belonged to the **Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra** and was a resident of Banaras. He describes himself as proficient in logic, the science of word and sense, **Mīmāṃsā**, **Vedānta** and **Yōga** and as devoted to the study of the **Vēdas**. The mason who incised the present record was **Ananta**, the son of **Galhaṇa**. After the inscription was closed with *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ*, one more verse was added to describe the door-keeper **Ralhaṇa**, the valiant son of **Dalhaṇa**.

From the contents summarized above, it will be seen that Malayasimha and his ancestors were hereditary ministers and feudatory chiefs of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri. Of the latter only **Karṇa**, **Gayākarṇa** and **Vijayasimha** are mentioned in the present record, the names of **Yaśaḥkarṇa**, **Narasimha** and **Jayasimha** being passed over. As Mr. Banerji has already observed, **Jāta** may have flourished towards the close of **Karṇa**'s reign, so that he was a contemporary of both **Karṇa** and **Yaśaḥkarṇa**. **Jāta**'s son **Yaśaḥpāla** was a councillor of **Gayākarṇa**. **Padmasimha** and **Kirtisimha** may have served **Narasimha** and **Jayasimha**. During the reign of **Vijayasimha** the office of the Home Minister seems to have been held by **Chandrasimha**, while **Malayasimha** was ruling over the territory round **Rewa**. It may, however, be noted that the name of **Chandrasimha** is not mentioned in the **Rewa** stone inscriptions of **Vijayasimha**, the Chief Minister (*Mahāmantrin*) mentioned therein being **Haripāla**.

¹ Banerji took Talhaṇadēvi to be the mother of Malayasimha and altogether passed over Prithvidhara and his brother mentioned in v. 28. Had Talhaṇadēvi been the mother of Malayasimha, she would have been introduced much earlier along with the latter's father Kirtisimha (vv. 13-14).

² As the present inscription has been composed in a slipshod manner, *Bhagavat-mudrayā* in l. 20 may be a mistake for *Bhagavati-mudrayā*. In that case the well-known coins of Gāṅgāyadēva, stamped with the effigy of Lakshmi, would be meant.

³ See below, p. 357, n. 6.

The inscription is dated, both in words and numerical symbols, on Friday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the Sāhasamallikā year 944. Though the era is not specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri reckoning. It regularly corresponds, for the *expired* Kalachuri year 944, to Friday, the 30th July 1193 A.C. On that day the *tithi* ended at 11.30 a.m. after mean sunrise. The importance of the date lies in the data it furnishes for determining the commencement of the Kalachuri year. If the Kalachuri era began in 1148-49 A.C. as was finally concluded by Dr. Kielhorn, the present date shows that the years of the era could not have commenced with the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada as was once supposed by him.

The significance of *Sāhasamallikā* is not clear. Mr. Banerji¹ took it to mean 'the *anka* named Sāhasamallā' and Dr. Hirananda Sastri² suggested that *anka* means *abdo* or year; but neither of them has explained how the year was called *Sāhasamallā*. The cyclic year corresponding to the above date was *Pitṛgala* according to the northern system and *Pravādin* according to the southern system. Neither of these names can be said to be a synonym of *Sāhasamallā*. According to Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar³ *anka* means *śāhya*. He has suggested that the Kalachuri era was called *Sāhasamallābda* and called attention to two other dates⁴ which are called *Sāhasa* and which, though referred to the Vikrama era, work out all right for the Kalachuri era also. But *Sāhasamallā* does not mean the same as *Sāhasāṅka*. The latter, which is a synonym of *Vikramāṅka*, occurs in many places⁵ as the name of Vikramāditya, the well known patron of Kālidāsa and the reputed founder of the Vikrama Sāmvat. As Kielhorn has shown, both the dates qualified by *Sāhasāṅka*, which Prof. Bhandarkar proposes to refer to the Kalachuri era, appear quite regular as dates of the Vikrama era also. There is, therefore, no necessity to take them as dates of the Kalachuri era. Besides, if they are referred to that era, the first would fall towards the close of the fifteenth and the second in the first half of the sixteenth century A.C.⁶ The palaeography of the inscriptions is certainly against ascribing such late dates to them. Besides, there is no evidence that the Kalachuri era was current in North India down to the sixteenth century A.C. Even in Madhya Pradesh where petty Haihaya princes continued to rule until their principalities were annexed by the Marāṭhas, the latest date of the Chēdi era known from inscriptions is 969.⁷ Thereafter the Haihaya princes used the Vikrama and Saka eras in dating their records.⁸ There is thus not the least evidence in favour of Dr. Bhandarkar's view that *Sāhasamallā* was a name of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era.

A king named Sāhasamallā is indeed known from several coins with the legend

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 293.

² *Loc. cit.*, n. 4.

³ See *I. N. I.*, p. 282, n. 2.

⁴ These dates are (1) V. 1240—Mahōḥa (Hamirpur District, U.P.) fort-wall fragmentary inscription noticed by Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 72 and Pl. XXII. L. 15, *Vyāsa-dṛṣṭav-drāha-sam-khyātī Sāhasāṅkasya vatsarī*, L. 17 *vatsarī 1240, Śāhasāṅka sa di 9. Śavī* (Monday, the 4th June, 1284 A. C.) and (2) V. 1279—Rōṇṭāgadh (Shahabad District, Bihar) rock inscription of the time of king Pratāpa, ed. by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 311 f. L. 1, *Nanakhireatke nana-indra-sāhasāṅka-vatsarī* *parikalayati sakhilayāt vatsarī Sāhasāṅka* | *māma-vijaya-jātī-māgāt mān chaitrī pratāpadi sīta-hāntau vatsarī Bhāskaraga* || (Sunday, the 5th March 1225 A. C.).

⁵ *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 48 ff. Cf. *Vikramāditya Sāhasāṅka Saka-Śatābda* in an old verse cited in Kshirasvāmin's commentary on *Amarakṣa*, II, 8, 2.

⁶ The first date would correspond to Monday, the 22nd June 1482 A. C., and the second to Sunday, the 3rd March 1527 A. C.

⁷ No. 102, below.

⁸ See Nos. 103—108, below.

Srimat-Sahasamalla. But as V. Smith has shown, he was a king of Ceylon¹ and therefore could not have had anything to do with the Kalachuri era.

What then does *Sahasamallāṅkē* mean? Since no other explanation is satisfactory, the conjecture may be hazarded that the expression is intended to signify the year by the system of word-numerals. *Sāhasa* stands for four; for a verse from the *Nārada-smṛiti*² (XII, 2) cited in the *Mitākṣharā* states that *sāhasas* or violent crimes were four in number. *Malla* means 'a wrestler', 'a match for', and therefore conveys the sense of equality. Here it probably signifies an equal number, i.e., four in the present case. *Āṅka*, as is well-known, signifies nine.³ These numerals are to be placed from right to left, i.e., as 944 by the rule *āṅkānām vāmatō gatīḥ*. Thus *sahasamallāṅkē* means 'in (the year) 944' and this we find is actually the year in which the record was put up.

The geographical names Narmadā, Tripurī and Karkarēḍī, occurring in the present record, have already been identified.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धिः⁵ [1*] स्वस्ति ॥ अष्टारचक्राकृतिपूर्णचन्द्रं पद्मासनस्थं हिमशैलनगोरम् । सव्येतरपाणि-
निगणसङ्गपुस्तम्बश्चामि⁷ नत्वा कलु मञ्जुघोषम् ॥⁸[१॥*] मलयसिंहकुलानि गुणानथ स्वसम-
येन यथोचितशक्तिकः [1] अ[व]तरति पदानि यतः स्वतः सुमह-
- 2 तां ननु केन न कीर्त्यते ॥⁹[२॥*] वाचस्वेमा[ः*] प्रवृत्ता मे खेरिख मरीचयः । मलयसिंह-
कुलाब्ज (ञ्ज) [स्य*] प्रबो (बो) धाय सहस्रशः ॥¹⁰[३॥*] अतिविमलजलोद्भवः प्लावयन्ती पवि-
[त्रै]र्मूर्तिवरपुरलोकात्संस्तुता सिद्धगीर्भिः । अप[न]यति सुमंशाज्जातमात्रा कुमारी कलिजकलु-
षमारं दसं (शं) नाममवा या ॥¹¹[४॥*] तस्यास्तटेस्ति त्रिपुरी पुरीति तस्याम-
- 3 भूतकण्ठकुलप्रसूतः । राज्ञां गुरुः श्रीविजयाख्यदेवो राजाधिशस्ता विदिशान्दिशाञ्च ॥¹²[५॥*]
यस्य प्रतापानलशुष्ककण्ठा रा[ज्ञां] गणा अंगुलिसंज्ञयापि । साशंकमेवं विवदन्ति चिन्त्यं¹⁴ सेना-
फलास्तत्सदसि¹⁵ प्रपन्नाः ॥[६॥*] [तत्पू]र्वपूर्वा भुवि ये [व]भूवुस्तेषां [य]द्योवर्द्धनमन्त्र-
मन्त्री ।
- 4 श्रीजाटनामा विषये नियुक्तो वाचस्पतिः [स]र्व[गुणै]रिवाभूत् ॥[७॥*] धर्मध्वजानां धुरमत्र
गुर्वींस्त्रिधाणनेना¹⁶ बहतो द्विजेभ्यः । यस्यैव वा (वा) ह्योर[पि] पौरुषे[ण] श्रीकण्ठदेवो
जितवाचिपूर्व ॥[८॥*] तस्माद्गयाकण्ठमहीशभक्तो मन्त्रस्य गोप्ता भुवि बल्विजीवः । जज्ञे
यशःपाल इति प्रतीतस्तारात्मजः

¹ V. Smith assigns the date, 1200-1202 A. C. to him. See C. C. I. M., Vol. I, p. 330.

² *Manushya-māraṇam itīyam para-dār-ābhimarśanam | pārusyām = ubhayaṁ ch = āti sāhasam syāch = chatur-vidham* || *Mitākṣharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, ch. II, v. 72.

³ I. P., p. 8.

⁴ From an inked estampage.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Properly सव्येतरपाणिः, but so changed to suit the metre.

⁷ Read पुस्तं वक्ष्यामि.

⁸ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁹ There is a superfluous ornamental *mātrā* on this *akṣharā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹³ Metre of this and the following six verses: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁴ Banerji read चिन्त्य which he proposed to alter to नित्यं, but the superscript *s* of *stya* is quite clear.

¹⁵ Read सेवाफलं तत्सदसि-

¹⁶ Read गुर्वीं विधाणनेना-

- 5 सोम्य ह्येनमुपेयात् ॥[११॥*] व[स्वा]य पुत्रोपि वि[सा]कका(वा)हुः सप्याः जगदीश्वर तयोपि-
 कर्त्तुं(वम्) । सप्यो(इयो)सतावापकरी मुखायुर्द्विपः प्रकृताः सप्यु मूर्तिमान्वित¹ ॥[१०॥*]
 [प]य हि यथाकथमसिहः सलज्जमुभानुरमुद्रवीरः । सप्यस्य वसे स निदानवी(वी)जी जीव-
 न्नसिंहानरजो विजये ॥[११॥*] सप्येव वि-
- 6 शुक्ल²निर्मलमस्यः प्रकथ्योदीन्द्ररादि(इनि)वस्यसिहमहेकमणी । यो मिप्रवीर्य³वरदानव(व)लेन
 रक्षेद्भारिषधमितिपटलद्विजयवेहम् ॥[१२॥*] श्रीपयसिहमिदुषोव नितांतका(वा)हुः श्री-
 कीर्तिसिह इति सिंहव(व)को विजये । वारासिचमहदि संकुलौ विषांको रामः पुरा वराधायिव
 कोशलेषाः
- 7 ॥[१३॥*] सपसि मस्य हिता विविधा नु(वु)षाः सुस्पतेरिव मन्मदिहः सुराः । शुशुबिहे
 शसि(शि)कः किरि(र)जा विरः प्रतिगि⁴का जगत्स्वमसिहवे ॥[१४॥*] ग्रामन्तमण्डल-
 धिरोरहधुतवेन नि⁵पंकपादवनजो मलयानुति(ति)हः । श्रीकीर्तिसिहस्तनवः स वभूव वीरः सप्यस्य
 वंशजसमुद्ररथैकमल्लः ॥[१५॥*] वि-
- 8 साधिकारकुमुदाकरजो(वो)धचन्द्रो रत्नाकरोधिमनुजेषु च रत्नदानैः । सप्ये गुणा मलयसिहनर-
 प्रति[ष्ठा] दोषोपि सोस्य न मुनांककुतो गुणांकैः ॥[१६॥*] आरातिमित्रकमलीवविधातवो-
 (वो)वस्ताभ्यां ददन्तश⁶दिगन्त(म्ब)रमुज्ज(ज्ज)लं यः । श्रीता⁷चूरकं इव तीक्ष्णसुशक्ति-
 हुस्त उज्ज्वमिभूत(म्ब)लयसिह इति प्र-
- 9 वीणः ॥[१७॥*] आन्दोलयेद्यस्य कृपाणा¹⁰बायुर्वीचीगतं मानुमिवाम्बु(म्बु)मध्ये । आरातिसे-
 नामव(व)लां व(व)लिष्ठः सोमूदिपुष्कमक[री]¹¹विशुद्धः ॥[१८॥*] आवर्त्तयुक्ती हरिजे¹²
 समुद्रे केन मुले व(वु)र्ध्न पदेपि वीक्ष्य । सम्मारितेना न व(व)हिर्जगाम यस्याशु सोमून्मलयस्य
 सिंहः ॥[१९॥*] व[व]लिष्ठी-
- 10 रः प्रादात्रि(रि)पवमिर्त किं मिश्रुवनं पवं दास्याधीन्द्रोरवि(पि) हरहरीन्द्राज(दि)सु(वु)
 नृणां(णाम्) । अहं जित्वा तेभ्यः सपदि करबालेन प्रकटं¹³ [नृपैः] साकं वेति व्यवसितव(व)लो
 यः स जयतु ॥[२०॥*] वस्यारिसामन्तशिरोविसम्पिरवताज्यदीप्तासिधिसाकृद्धानुः । सं-
 प्राप तावत्तु र[णे]त्र तुष्टि लं का
- 11 हि वग्वा(म्ब)पि न मास्तेयः ॥[२१॥*] सुरासाहं जित्वा ससि(शि)ममपि देवान्नमूले
 महादेवीशब्दा विचरति नृणांकस्त्रिभुवने । अहो तेषां [ओ]गातम्(वु)जगपतिज्ञेयो विलसितुं
 पृथिव्यां देवोयं जनपदवर्जयक्त इति यः ॥[२२॥*] कामं यथाभिर्बनेत्रजन्मा कोषात्मकः
 सानुव(व)लं वदाह । वैद्य-

¹ Banerji read सुदायु- and proposed to alter it to सुदायु, but the reading given above is quite clear and appropriate in the context.

² The last *pāda* of this verse has one excess *akṣara*.

³ Read विह्वल-

⁴ There is no superscript *y* in *rya* as read by Banerji.

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilaka*.

⁶ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁷ Read निष्क-

⁸ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Vasantatilaka*.

⁹ Read वचन-

¹⁰ The sense requires the reading कृपाणा, but it does not suit the metre. Read the line as आन्दोलयेद्यस्य रणे कृपाणां बायुर्गतं मानुमिवाम्बुमध्ये ।

¹¹ Read -विषोः कर्षकरी.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Indrajñā*.

¹³ Perhaps the intended reading is आवर्त्तयुक्तीहरिजे.

¹⁴ Metre: *Sikharip*.

¹⁵ Metre: *Indrajñā*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Sikharip*.

- 12 दुःखेनदीर्घवाः¹ संयुक्तितो दत्तंतिमूलव्या ॥²[२३॥*] सज्जनो निर्मलसज्जनो-
भवत्सुककर्करेडधामपि यो रणे यवा । विलु[व]वा(वा)द्वयसनः शिलीमुलैः करद्विमुक्तैर्म-
लयस्य सिंहजात् ॥³[२४॥*] रे रे विक्रम वूर वावसि वृषा जम्मापका(वा)जावसि(सि)
मग्नो यास्यसि ना-
- 13 अ किं तव कृते सङ्गान्निमुज्वा(ज्वा)लये । इत्युक्तवानिहूतो रणे नववत्स्थानेषु वा(वा)जैर्हृदि
यातोषः परिभूतविक्रमव(व)लो यस्मात्स जीया[दिति] ॥⁴[२५॥*] प्रासादमाला द्विजदेवतानां
सुष्टा विचित्रा गगनं विलम्बा । येनापि वाभ्यस्तवरोधनीत्या यासीव जानो रव आशु तिय(यं)क्
॥⁵[२६॥*] तीव्रं तपो दुःखकरं प्रह-
- 14 त्य सिद्धा व्रजन्तो दिवमूर्ध्वं(ध्वं)मुच्यैः । यग्रामदेवालयवाधिता ये प्रायेण [ते] विश्वपदं⁶ प्रमा-
ताः ॥⁷[२७॥*] भोयं सुतस्तत्तूहणदेविदेव्यास्त्रायेत [मि]त्राणि निहन्ति शत्रून् [।] भीष्मो
यथानेकसमानुवर्ती जीयात्स पृथ्वीधर⁸सानुजोपि ॥[२८॥*] श्रीगर्गमाया रुचिरा[शु]षामा
यस्याभवच्छीरणसिंहसूनुः । भर्म्मस्य विद्याहयकोशले-
- 15 स्त्री सर्वाधिकारैरिव चित्रगुप्तः ॥[२९॥*] ताम्बू(म्बू)लदानाधिकृतिप्रयुक्तः श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहसुतः
सुमंज्री । यस्याभवच्छीहरिसिंहनामा सर्वाधिसंपत्परिपूरिताशः ॥[३०॥*] प्रौढप्रचण्डारिकरि-
प्रमाथी नाराचपाशांकुशसङ्गयोद्धा । वा(वा)द्वप्रशक्त्यातिदूढप्रहारः सेनाप्रयायीव रणे कुमारः ॥
[३१॥*] व(व)ह्मणो
- 16 ज्ञानवादेन वेदतत्पा(त्वा)र्थयोगिना । तिस्तीर्णानि पा⁹षण्डानि यत्र माणवकैरपि ॥¹⁰[३२॥*]
स सोमश्येनाग्नीभ्रयति चयता(ना)न्तद्विजगणो महीं कृत्वा यूपै रविकरचषालोर्ध्वकटकां(काम्)
ततो वेदिश्रोणीं विधिविहितमन्त्रैः कृतगिरं वसन्यस्मिस्तिष्ठेभृ[पु]रमिह का[स्था?]लकमिति
- 17 ॥¹¹[३३॥*] भुक्त्वपि यस्मिन्वस्पाणिपात्रे चक्रास्तु नक्तं स्ववधून्विहाय । अंभो निरीक्षा(स्या)-
हृतजीवसंघास्तीव्रं तपो वा मुनयश्चरन्ति ॥¹²[३४॥*] तिग्मांशुतापकलमनोवदक्षैश्च विचक्रु-
स्त्रिय आत्मनोर्गे । प्राणेशहस्तप्रतिकल्पतयन्निम्मुक्तचार¹³पयसां कणौघैः ॥[३५॥*] पीत्वा-
लिचक्रैर्मधु-
- 18 मत्तमुग्धैः पद्माकरालीढमुखै¹⁴र्धदग्निः । आकर्ण्य मुग्धा अनुजापयन्ति गीतं यशो वस्य च नाग-
कन्याः ॥[३६॥*] से(सं)वालकल्हारकवारिपर्णीसालूकसंघाटकरेवमावेर्मक्षैरभक्षै¹⁵युतमम्बु(म्बु)-
वी(वी)जैर्वाग्नेः ससज्जार्थिषा(स)रो य ईदृक् ॥[३७॥*] कीडाप्रवृत्ताः पतिभिः वा(स)रोधौ(ध्वौ)
संय[म्य]

¹ Read -वाण्यैः.

² Metre: *Indravajrā*.

³ Metre: *Vaniśastha*.

⁴ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁶ Perhaps विश्वपदं is meant.

⁷ Metre of this and the following four verses: *Indravajrā*.

⁸ The context requires a reading like पृथ्वीधरः, but the *visarga* seems to have been dropped *metris causa*.

⁹ The metre requires the syllable to be short.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

¹¹ Metre: *Sikharinā*.

¹² Metre of this and the following four verses: *Indravajrā*.

¹³ The metre requires here a reading like -वारैः or वारा-.

¹⁴ This should properly be आलीढपद्माकरमुखैः.

¹⁵ Read संघाटक एवमाद्यैः । भक्षैरभक्ष्यैः.

- १९ वात्सुक्यमार्गिकारणं (तस्मात्) । तस्मात् सुबोधवि बुद्धोर्ध्वं च कृष्णकृत्यान्वयमुनीनां (नाम्) ॥
[३८॥*] सर्वविस्तारेः करतलचिह्नानाम् (च) द्वाभ्यामेवं नीलोकाश्चरतः (श) करीर्वित्तो-
द्यप्रवेष्टेः । निरीत्युक्तं ककरमित्यर्थः अथ विद्वद्भिरन्यथा भाष्यं इति श्रुतिः [४]-

२० यत्तत्र यं च जीयाद्भूमीति ॥ [४५॥*] विद्याप्राप्तौ च यत्तद्भूमिपक्षे विचारि प्रवृत्तवधिभित्तरो-
मभासाः । श्रीरिति प्रवृत्तिर्भूमी भुवि राघवता बभौनिधानमव (हु) सं प्रवृ (स) रः ससज्जं ॥
[४०॥*] एतच्चभौनिधानाय वसति इति पंच च । भगवन्मुख्या योपि टंककानां व्य-

२१ येकरोत् ॥ [४१॥*] सर्ववि (वि) सारं स्तुतिर्जैर्भवोभिर्जैर्दीजनैः संस्तुत एव बोधू ।
विज्ञानयोगी नलवानुसिंहस्त्व (स्त) स्मै भवेयुः स्वभास्तिवेताः ॥ [४२॥*] वास्तव्यवृत्तिप्रवर्ध-
कीलनं नाम्नायमनुवृत्तरणो विपरिवृत् । उद्धृत्य महां ज्ञमृतं गृहीतुं लोककलाकोष यवेशमूर्तिः
[४३॥*]

२२ तस्याच पुनः प्रसवति रामो दु (जु) ष्टः विद्या श्रीधरवृत्तिरासीत् वेनाङ्गी सर्वगुणा गुणोर्वे-
पुण्यैस्तेकेव कृता पवित्रा ॥ [४४॥*] तस्यापि सुनर्मणि ठक्कुरो यो लक्ष्मीधरो लक्षणकाव्यवेता ।
विद्याधरस्तस्य बभूव पुनः सर्वधिकारायैर्गुणप्रवीणः ॥ [४५॥*] सर्ववशाणां ॥

२३ मपि तत्त्व (त्वं) युक्तः कामस्य सारेण तु किञ्चिदेव । विद्याधरोपात्तं श (स) रोधिकर्ता हेतुयं चा-
व्ये (व्ये) : सगरो बभूव ॥ [४६॥*] श (स) रस्तस्यापने विद्वत्त्वास्तम्यः पुरुषोत्तम ॥ (:)
श्रीमद्वल्हणपुत्रोभूदाचार्यश्रीधरो यथा ॥ [४७॥*] पञ्च क्रतूनामपि वश्य कर्ता श्रीरामचन्द्रोय
बभूव विद्वान् । तस्याच पु-

२४ अपि दिवाकरारूपः सर्वज्ञकल्पो द्विजमुख एव ॥ [४८॥*] तस्याच पुनो मुद्रवक्तिचित्तो वैवा-
च्छ्रिया यः परिहीन (न) जातः । बाजेयमोमो ननु कृष्णपूर्वः काशीनिवासी च परोपकारी ॥
[४९॥*] तर्कं ज्ञानमतीव यस्य कष्टः शब्दा (ब्धा) र्थशास्त्रे तथा श्रीमत्साधिनतो विपश्चिदमव-
हेदा-

२५ तयोगावि (दि) धीः । वेदा [भ्या] सरतः सदा सुविदुषां मूर्ध्नि प्रव (व) द्वाभ्यां लिखितः श्रीपुत्रो-
त्तमो भुवि महान्दु (न्दु) दया च वाचस्पतिः ॥ [५०॥*] तेनेयमिष्टांगसुवृत्तवृत्ता हारस्य सष्टि-
श्च सदयं युष्ठा [१*] सट्ठममुक्ताफलकीर्तिसूत्रा वस्ता प्रवृत्तिः सुविर्गिमितेव ॥ [५१॥*]
उक्तोच्चां श्रुत-

¹ Banerji read वास्तव्य- and proposed to change it to वास्तव्य-, but the second *stobha* is clearly व. Besides वास्तव्य can be properly construed as the object of श्रवण.

* Properly बीबीलोल—, but so changed to suit the metre.

² Motte: Mandatrāṭa.

* There is a symbol incised between π and π_1 .

* Metre : *Varanatilakā*

• Metre : *Amphibious*.

'Banerji supplied here the ~~stange~~, but it is properly dropped according to the ~~re-thin~~ on Pāpini VIII, 4, 16.

* Metre of this and the following four verses: *Indragiri*.

• Road माहात्म्यम्.

10 Read महीलं.

21 This sentence is superfluous.

¹² The engraver at first cut the first *ashars* of this word as *af* and then changed it to *af*. The second *ashars* is clearly *ayy* and not *ayy* as read by Benzerli.

18 Metre : Auszub.

¹⁴ Metre of this and the following verse : Indragiri.

¹⁶ The sense requires a reading like *stuffed with*, but it does not suit the metre.

10 Metric : Sardulavikridita.

- 26 धारेण श्रीमद्गल्हणसूनुना । माम्नामतेन चन्द्रेकीः^१ सुखेन वक्षपवतिः ॥५२॥*] चत्वारि-
 शत्यधिकेन्द्रे (न्द्रे) चतुर्विंशवने शते । सुने साहसकल्लाने कावसे प्रसवे दिने ॥५३॥*]
 संवत् ९४४ माघपद सु (सु)वि १ सुने श्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेवकावसे ॥ नं—
 27 गलं महावीः ॥०॥ वीः ॥ [वी]वर्गकार्णसमर[ल्लुवा]स्यो मस्यामकल्ल[न*]सूनुवीरः
 द्वारोव न(नं)दी विरिचस्य मुक्तः संग्रामसू (सु)रो विपुवर्णवर्हि ॥५४॥*

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verses 1-2) Having bowed to Mañjughōsha, who is as white as the snow-mountain, who is (*seated*) on a lotus-seat, who is the full moon resembling a wheel of eight spokes, (*and*) who has a sword and a book in his right and left hand (*respectively*), I shall describe Malayasimha's family and (*his*) excellences duly (*and*) with suitable vigour; for words occur (*to my mind*) of their own accord. Who, indeed! would not describe the great?

(V. 3) These words of mine in thousands are engaged in glorifying the family of Malayasimha even as the rays of the sun are in opening the lotuses.

(V. 4) The Narmadā which flows with sacred and extremely limpid water from the world which is the abode of the best of sages (*like*) a maiden born in a noble family, and which is praised by the words of the Siddhas, removes by (*mere*) sight the weight of the sins due to the Kali age.

(V. 5) On its bank is a city named Tripurī where is a king named the illustrious Vijayadēva, the lord of princes, who is born in the family of Karṇa (*and*) is the ruler (*of regions*) in all directions.⁴

(V. 6) In whose assembly the suppliant kings, whose throats are parched by the fire of his prowess, discuss, through apprehension, the doubtful reward of their service⁵ by signalling with their fingers.

(V. 7) The illustrious Jāta, a minister whose counsel⁶ increased the fame of those who preceded him on this earth, (*and who was*) like Brihaspati in all his merits, was appointed to (*this*) *vishaya*;

(V. 8) Who bore here the heavy yoke of pious people by making gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, (*and*) by the prowess of whose arms alone, the illustrious Karpadēva conquered his foes.

(V. 9) From him was born (*a son*) known as Yaśāhpāla as Budha, the son of Tārā, was born from the moon god,—who, a venerable person on the earth, was a devotee of the king Gayākarna and the keeper of (*his*) counsel.

(V. 10) His son also, who had large arms, was created as a light incarnate of auspicious rays, by the creator who found the world enveloped in the darkness (*of ignorance*) in order that he might illuminate it.

(V. 11) Padmasimha, the abode of the goddess of fortune, had a spotless and pure family as a lotus has excellent petals and white sprouts. In (*that*) Kshatriya family was born (*his*) younger brother the illustrious Chandrasimha,⁷ the progenitor (*of a family*).

¹ Perhaps चन्द्री या is intended.

² Metre of this and the following verse : *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

⁴ *Lit.* in (*all*) directions and sub-directions.

⁵ Banerji, who read *nityam* in place of *chintyam*, translated,—'in whose assembly kings . . . always spoke by signalling with fingers, out of fear (*for him*)'.

⁶ *Mantra* means here 'counsel' not 'incantation' as rendered by Banerji.

⁷ See above p. 347, n. 3.

(V. 12) (He),¹ the sole home-minister of the king Vijayasimha, the lord of Chōdi, who is most powerful with his fame spreading to all cardinal points—(he) who by the force of the prowess, conferred by the boons of the Brahmanas, protects² the bodies of the twice-born besieged by a host of elephants of poverty.

(V. 13) In this family, from the learned and illustrious Padmasimha was born the illustrious Kirtisimha of long³ arms, who had the strength of a lion, even as Rāma, the lord of Kōśala, was, in times of yore, born from Dāśaratha. Himself fearless, he was a dart in the hearts of a host of (his) enemies.

(V. 14) In his court there shone various learned men who were his well-wishers, versed in policy, as gods do in the assembly of Indra. (Their) words flashed forth like the rays of the moon sent forth for dispelling the darkness (ignorance) of the world.

(V. 15) Malayasimha,⁴ the son of the illustrious Kirtisimha, the hero who was a peerless wrestler in rescuing those born in Kshatriya families, had the dust of his lotus-like feet swept off by the locks of (his) feudatory chiefs.

(V. 16) He is the moon that makes the night-lotuses, that are the learned men, bloom. He is the ocean (the mine of jewels), as he confers jewels on needy men. All excellences have become established in the personage of Malayasimha. On account of (these) excellences he has not even the deer-spot (which is seen in the moon).

(V. 17) Causing the destruction and blooming of the lotuses which are (his) enemies and friends (respectively), he, like the moon (and) the sun, has made the skies of the ten quarters bright. With a sharp pike (śakti) in his hand, there has appeared the skilful Malayasimha on the earth.

(V. 18) He is a flawless Bowman whose sword causes the forces of the enemy (which appeared) weak (before him) to tremble even as wind tosses the reflection of the sun amidst waves of water.

(V. 19) The hostile soldiers being plunged into the ocean of his horses, and seeing the whirls and oysters (in the form of) foam (from the horses' mouths) on their faces, heads and feet, did not soon come out of it!—Such was the lion of Malaya (i.e., Malayasimha)!

(V. 20) 'Did the valiant Bali give the three worlds measuring the three steps (to Vishnu)? I shall confer on men the rank of the moon (or) that among Śiva, Vishnu, Indra and others, by winning it openly (and) at once with my sword or with (the help of other) princes.'—May he (i.e., Malayasimha), who had such confidence, in his prowess be victorious!

(V. 21) The fire, whose flame in the form of (Malayasimha's) sword burned brightly with ghoe which was the blood gushing forth from the heads of his feudatories, obtained that satisfaction in battle here, which it had not obtained from Hanumān (even) after burning (the city of) Lankā.⁵

(V. 22) 'Having vanquished Indra, gods (and) also the moon, this moon (in the form of Malayasimha) roams about together with Śachi who is the Mahādēvi. Oh! this

¹ I. s., Cindrasimha, *loc. cit.*

² Rakṣati 'should protect' is here used for rakṣati 'protects.'

³ Nīlaka seems to be used here in the sense of 'long.'

⁴ The text has Malayasimha which literally means 'Simha following Malaya,' i.e., Malayasimha.

⁵ Banerji's translation 'he (i.e., Malayasimha) obtained (and) satisfaction as the Son of Wind (Hanumān) himself did not obtain by burning Lankā' is unacceptable as the text has clearly Māra, not Hanumān.

(our) king is Sēsha, the lord of serpents, (*created*) to enjoy their pleasures !' So is he described by the people in the country.¹

(V. 23) The fire of his anger being fed by the wife of his enemy with the fuel of tears which she shed for a long time on account of her grief of widowhood, destroyed the forces of the enemy, even as that produced from Siva's eye (*burned*) the god of love.

(V. 24) Salakshana became deformed² when in the battle of the glorious Karkarēḍi he had the misfortune of having his arm cut off by the arrows discharged by the lion of Malaya (*i.e.* Malayasimha).

(V. 25) May he (*i.e.* Malayasimha) be victorious !—who, addressing (*Vikrama*) in battle with the words 'O valiant Vikrama, thou art vainly running away ! Thou canst not escape being drowned in the flood of the arrows (*discharged*) from (*my*) bow ! Why need I kindle here the fire of (*my*) sword for thy sake ?', struck him in the heart in nine or ten places with his arrows and brought him down, overcoming his prowess and strength.

(V. 26) He erected a marvellous row of mansions touching the sky for gods and Brāhmaṇas, through fear of obstruction from which, as it were, the sun's chariot goes obliquely with speed.

(V. 27) Having performed fierce and painful penance, the Siddhas go to high heaven, (*while*) those, who worship (?) at the temple of Rāma (*built*) by him, generally go to the abode of Viṣṇu.³

(V. 28) May that Prithvidhara⁴ together with his younger brother be victorious, living for many years like Bhīṣma—(*he*) who, being the son of the queen Talhaṇadēvi, protects friends and destroys enemies !

(V. 29) The illustrious Garga, the son of the illustrious Rāmasimha, the repository of beautiful lustre, who (*was invested*) with all powers, was, like Chitrāgupta, his (*i.e.* Malayasimha's) writer of religious documents and of education, horses and treasury.

(V. 30) His excellent minister was the illustrious Harisimha by name, the son of the illustrious Jagatsimha, who was appointed as the distributor of betel, and fulfilled the wishes of all supplicants with (*gifts of*) wealth.

(V. 31) He killed huge and fierce elephants of the enemy, fought with arrows, a noose, a goad and a sword, dealt a very firm blow with the might of his arm, and marched in the fore-front of the army like Kārttikēya.

(Vv. 32-3) This city of men is an ornament of the region here,—in which even students have refuted heterodox doctrines with discussions about the knowledge of Brahman together with the real import of the Vēdas; (*in which*) the multitude of Brāhmaṇas bring the fires of the Sōma and Syēna sacrifices to the altars, filling the surface of the earth with the golden rings of sacrificial posts (*touched*) by the rays of the sun⁵; and in which they dwell making the sides of the altar resound with the *mantras* as laid down by (*rules*) (*vidhi*).

(V. 34) Where⁶ the Chakravāka birds, having been fed from the vessels in beautiful hands, and having left their mates at night, practise severe austerities like sages, fixing

¹ This verse does not yield a satisfactory and coherent sense.

² *Lit.* devoid of auspicious marks. As the word *bāhu* occurs in a compound, the sense may be that Salakshana lost both his arms.

³ See above p. 352, n. 6. Banerji, who took *vishva-padam* as the correct reading, translated, 'They mostly obtain the feet of God (*without endeavour*)'.

⁴ Banerji takes *Prithvidhara* as a common noun in the sense of 'a king' and refers it to Malayasimha. The context shows that *Prithvidhara* was the name of Malayasimha's son.

⁵ The significance of this expression is not quite clear to me.

⁶ This and the following two verses describe the tank which is mentioned in v. 37.

their gaze on water and doing no harm to the multitudes of (aquatic) creatures;

(V. 35) (Where) women (had) their bodies sprinkled with sprays of water, discharged from the syringes held in the hands of their husbands, which (sprays) were efficacious in removing the fatigue caused by the rays of the sun;

(V. 36) (Where) beautiful Nāga maidens repeat (the songs of) his fame sung by multitudes of humming bees which, with their mouths licking clusters of lotuses, have become intoxicated with the honey they have drunk (from them);

(V. 37) He constructed such a tank for the needy (provided) with dams, which contains edible and unedible seeds (growing) in water such as the *śivāla* (moss?), the white water-lily, water-plants (*nāripaṇi*) and lotus-roots.

(V. 38) How did the rosaries fall from the hands of the sages who were sitting (on the bank of the tank) curbing their vital airs,¹ when they saw the eyebrows and limbs (such as) breasts, legs and thighs of (the women) who were engaged in sporting with their husbands in the ocean which is this tank!

(V. 39) On whose bank the gods, the manes, the seven sages and men, being propitiated by the Brāhmaṇas seated on excellent slabs of emerald, whose thighs are touched² by silvery fishes darting through the waves (of water), praise him (i. e., Malayasimha) of well-known fame. May he live (long) on the earth!

(V. 40) He constructed (this) large tank, a matchless reservoir of water, in which flamingos sport in joy, their feathers being coloured with the spray of water yellow with the fresh saffron-paste on the bodies of heavenly damsels.

(V. 41) He spent fifteen hundred *ṭaṅkakaṣ* stamped with (the effigy of) the Bhagavat for (constructing) this reservoir of water.

(V. 42) May the three gods³ confer their blessings on that Malayasimha,⁴ the successful *yāgin*, who has been eulogised by all hosts of suppliants and paægyrists with words of praise.

(V. 43) Then there was the wise man, the foremost⁵ of the Vāstavya (family?), (who was) Uddharapa in name also (as he was the saviour in reality), (and who) having raised up nectar to the earth, had, as it were, the form of the god (*Vishṇu*), the sole lord of the world.

(V. 44) Then was (born) his son,⁶ attractive to young women, who, being served by the goddess of fortune resembled in form Śrīdhara (i. e., Vishṇu), (and) who, by the numerous collections of his virtues and abundant religious merit, made the earth pure and possessed of all qualities.

(V. 45) His son on the earth was the *Thakṣa* Lakṣmīdhara who was conversant with marks⁷ and poetry. His son was Vidyādhara who was proficient in the qualities requisited for all offices.

(V. 46) Vidyādhara, who is (fully) conversant with the principles of the three aims⁸ (of human life), but slightly with the essence of love, was the Superintendent and the cause of this tank as Sagara was of the ocean.

¹ The words *sanjanyā ca-śīta* are obviously to be connected with *mūṣhā* and not with *śāśā* as done by Banerji.

² *Varichita* (lit. deceived) is used here in the unusual sense of 'touched.'

³ I. e., Brāhmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

⁴ Here also the text has *Malayama-simha* for which see p. 355, n. 4, above.

⁵ The sense of *prathamā-śīla-lāga* is not quite clear to me.

⁶ Banerji takes Śrīdhara to be his name. This is possible as a teacher named Śrīdhara is named below in v. 47, but the text is not clear on the point.

⁷ I. e., with the science of palmistry.

⁸ I. e., *dharma* (religious merit), *artha* (wealth) and *kāma*.

(V. 47) Purushōttama (*of*) the Vāstavya (*family*), who knows how to measure a tank, was the son of the illustrious Valhapa and resembled (*his*) teacher Śrīdhara.

(V. 48) There was, again, the illustrious Rāmachandra, a learned man, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son also, named Divākara, being almost omniscient, was the foremost among the Brāhmaṇas.

(V. 49) His son, who belongs to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*,¹ dwelt in Kālī, obliged others and had his mind devoted to his preceptor, was, by fate, deprived of fortune.

(V. 50) (*He*), the illustrious Purushōttama, a great Brāhmaṇa, whose knowledge of logic is profound, who is adept in the science of lexicography, and is equally versed in Mīmāṃsā, whose mind is engaged in (*studying*) the Vedānta, Yōga and other (*systems*), who is devoted to the study of the Vēdas and folds his hands on his head before those who are very learned, is in intelligence a Bṛihaspati on (*this*) earth.

(V. 51) By him has been made this excellent *prafasti* (eulogy) which, containing the desired meaning, is composed in good metres, resembling the string of a pearl-necklace (*which contains round pearls*) which has a good theme as the necklace has a cluster (*of pearls*), and which describes the glory of a noble family even as the necklace has the thread passing through the pearls produced from a good bamboo.²

(V. 52) This eulogy of the family, faultless like the moon-beams (?), has been incised by the *Sātradhāra* named Ananta, the son of the illustrious Galhapa,—

(V. 53) On Friday, the first day of Bhādrapada in the year nine hundred increased by forty and four (*denoted by the expression*) Śāhasa-mall-āṅka.³

(*In*) the year 944, (*the month*) Bhādrapada (*and*) the bright (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) day 1, Friday, during the reign of the illustrious Vijayasimhadēva.

(*May there be*) bliss and great fortune !

(V. 54) Śrī. His (*i.e.*, Malayasimha's) door-keeper was named Rathapa, the valiant son of Dalhapa, who is capable of executing a responsible (?) work, is brave in fighting, and destroys the pride of his foes, as Nandi is (*the door-keeper*) of Śiva.

NO. 68 ; PLATE LVII

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA : (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1353

THIS plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. Its contents were briefly and somewhat incorrectly given by him in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 146. It was subsequently edited with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 227 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

¹ *Krishna-pūrvah Atrīya-gōtraḥ* evidently means 'belonging to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*' and not 'born in the race of Atri, before whom Kṛishṇa was born' as translated by Banerji. The sense is clumsily expressed here as in so many other places in this inscription.

² There is a play on the word *śud-vanśa* which means (1) a good family and (2) a good bamboo. The metaphor in this verse is not properly expressed.

³ See above, p. 350. *Śāhasa*, *malla* and *āṅka* denote the numbers 4, 4 and 9, and according to the rule *anekānām vāmatō gatih*, the expression stands for 944.

The plate measures 11½" by 9" and is inscribed on one side only. It is quite smooth, the edges of it being not fashioned thicker, nor turned up, nor protected in any way. As the result, the preservation of the inscription is only fairly good; for the surface of the plate is a good deal worn, especially in the proper left half down to about line 14 and in the right half from about line 8 to 14, so that some *śloka*s here are only faintly visible, and a few others are altogether illegible. . . . In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole; but the ring with any seal that may have been attached to it is not now forthcoming. The weight of the plates is 192½ *maṣ.*¹ The average size of the letters is about .25". The characters are Nāgarī. The technical execution is fair. Except for two opening verses in honour of Brahman and Bhārati (the goddess of speech), the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end and a stray quarter of the *Indraujjā* or the *Anushaṣṭh* metre here and there, the whole record is in prose. Both the metre and the grammar are faulty in several places. Mistakes of the former are pointed out in the foot-notes to the text. As regards those of grammar, attention may be drawn to the wrong gender in *śrīrātrā* in l. 6, the faulty compounds in *śrīrātrā* and *mātri-pitrā* in ll. 6 and 14 respectively and the syntactical blunder in *śrīrātrā*, . . . *śrīrātrā* *vādhayati* *cha* in ll. 7-8. Final consonants are not properly marked. The writer's carelessness is betrayed by the omission and transposition of words in many verses and the orthographical mistakes such as the use of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (e.g., in *sarmanā* for *śarmanā* in several places in ll. 10-12) and *vice versa* (e.g., in *śākṣmā* for *sākṣmā* in l. 2, *śrīrātrā* l. 6 *etc.*), that of *n* in for *ṇ* in *puṇya-jarā*, l. 14 and *puṇya-karmāṇaṃ*, l. 18. The sign of *v* is used to denote *b* in all places except *babhūva* in l. 3.

As stated before, the inscription opens with two verses, one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of Bhārati, the goddess of speech. The first of these occurs in several copper-plate charters of the Later Kalachuris, while the second with some alterations is met with in three records of the Kalachuri king, Karna.² The inscription then refers itself to the auspicious and victorious reign of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*, the illustrious Vijayadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of Trikaliṅga, who by his own arm had acquired suzerainty over the three kings (*viṣ.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*, the illustrious Vīmadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. Worthy of note is the epithet *Parama-mahēśvara* here applied to Vīmadēva, for it clearly shows that the latter cannot be identified with the god Śiva. As the description of Vijayadēva is closely similar to that of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha in the Rewa plate of Kirtivarman, he is evidently identical with Vijayasimha, the son and successor of Jayasimha. This identification is again corroborated by the agreement of dates. For, as shown below, the date of the present inscription corresponds to 1119; A.C. It is twenty years later than the date of the Rewa inscription of Kirtivarman (*viṣ.*, K. 926 or 1117; A.C.), and this squares with the relation of Vijayasimha to Jayasimha. Again, the date of the present inscription is only two years later than that of the preceding Rewa stone inscription of Malayasimha which belongs to the reign of Vijayasimha.³

The inscription next gives the pedigree of the donor Balakṣanavarman, who

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 227.

² Nos. 50, 51 and 54. In these it is in praise of Brāhmi, while in the present record it glorifies Bhārati. *Bhārati* which is here substituted for *Brāhmi* does not, however, suit the metre.

³ As a matter of fact, Balakṣana is mentioned in verse 24 of that inscription, as one who suffered a defeat in Karkarēḍī at the hands of Malayasimha, a feudatory of Vijayasimha.

was then plainly a feudatory of Vijayadēva. In the capital Kakarēḍī there lived a personage named Dhāhilla who was honoured by all princes. After him flourished in course of time Vājūka, Dandūka, Khōjūka and Jayavarman, whose relation to Dhāhilla and to one another is not specified. Jayavarman's son was Vatsarāja who, again, had two sons Kirtivarman and Salakshavarman (or Salakshavarman). The former, being the elder of the two, succeeded his father and was himself succeeded by his younger brother Salakshavarman.¹

The object of the present inscription is to record the donation of the village Chhiḍauḍā, situated in the Kūyisambapālisa² *pattalā*, which Salakshavarman made after bathing and worshipping Siva at Kakarēḍī. The donees were all grandsons of one Mādhava and belonged to the Kauśilla *gōtra* with the three *paravara*s Kauśilla, Viśvāmītra and Dēvarāta. It seems that Mādhava had four sons Mahasōṇa, Chithu(?) Pīthana and Śrīdhara. The village or its revenue was divided into five *paḍas* or shares of which two were allotted to Rāmaśarman, Gāthēśarman and Dāmarasārman, the three sons of Mahasōṇa and one each to Pāṇḍu(?)śarman, Paitēśarman and Haridattasārman, the three sons of Mahasōṇa's three brothers.

The date the donation is given in line 13 as Friday, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight³ of Mārgaśīras in the year 1253 (expressed in decimal figures only). No era is specified; but there is little doubt that the date is to be referred to the Vikrama era. It is found to be regular for the *current* Vikrama year 1253. The seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīras of that year ended 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on Friday,⁴ the corresponding Christian date being the 27th October 1195 A.C.

Of the place-names occurring in the present grant, Kakarēḍī has already been identified with Kakrēri in Vindhya Pradesh. I have not been able to trace any place exactly corresponding to Kūyisambapālisa. There are, however, some villages named Kooiah in the adjoining territory; the nearest to Kakrēri that I have been able to trace is 12 miles to the east by south. Chhiḍauḍā I am unable to identify.

TEXT⁵

- 1 [सिद्धिः⁶ ।] स्वस्ति । [निर्गुणं व्यापकं][नित्यं शि[वं] परमकार[णं](णम्) । भावमाह्वं पनं(रं) [ज्योतिस्तस्म(स्मै) सप्त(द्व)हणे नमः ।⁷[११॥*] शुद्धे हृदय[क्षेत्रे] वल्लीमि[व] ध्या—
- 2 यन्ति⁸ [यां] मुनयः । मोक्षमहाकलजननी भारती शु(सू)क्मा⁹ सा जयति ॥¹⁰[२१॥*] परम—
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममा—

¹ Cunningham wrongly stated that Salakshavarman was the grandson of Kirtivarman.

² See below p. 361, n. 13. Cunningham read the name of the village as *Navagrāma*.

³ Cunningham inadvertently stated the date to be the 7th of waxing moon.

⁴ According to Kielhorn's calculations the *tithi* ended 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise on that day. Cunningham, who presumably took the Vikrama year as expired, stated that the *tithi* fell on Thursday, as indeed it did in 1196 A. C.

⁵ From ink impressions.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

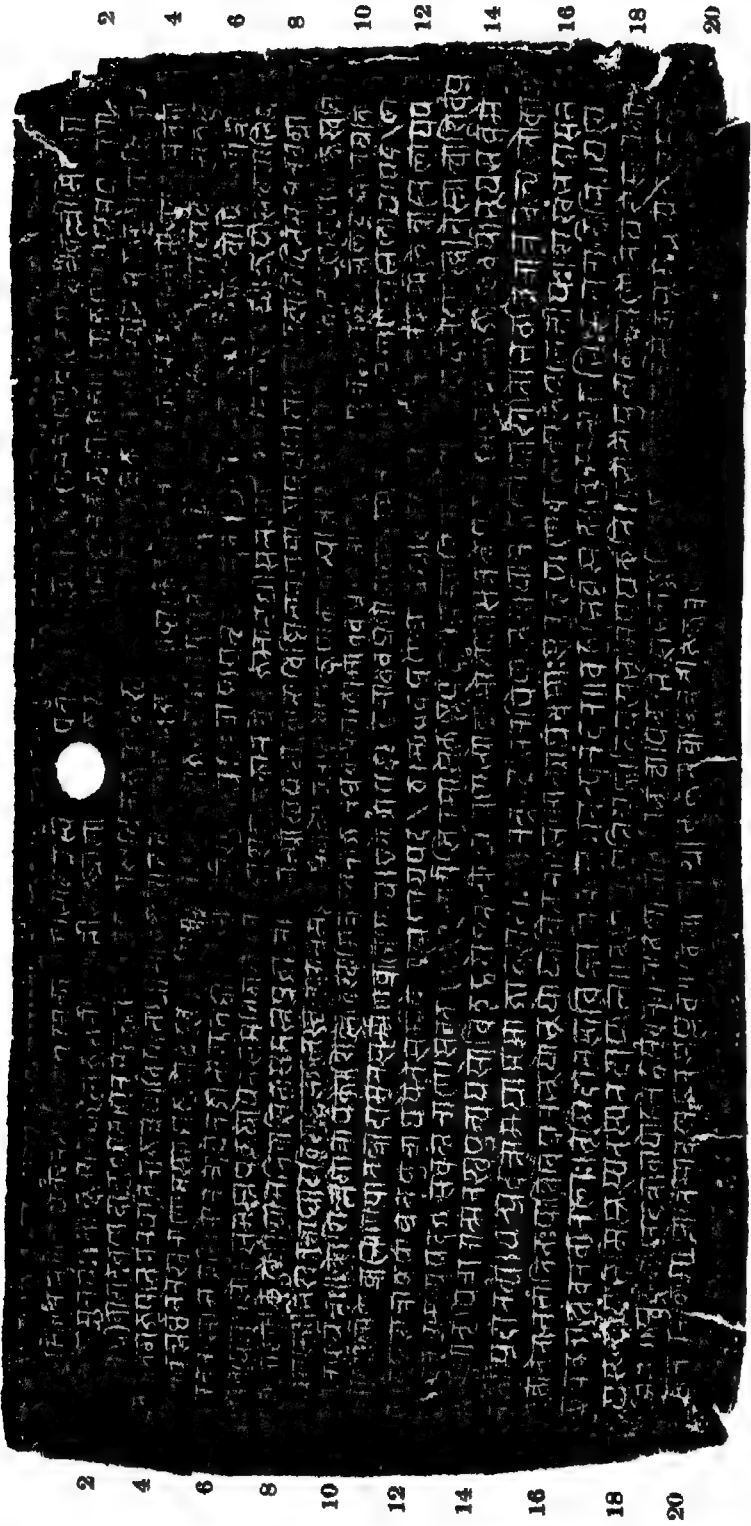
⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ व्यायन्ति does not suit the metre. Read रोपयन्ति as in the Goharwa plates.

⁹ The metre is faulty here also. The Goharwa plates read भारती सुक्मापि सा जयति ।

¹⁰ Metre: *Āryā*.

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253



3. [हे]विरभीमामदेवपावतुजासः¹ परममहात्मनः राजाविराजवर्मानस्य परममहोदयविराज-
[का]विपतिनिजमुपोपाज्जित-
4. वरमतिमज्जपतिमरपतिराजमज्जपति (त्य)भीमविजयदेवकस्तथाविजयराज्ये । (॥) ककरे[डपा]
[राजमज्ज] बाहिल्लो नाका[नका] । व व का-
5. भीमवत्सर्जनरेवराणां(याम्) [॥] तस्मात्तावकी वदुमवापि [कमतः²] सोमको³ जय-
वर्मा व वधुव [तदनंतरी] [॥] व व जयवर्मादेवा[प] [॥] वत्सराजः⁴ सु-
6. तोमवत् । सामन्तशिरोरत्नो⁵ येन वासी सुतही । कीर्तिवर्मा सु(सु)को ज्येष्ठः⁶ प्राप्तपितु-
पदं स्व[तः] । भीमज्ज[ल्ल]गवर्मा[वि]कोवि⁷ ममाश-
7. जयमवाप सः । सोह समस्तप्रकुमरोत्तमविजयतपवमहात्म्या (व्या) ककारविराजमानभीमलक्षण-
वर्मादेवो⁸ विजयी ।⁹ क्वीसव¹⁰ (व)कालि-
8. पत्तकायां छिडो[डा]माननिमासिनः समस्तप्रवाकोकान्म्याश्च कथास्थानाविधित्तम् समाजापयति
को(वो)वयति¹¹ व । विदितमस्तु [म]व[का] प्रा-
9. भोयमस्याभिरुचतुरावाहविशुद्ध¹² सजलस्वल्गताम्रमपूकसमस्तोवरविधिमिलेपाकसोत्पतिसु (स्व)सी-
मायवन्तसमन्तपक्षिणि-
10. गोचरपर्यन्तः ।¹³ कोशिल्ल¹⁴ गोत्राय कोशिल्लविश्वामित्रदेवराज(त)त्रिप्रवराय । ठ¹⁵ । माव-
वप्रपोत्राय महतोण¹⁶ पुत्राय [राम?] स(श)र्मणे का(का)ह्मणाय । त-
11. या गा[ठे]स(श)र्मणे का(का)ह्मणाय तथा वामरस(स)र्मणे का(का)ह्मणाय । एतेषां पद¹⁷
२[॥] ठ माववप्रपोत्राय । [वीयु?] पुत्राय [पाहु?] स(श)र्मणे का(का)ह्मणाय । पद १
[॥] ठ ।
12. माववप्रपोत्राय पौष्कपुत्राय पैतेस(स)र्मणे का(का)ह्मणाय पद १ [॥] ठ । माववप्रपोत्राय
भीमरपुत्राय [ह]रिदत्त(स)र्मणे का(का)ह्मणाय प-
13. द १ [॥] एवं ग्रामस्व पद ५ संवत् (त्स)राणां स(सं)वत् (सु) १२५३ मार्गसि (सि)र(रो)मासे
कुम्भपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ शुक्लदिने ककरेडपा स्थाने स्थात्वा शिवं प्र-

¹ This *dayda* is superfluous.

² This requires only one *akshara* to become a hemistich of an *Anushtubh* verse. Read नाम योऽमवत् to suit the metre.

³ Here we have the cadence of an *Indrajit* verse.

⁴ After this word a *dayda*, which was at first engraved, is cancelled.

⁵ This sounds like the latter half of an *Anushtubh* verse.

⁶ What follows appears to be in the *Anushtubh* metre.

⁷ Read सामन्तानां शिरोरत्नं वस्त्राज्जालं सुतद्वयम् । to suit the metre.

⁸ Read प्राप्तपितुपदः.

⁹ If this is intended as part of an *Anushtubh* verse, we should have कीर्तिसमन्तवर्माणि. The *sandhi* in the text is due to the royal name being taken as सामन्त-.

¹⁰ The letters are quite clear here. Read -प्रकुमरोत्त- Kielhorn's reading प्रकुमरोत्त- does not give a good sense.

¹¹ This name is a corrupt form of कीर्तिसमन्तवर्मा-.

¹² This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹³ Kielhorn read क्वीसवर्मान, but the impression clearly shows an *anuvāsa* on सु.

¹⁴ Read 'समाजापयति' and 'वोययति'.

¹⁵ Here and in the following expressions the sign of *anuvāsa* is wrongly omitted.

¹⁶ Read क्वीसव- This is shown to be derived from क्वीसव in Vāmana's *Kavyālaṅkāraśāstrasūtrāṇi*, V, 2, 61.

¹⁷ I. v., उपहृत्.

¹⁸ The last two *aksharas* of this name though faint, are legible. The name occurs also in the Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva II, though it refers there to a different individual.

¹⁹ This word is used here and in some places below without a case-affix. Read पदे २.

- 14 पूज्य मातृपित्रो¹रात्मनश्च पुण्य(व्य)वसो(सो)विपुलवे एत(से)भ्यो वा(जा)सुने(जे)भ्यो वा-
मोयं सासनत्वे² प्रदत्तः । मत्संवा³माज्ञाविधेयीभूय सर्व्वमे-
15 [ते]भ्यः प्रदातव्यं(व्यम्) । यत्प्रदत्तं⁴ मया सम्राज्ञाचक्ष(क्ष)मीः सामन्तादिभिरपि पालनीया
रक्षणीयाश्चेति⁵ । भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यस्तो(स्तो)कतः ।
16 सर्व्वानितान(न्) भा(भा)विनः पार्ष्विर्ब्रह्म(न्) भूयो भूयो याचित रा⁶ । सामान्या(न्यो)यं
धर्मः⁷ स(से)तुन्(न्)पाणां काले काले पालनीयः⁸ ॥[13॥*] संख(खो) भद्रासनं
17 छत्रं वराहं(वो) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलम(मे)तत्पुरंदर ॥⁹[४॥*] न(न)हुमि-
व्यंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य
18 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(ल्) ॥[५॥*] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति यश्च भूमि
प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुण्य(प्य)कर्मणां नियतौ स्वर्गमा-
19 मिनौ ॥[६॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्वसुधरत्¹⁰ । स विष्ठावां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह
मज्जति ॥[७॥*] गामेकं शु(सु)वर्णमेकं¹¹ भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं(ल्) ॥[८॥*]
20 हरश्चरकमाप्नोति वा(या)वदाहृत¹²संख(ख) ॥[९॥*] वि¹³ नाभी श्रीकूके तथा पुनः[१०*]
वी(वी)जे क्षेत्र पाटी¹⁴ २ [११*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) and supreme light conceivable by the mind !

(V. 2) Glorious is that speech¹⁵ on which the sages contemplate¹⁶ as on a creeper planted in the pure field of their heart, and which, (though) subtle, yields the great fruit of final emancipation.

(Line 2) During the beneficial and victorious reign of the *Paramabhṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vijayadēva*, the lord of *Trikaliṅga*, who, by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (and) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmādēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—

¹ Read मातापित्रो-.

² Read शासनत्वेन, as the expression is generally used.

³ This *akshara* is quite clear.

⁴ Originally यत्प्रदत्ता.

⁵ Read पालनीयं रक्षणीयं चेति ।

⁶ Read याचते रामभद्रः ।

⁷ Read धर्म-.

⁸ Read पालनीयो भवद्भिः । Metre: *Sālinī*.

⁹ Metre of this and the following verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁰ Read हरेत् वसुधराम्.

¹¹ The metre is faulty. Read सुवर्णमेकं गामेको.

¹² Read -वामूत-.

¹³ *Vi* also occurs in the Dhurēti plates, below, No. 72, l. 20. *Nāṣ* seems to mean 'an engraver'. *Kūke* is mentioned in line 19 of No. 63, above.

¹⁴ Perhaps *khārī* (a measure of grain) is meant.

¹⁵ In the Goharwa and other inscriptions where this verse occurs, it is Brāhmī, not Bhāratī which is eulogized.

¹⁶ The use of the metaphor 'the field of the heart' shows that *rāpeyanti* (plant), not *dhyāyanti* (contemplate) is the appropriate verb in this relative clause.

(L. 4) There was (*a personage*) named Dhāhila in the capital of Kakarēḍī. He became venerable to all princes. From him were born in course of time Vājūka and Dandūka, and after them, Khējūka and Jayavarman. Afterwards was born Vatsarāja, a son of Jayavarmadēva, the crest-jewel of feudatory princes, from whom two sons were born. (*Of them*) the elder son Kīrtivarman himself obtained his father's throne, and the illustrious Salakshapavarmadēva also obtained the kingdom in course of time.

(L. 7) I, who am that Salakshapavarmadēva,¹ being possessed of all the powers of the state,² shining with the distinction of having obtained the *pañcha-mahatābda* (*and*) being victorious, command and inform all the subjects, residing in the village Chhīḍaṇḍā (*situated*) in the *paṭṭala* Kūḷaṇḍapālīsa, and others established in their respective posts—

(L. 8) "Be it known to you that having bathed at the town of Kakarēḍī and worshipped Śiva, We have given as a grant, on Friday, the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīra in the year 1253, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and *Ourself*, this village (*divided into*) the following five *padas*³, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with pits and barren lands, treasures and deposits, open space and products, extending as far as its limits (*and*) together with woods, grass, birds and mineral products,—to the following Brāhmaṇas, (*viz.*) two *padas* to the Brāhmaṇa [Rāma]śarman, the son of Mahasōṇa and the grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava, of the Kauśīla *gōtra* with the three *pravara*s Kauśīla, Viśvāmītra and Dēvarāta, the Brāhmaṇa Gāthēśarman and the Brāhmaṇa Dāmara⁴; one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa [Pāṇḍu]śarman, the son of Chīthu (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava; one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa Paiteśarman, the son of Pīthana (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava; (*and*) one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa Haridattasārman, the son of Sridhara (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava.

(L. 14) Knowing this, (*you*)⁵ should pay all (*dus*) to them, obeying their orders. What has been granted by me should be preserved and protected by feudatory princes and others who submit to my commands."

And there are the (*following*) holy verses in this connection:—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(*The engravers⁶ were*) the illustrious *Vi Nāṇi* Kūkē and his son. The field requires two *khāris*⁷ (*of grain*) for seed.

No. 69: PLATE LVIII

BHERRA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Dr. T. Bloch,⁸ Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, in his *Annual Report* for 1907-08, p. 15.

¹ Properly, *Salakshapavarmadēva*.

² *Prakṛiti*, i.e. 'the powers of the state' or 'constituent elements of the realm' which are seven, viz., king, minister, allies, treasure, territory, forts and army.

³ *Pada* seems to be used here in the sense of 'share' or 'share'.

⁴ Gāthēśarman and Dāmara also were evidently sons of Mahasōṇa.

⁵ I.e., the residents of the village.

⁶ See above, p. 149.

⁷ For *khāri*, a measure of grain, see above p. 193, n. 1.

⁸ Cunningham has not noticed this inscription in his account of Bherra-Ghat. See his *A. J. I. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 60 ff.

A transcript of its text accompanied by a lithograph was published by Mr. R.D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, p. 142. The record is edited here from excellent estampages supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a stone slab let into the front wall, on the right-hand side of the door leading into the sanctuary of the temple of Gauri-Saṅkara at Bhērā-Ghāt, 13 miles from Jabalpur, the chief town of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The writing, which measures 1' 9" broad by 9" high, contains four lines. It has suffered considerably on the right-hand side owing to the peeling off of the surface of the stone. About six *aksharas* at the end of the first three lines and one *akshara* in the beginning of the last two have been either wholly or partly damaged.

The characters are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The record is of the time of the king Vijayasimhadēva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. Its object is to record the obeisance of the *Mahārājñī* Gōsaladēvī, (her son)¹ the *Mahārāja* Vijayasimhadēva and (the heir-apparent) Ajayasimhadēva to the enshrined god who appears to be named here *Bhagnakhidra* (the Destroyer of diseases).²

TEXT³

- 1 महाराज्ञी श्रीमद्गोसल[देवी⁴] [श्रीमहा]रा⁵—
- 2 जश्रीमद्विजयसिहदेव [महाकुमार⁶]—
- 3 [अ]जयसिहदेव⁷ एते [अ]मल्लि[दाय] [हिता][य⁸]
- 4 [नि]र्त्य प्रणमन्ति⁹ ॥

TRANSLATION

The *Mahārājñī* the illustrious Gōsaladēvī, the glorious *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Vijayasimhadēva, the *Mahākumāra* Ajayasimhadēva,—these constantly bow to the Destroyer⁹ of diseases for (*their*) welfare.

¹ Hirralal makes Gōsaladēvī the queen of Vijayasimha. See *I. C. P. B.* (second ed.), p. 37. The Kumbhī copper-plate inscription, however, makes it plain that she was his mother. See Appendix, No. 4, below.

² See below, n. 7.

³ From the original stone and ink impressions.

⁴ These *aksharas* are almost certain.

⁵ Banerji read [महारा]—. The *akshara* रा at the end of the line is quite clear and there is space for three *aksharas* between it and देवी.

⁶ Banerji reads the last two *aksharas* of this line as क्षीय and the first *akshara* of the next as इ, but the latter, not being open on the right, cannot be read as इ. The title *Mahākumāra* of Ajayasimha occurs in the Kumbhī plates.

⁷ Banerji reads the text from here to the end as -इजयसिहदेवेनेव(?) श्री[विजयसिहदेव] निर्यं प्रणमन्ति. Apart from the ungrammatical construction, there is no sign of the medial *l* on *s* in -*devita*-. The *aksharas* following अजयसिहदेव are certainly एते. As regards the reading अमल्लिदाय the *aksharas* म and लि are almost certain. Lexicons give *khidra* in the sense of 'a disease'. *Bhagna-khidra* may be a name of Śiva who is so called because he drives away diseases.

⁸ Banerji read प्रणमन्ति, but the *anumāna* is clearly seen at the foot of the vertical stroke of *ha* in *Ajayasimha*, l. 3.

⁹ It is not unlikely that the temple was erected and the image of the god installed by way of thanksgiving after the recovery from illness of the dowager queen or one of her sons.

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA



No. 70: (NO PLATE)

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 96x

This inscription was brought to notice in 1936 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, who found it deposited in the guard-hall of the old palace at Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. The original provenance of it is not known. A short account of its contents was published by the Government Epigraphist in his report for the year 1935-36.¹ The record is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by him.²

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone which is broken irregularly on the proper left. The extant writing covers a space measuring 4' 1½" in height and from 1' to 1' 1" in breadth. No lines are broken off from the top and the bottom, but on the proper left from three to twelve *aksharas* are lost at the end of each line. The writing has again suffered very much by exposure to weather, several *aksharas* being completely effaced in almost every line. As shown below, the inscription appears to be a public copy of a copper-plate charter. It has a large portion in common with other Kalachuri grants, especially the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha³ and the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha.⁴ Many of the lost or illegible *aksharas* can, therefore, be restored with the help of these latter records; but some names of officials mentioned in lines 9-12 and a few fiscal terms which occurred in lines 13-16 are now irrecoverably lost. The record consists of 19 lines. The size of the letters varies from .8" to 1". The characters are Nāgarī. They resemble in a general way those of the Lāl-Pahād stone inscription. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. In style the inscription is in the customary form of a copper-plate charter.⁵ The orthography does not call for any remarks.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Vijayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. The object of it is to record the king's grant of the village Dhōṭṭavāḍa in the Rēvā *pattalā*. The name of the donee, which seems to have occurred at the end of line 13, is lost.

The present record appears to be a public copy of a charter which must have been originally engraved on copper-plates. As in the Kumbhi plates, the royal order is issued here from the capital Tripurī. Again, in lines 6-16 the present record names dignitaries and mentions several rights and privileges after the manner of copper-plate grants.⁶ It seems, therefore, that Vijayasimha caused the charter to be copied and incised on the stone in order to give it full publicity.

Like his predecessors, Vijayasimha is described here as one who meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva and assumed the titles Trikalīṅgādhipati and others. Among the officers to whom the royal order is addressed there are the *Mahāpradhāna* *Thakura* Kiki, the *Arthalākhin* *Thakura* Kēśava, the *Sādhivigrahika* Lakṣmaṇa the *Mahāmantrin* Haripāla⁷, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Malayasimha and the *Rājaguru* Vimala-

¹ A. R. A. S. I. for 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

² The estampages are not suitable for plating.

³ Above, No. 63.

⁴ Appendix, No. 4.

⁵ An analogous instance is furnished by the Deo-Banāpārk inscription of Jivitagupta; see Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 213 ff.

⁶ See especially the corresponding portions of the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha and the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha.

⁷ He is probably identical with the *Sādhivigrahika* *Thakura* Haripāla mentioned in L. 8 of the Dhurṭi plates (No. 72, below.)

siva.¹ Malayasimha is probably identical with the homonymous feudatory of Vijayasimha. His inscription² dated K. 944 shows that he was in charge of the territory round Rewa during the reign of Vijayasimha.

The inscription bears in line 17 a date in three digits, the first two of which are probably 9 and 6. The third digit is completely effaced. But as the Dhurēti inscription of Trailōkyamalla shows that the Chandēllas occupied the territory round Rewa in K. 963 the third digit of the date must have been 0, 1, or 2. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era. The corresponding Christian date will, therefore, range from 1208-9 to 1210-11 A.C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, the *Rēvā pattalā* must have comprised the territory round the modern town of Rewa. The village *Dhōṭṭa-vāḍa* I am unable to identify.

TEXT³

- 1 तिद्धिः⁴ [१*] स्वस्ति श्रीम[त्त्रि]पुरीतः परममहाराकम[हाराजा*]—
- 2 विराजपर[मे][श्व*]रश्री[वा]मदेवपादा[नु]ध्या[तपरम*]—
- 3 महाराकमहाराजविराज[प]र[मेस्व]र[परममाहेश्व*]—
- 4 रत्निकलिमाधिपति[निजभु]जोपाजितास्वपतिमज[*]—
- 5 पतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति[त्य][श्रीम]दि[जयसिंह*]—
- 6 देवचरणा[ः] अद्येह श्रीम[हाराजी श्रीमहाकुमार श्रीम*]—
- 7 हाप्रधान ठ[क्कु*]र[कीकि]⁶ [अर्थ*]लेलि[ठक्कु*]—
- 8 [श्री*][के]स[क्ष]य साधिविग्रहिकः⁷ । [श्री]लक्षण [श्री][महाप्रसी*]—
- 9 हार श्री[म*]हाम[मं][त्रि]ह[रिपाल*].....[श्रीमहा*]—
- 10 मंडलीक¹⁰ श्रीमलय[सीह](सिह)[महा]वि....
- 11पाकलित(?)[रा].....
- 12 पाल¹¹ राण[क*] [श्रीमहा]ज[गुरु श्री] [वि*]मल¹²[शिव*]...
- 13 [स?] रे[वा]पत्तलायां धोट्टवाडं [नाम].....
- 14क[र]वि[सेजा]दा[य¹³ भू]मि[जा*]ङ्गल [*] [साम्प्रत*]—

¹ Chakravarti reads the name of the *Mahāprasthāra* as *Bhāmasiṃha*, but it appears to be a mislection for *Mahāmantri*— The Kumbhī plates mention *Mahāmantrin* after *Mahākuṃdra*.

² Above, No. 67.

³ From inked estampages.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This *akṣara* is fairly clear in the estampages. The following four *akṣaras* are broken off.

⁶ The name *कीकि* is faintly seen in the estampages. It occurs in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix, No. 4, below).

⁷ The *visarga* and the following *daṇḍa* appear to be superfluous.

⁸ Chakravarti read these four *akṣaras* as श्रीमसिह.

⁹ These *akṣaras* are not quite clear, but the Dhurēti plates of the reign of Trailōkyamalla (No. 72, below) mention one Haripāla as *Sādhivigrāhika*.

¹⁰ Read —मंडलिक—.

¹¹ Some official like *कोट्टपास* seems to have been mentioned here.

¹² The *akṣaras* म and स are fairly clear. The preceding *akṣara* वि of the *Rājaguru's* name seems to have been omitted inadvertently. For a similar omission, see श्री[म*]हामनि—, l. 9, above.

¹³ This seems to correspond to *विदेविमवाड* mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha and Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha.

- 15 वृक[योग¹]सुनो[दिग्वावि]सक[म²].....
 16 [कामत]मवाकमनिक[र³][सर्वा][वाय⁴] [स ह(हि)][त⁵]...
 17 [इति ?]त [च] मवते[स ह]मि ॥ संव[र⁶][र⁷][१][२].....[म⁸]²-
 18 हीस्त चंवाज्ज(?) मनि मी[मस्य ?⁹].....
 19 मी[रिवा].....⁴॥

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Success! Hail! From the famous Tripuri,—the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*, the illustrious *Vijayasimhadēva*, the devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*, the lord of *Trikalinga*, who by (the sight of) his arm has attained suzerainty over the three kings, (viz.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (and) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara* the illustrious *Vāmadēva*, (commands as follows):—

(L. 6) Today here⁵ (in the presence of) the illustrious *Mahārājā*, the illustrious *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious *Mahāpradhāna*, *Thakkara Kiki*, the *Arakāśāhā*, the illustrious *Thakkara Kēśava*, the *Sāndhivānīka*, the illustrious *Lakṣaṇa*, the illustrious *Mahāpratihāra*, the illustrious *Mahāmantri* *Hastipāla* . . . the illustrious *Mahāmāṇḍalika* *Malayasimha* . . . the [*Kōṭṭapāla*] *Rāma*, the illustrious *Rājaguru* *Vimalasiva*, . . . We have granted a village named *Dhōṭṭavāḍa* (situated) in the *Rēvā pattala*, together with the cess on *Viśēṣa*, together with fertile⁶ and (other) lands, together with mango and *mahuā* trees, together with pasture-land, grates *et c.*, together with . . . *kāmata*, *mudā*, and the cess on the *pravaṇṇa*, and all other taxes to . . .

(L. 17) (In) the year 96 [x] . . . (the illustrious *Mantri* *Malaya*—) . . . the famous *Rēvā*....

¹ Read योगवार.

² The first figure of the date is illegible, but it must have been 9 as the *Kumbhī* plates of his reign are dated in K. 932. From its top which alone appears in the stampage, the second figure appears to be 4. The third figure again is completely effaced.

³ Only the first *akṣara* of this name is fairly distinct.

⁴ Traces of five or six *akṣaras* appear here.

⁵ I. e., at Tripuri.

⁶ See above p. 331, n. 1.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 71; PLATE LIX

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958

THIS inscription was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham, who published a transcript and a lithograph of it and drew attention to its date in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 101-3, and plate xxvii. The date was subsequently discussed by Dr. Kielhorn in his article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chedi Era' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 218-19. The record is edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a loose broken stone slab near the ruins of a temple at Bēsāni (long. 80° 17' E. and lat. 24° 12' N.) in Vindhya Pradesh, about 14 miles north-west of Jukēhi, a station on the Katni-Manikpur branch of the G.I.P. Railway. The record is fragmentary. The extant portion contains six lines. Nothing is lost at the top and the proper right side. The first four lines seem to be complete on the left side also. But as the lower corner on that side is broken off, the fifth line has lost about six *aksharas*, while the last one shows only the upper fragments of three *aksharas* in the left corner. Besides, an indefinite number of lines has been lost at the bottom. The extant portion has suffered here and there by exposure to weather. The letters were carelessly written or incised. The characters are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit. The orthography does call for any remarks.

The inscription opens with the date, *viz.*, the year 958 (expressed in numerical figures only), the third tithi of the bright fortnight of the first Āshāḍha. The object of it seems to be to record gifts in drammas received from different persons for some purpose not specified in the extant portion of the inscription. The gifts may have been made, as conjectured by Cunningham¹ for some work connected with the temple near the ruins of which the stone was found. It may be noted that the preserved portion of the record does not mention any reigning prince.

The interest of the inscription lies in its date which, on the evidence of its characters, must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. Its wording shows that there were two months named *Āshāḍha* in the year 958 and the month in which the inscription was put up was the first or intercalary *Āshāḍha*. We find that in 1207 A.C., which corresponds to the *expired* Kalachuri year 958, there were two *Āshāḍhas*,² of which the first or intercalary *Āshāḍha* lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June. The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of it fell on Thursday, the 31st May 1207 A.C.

¹ See *C. A. J. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 102.

² Kielhorn has shown that *Āshāḍha* was intercalary in 1207 A. C. 'For in that year the solar month *Āshāḍha* lasted from May 26, about 1 h. 40 m. after sunset, to June 27, about 4 h. after sunrise, and during that time there were two new-moons, one on May 28, 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and the other on June 26, 23 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise'. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 219.

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958



TEXT¹

1. संवत्(र) [१५८ वषट् वाषट् वृ दि ३]
2. सु(र) महा(मा) र वषट्(र) *पुहीतमा(मा) ३० व[षट्]
3. [पुहीतव(र) मा(मा) १० *पु[षट्]पुहीतमा(मा) १०
4. [व[षट्] वष[षट्]कि* पुहीतमा(मा) १० वृ—
5. वषट्हीत मा(मा) १.....
6. [वषट्(?)].

[The lower part of the stone is broken off and lost].

TRANSLATION

This year 958, (the month) first Āshāḍha, the bright (fortnight), the (hour) day 3.
From the *Sāradhāra* jagadē[va] 30 *drummas* have been taken. Similarly (from . . .)
10 *drummas* have been taken; (and) from Puja 10 *drummas* have been taken. Similarly
from Vandadhāhī 10 *drummas* have been taken. From Rauski 10 *drummas* have been
taken

No. 72; PLATE LX

DHURETI PLATES OF TRILOKYAMALLA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 963

THESE plates were brought to notice in 1936 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. He first published a brief notice of their contents in his report for the year 1935-36² and subsequently edited them with a lithograph in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff. They are edited here from an excellent ink-impression kindly supplied by him.

They are two copper-plates measuring 1' 3.2" broad and 10½" high. They were discovered in 1926 in the village of Dhureti,³ about 6 miles south-east of Rewa by a cultivator while ploughing his field. They have raised rims. When discovered they were apparently held together by a ring, but it had already been cut when Dr. Chakravarti examined the charter. This ring has a seal measuring 6½" × 4½" attached to it, bearing in relief the figure of Lakshmi with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head, and the legend *Srīmat-Trilōkyamallā* in one line below it. The weight of the plates together with the seal is 419 *talas*. The record consists of 22 lines, of which eleven are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The writing is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is .5".

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the closely similar forms of the initial *ṣ* and *pa*, *ṣ* and *ph*, and *at* and *v*. The *prishtha-mātrās* are used

¹ From inked stampages.

² Read वषट्वाषट्—.

³ Cunningham read वषट्. The second *asthara* appears more like *ge* than *me*; the horizontal line which seems to join its two limbs may be accidental.

⁴ Cunningham read here *de* *SN* which gives no sense. It seems that the name of some person is omitted through inadvertence in the beginning of l. 3.

⁵ Cunningham read this *asthara* as *g*.

⁶ Cunningham read *Pūṣṭi* *asthara*, but the reading does not appear to be supported by the original.

⁷ Cunningham reads *roca*, but the ciphers after the first figure are uncertain.

⁸ The second figure here is lost owing to the peeling off of the stone.

⁹ A. B. A. S. I. for 1935-36, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰ The place-name is spelt as Dhureti in the Deogarh Map 63 H.

here and there to denote medial diphthongs. The language is Sanskrit. Except for three verses in the beginning, the inscription is in prose throughout. The record is very carelessly written especially in lines 18-22. The writer had evidently a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As shown below, this is a private document. Still the writer states that it was issued from a camp and that the camp was situated at some auspicious place ! It is clear that he has blindly copied the introductory part of the record from some royal charter. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *v* for *b*, of the dental for the palatal sibilant and *vice versa*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Trailōkyamalla who, as shown below, is identical with the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman. The object of it is to record the mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) of a certain village by the Saiva ascetic Śāntaśiva in favour of one Rāṇaka Dharēka.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Śiva and Gaṇapati. It has then three verses in praise of Kṛishṇa, Śulapāni (Śiva) and Sarasvatī.¹ It next proceeds to state that during the reign of the illustrious Trailōkyamalladēva, the lord of Kānyakubja, who meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva, had assumed titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i.e., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Maharājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*), and had attained supremacy over the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men,² the Saiva ascetic Śāntaśiva, the son of the Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, conveyed by way of mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) at Dhōvahaṭṭapattana in the Dhanavāhi pattalā, the village of Alaura, to the Rāṇaka Dharēka, the son of Sēvarāja, who was himself the son of the Thakkura Rāsala. The deed of mortgage was actually executed by Nādaśiva, a younger son of Vimalaśiva, with the authority of his elder brother Śāntaśiva. Some persons are cited as witnesses at the end of the record. The record was written by the Paṇḍitaś Viśvēśvara and Gaṅgādhara. It was engraved by Śīruka. There are no benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end of the record, as it is not a land-grant.³

Trailōkyamalla, during whose reign the deed was executed, is evidently identical with Trailōkyavarman (or Trailōkyamalla), mentioned in the Rewa plates of V. 1297 and 1298 of his feudatories Kumārāpāla and Harirāja.⁴ He, therefore, belonged to the Chandēlla dynasty. Still the same epithets are here applied to him as were applied to his predecessor Vijayasinhha of the Kalachuri dynasty, evidently through the ignorance of the writer, who seems to have drawn upon some Kalachuri record for the description of the Chandēlla king.⁵

Among the officers of Trailōkyamalla mentioned in the present inscription, there is one who deserves special notice⁶. This is the *Mahāmuhuttaka*, *Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalikā* Malayasinhha. He is evidently identical with the *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* Malayasinhha mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasinhha. As shown below, the present inscription was incised in K. 963, i.e., within two or three years of the aforementioned inscription of Vijayasinhha. During this short interval the rule of the Kalachuris in the Rewa

¹ The verse in praise of Sarasvatī occurs in the *Kāyādhāra* (I, 1) of Daṇḍin.

² In line 12 the king is called *tri-sati-rājyādhipati*, 'the lord of three hundred kingdoms.'

³ For a similar instance, see Anjaneri plates (Second Set), of Bhōgalekti, No. 32, above.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 232 and 236.

⁵ It may, however, be noted that Trailōkyavarman is called here *Kānyakubjādhipati*, not *Trihastīgādhipati*. The latter epithet is applied to him in the Rewa plates of Kumārāpāla, dated V. 1297 mentioned above.

⁶ Another officer, the *Kāṣṭhāpāla* Vāhaḍa may be identical with Vāhaḍavarman, the son of Śalakaḥarvarman, the feudatory chief of Karkarēḍi, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 236. The *Śāṇḍikagrāhikā* Haripāla may be identical with the *Mahāmāntrin* of the same name mentioned in No. 70, I, 9.

- 9 अर्बलेसी स्त्री(श्री)[च]दलेठि¹ बबावसेमानसमस्तवणिजनम्यबुद्धिमत्तां पंचकुलधर्माधिकरणविचितायां
 10 शिवहृत्पत्तने धनवाहिपत्तलायां यत्र क्वचन शुभप्रदेशसमावासितकटकात्(त)² समभियम[स्वा]-
 ध्याय-
 11 ध्यानानुष्ठानतपचक्रवर्ति³पंडितचक्रवर्द्धामणिसं (सै)काचार्याभिपतिसर्वविद्याकुस (स)क[ः*] क-

Second Plate

- 12 ली कुर्वाशा(सो)वतारः विसति(त) राज्याभिपतिसी(श्री) मत्तलोक्यमस्तुपादचर्चनरतः⁴ ध्यायं
 कुर्वाणो⁵
 13 एकाग्रचित्ततया भट्टारकस्त्री(श्री)मद्राजगुरुविमलशिवसुतो(तः) सा(शां)तशिवचरणाः⁶ वत्सगो-
 त्रान्वये⁷ वित(त्त)वं(वं)घ-
 14 स्वरूपतया ठ रासलसुतसेवराजत(स्त)त्सुतराणकस्त्री(श्री)म[द्व]रेकस्य अलीरा⁸प्राप्तस्य भावसो-
 गप्रवणि-
 15 करसर्वादायसहितं यावदभिरण्यस्य दत्तमिति¹⁰ ॥ गुरुणा¹¹मनुष्ठां (मां) प्राप्य बमादिपुणोपेतः¹²
 समस्त-
 16 प्रक्रियान्वितस्त्रि(स्त्रि)कालस्नानदेवान्चनरतः अग्निपूजारतस्त्र(श्च) सर्वभूतव्यापारः सर्वेषां
 बंदिजना-
 17 नामाधारभूतः जंतूनामास्वा(श्वा)सभूमिः[*] सर्वसु कलासु चतुरः ॥¹³ दत्तस्त्रास्त्रविसा(शा)-
 रदः भट्टारकस्त्रीम-¹³
 18 द्राजगुरुविमलसि(शि)वशु(सु)तः शांतशिवानुजो नादशिवन¹⁴ पट्टस्य [ह](व)धरूपतया याव-
 दीयते तावदवा-
 19 पितमिति¹⁵ धि(वि)त्तवं(वं)मतया किंचित्कार्यकारणितापि वारणे स्त्री(श्री)मद्वरेकस्य याव¹⁶दिच्छा
 प्रतिपद्यते¹⁷ ॥ अत्रा-
 20 र्षे साक्षिणः ॥ पट(ट्ट)किल मवने तथा सीले तथा ठ सूपट ठ मांगे वि रणधोल वि गांगादेव पट्ट
 वि कवित ॥ ठ गोलू-

¹ Read लेठि-.

² Read -म्यबुद्धिमत्तां पंचकुलधर्माधिकरणे. विचितायां seems to be superfluous.

³ This expression seems to be out of place in a deed of mortgage.

⁴ Read तपस्विचक्रवर्ति-.

⁵ Read पादाचर्चनरतो; but as the compound stands it means that the Saiva ascetic was devoted to the feet of Trailokyamalla.

⁶ Read कुर्वाण एकाग्र-.

⁷ This expression in the plural number does not fit in with the preceding epithets which are all in the singular. Read शांतशिवः.

⁸ वत्सगोत्रान्वयो.

⁹ Chakravarti read अलीरा, remarking that ली which was first engraved was subsequently corrected into स्त्री. See, however, similar *śāstrā*s of medial *an* in *Kalan*, lines 11-12.

¹⁰ The correct construction would be अलीराप्राप्तं . . . सर्वादायसहितं यावदभिरण्यं दत्तमिति ।

¹¹ Read गुरुणा-.

¹² These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

¹³ Read भट्टारकस्त्रीम-.

¹⁴ The writer perhaps intended to write नादशिवेन, but it would not suit the several adjectival expressions in the nominative prefixed to it. Read नादशिवस्तेन.

¹⁵ Read यावदादीयते तावदेवापितमिति ।

¹⁶ The *akṣhara* व in याव-, which was at first omitted, is written above the line.

¹⁷ The text is very corrupt here. Probably the intended sense is किंचित्कार्यकारणे वारणे वा श्रीमद्वरेकस्य येच्छा सा प्रतिपद्यते ।

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१. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 ३. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 ४. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 ५. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 ६. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 ७. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 ८. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 ९. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 १०. वसुदेवाय नमः ॥ १० ॥

[illegible]

Seal



(From a photograph).

बोर सेवा मन्दिर

पुस्तकालय

काल नं० 293.2 MIR
 लेखक Marathi, Vaidic, Vismu
 शीर्षक Inscriptions of the
Kalachuri - Chelera
 वर्ष 1988

विवरण	लेखक के हस्ताक्षर	वापसी का दिनांक